The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul

Tensions in Early Christianity

Edited by

Bruce Chilton & Craig Evans

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PREFACE

The first volume of our Consultation on James sets out the purpose, methods and aims of concentrating on Jesus' brother in an attempt to trace the complexity of Christian origins in relation to Judaism.[1] The focus of that work engaged the nature of the evidence in regard to James and considered how to approach it, because its evaluation is a necessarily inferential endeavor, given the sources and their attenuated links to James. As our consultation progressed, the participants (many of whom have continued to work through the present phase of the project) proposed a fresh dimension of research. We considered the possibility that our comparative approach might be refined and at the same time broadened significantly.

The comparison with contemporary Judaism was a foundational element of our orientation from the beginning, but the comparison we then became intrigued with was much more specific and more contextual at the same time, aimed within the movement which came to be called Christianity in its various cultural settings. How did James relate to such prominent figures as Peter and Paul? Given James' own eminence, those relationships must have been hallmarks of his own stance and status, and they open the prospect that we might delineate James' theological perspective more precisely than otherwise possible by means of this contrast with Peter and Paul. That is the reason for the division of the present volume into two parts.

The whole issue of James' relationship to Paul is fraught, in that the latter has become a pivotal figure ("the Apostle") in Christianity since the second century (and contentiously so at least since the Reformation). For that reason, it seemed wise to begin our comparison with Peter (in November 1999), and then to take up the issue of Paul

[1] See B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999). Part I of this collection reviews background and context; Part II investigates James and Jewish Christianity.

in a final consultation (in November 2001).[2] But having pursued that agenda, we believe the results are best presented together. Our decision displays one of the characteristics of a genuinely comparative interest in theologies: the aim is to evaluate by distinguishing one perspective from another, without any desire to provide a hierarchy of preference.

This project of comparison has involved an expanded horizon of interest and discussion as compared to much discussion of the New Testament today. Our participants represent a wide spectrum of expertises and approaches. For that reason, comparison is not simply within the idiom of Judaic literature or of Hellenistic literature, for example, but searches into the range of resonances of James' position within his environment and the environment of his circle. Differing approaches have also been involved. But in this preface, we refer simply to the topics that have concerned, leaving reflections on modes of analysis to "Conclusions and Questions."

In the first article of Part One, Bruce Chilton takes up the discussion of James' Nazirite practice with which *James the Just* closed, and relates that to sources within the Gospels that seem to derive from James, contrasting their concerns with those of Peter and Paul. Peter H. Davids carries on the task of comparison and contrast by assessing the literary relationship between the Epistle of James, 1 Peter, and 2 Peter, allowing for the factor of pseudepigraphy. In "Simon Peter and Bethsaida," Markus Bockmuehl turns us from texts to stones, and shows how an archaeological assessment, with an appropriate allowance for our uncertainty, may illuminate the culture context of Christian origins. Richard J. Bauckham's essay concerns culture in a more anthropological sense, by reflecting on the category of "purity" within the primary texts and scholarly discussion. John

[2] In 2000, the consultation convened in order to produce a less technical treatment of James. See B. D. Chilton and J. N. Neusner (eds.), *The Brother of Jesus: James the Just and His Mission* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); and B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *The Missing Jesus: Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament. New Research Examining the Historical Jesus in the Context of Judaism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002).

Painter's analysis is exegetical, but it is concerned to identify models of leadership in the distinction and the coherence between James and Peter which go beyond the circumstances reflected in particular passages. In his study of artifacts, Craig Evans closes Part One with an investigation of recent excavations and finds that allegedly relate to James and Peter, assessing their historical value and what they might tell us about these figures.

Part Two takes up a differing range of topics, owing to the challenge of comparing the Epistle of James with the Pauline corpus. John Painter therefore begins with "The Power of Words," and depicts the evocative contrast between the word of the cross in Paul and the power of the implanted word in James. The "Israel" addressed by the word concerns Jacob Neusner in "What, Exactly, Is Israel's Gentile Problem?" He shows in a systemic analysis that while Israel for James is a matter of sanctification, for Paul Israel pivots on salvation, and Professor Neusner at the same time illustrates a cognate contrast in Rabbinic thought. "Wisdom and Grace," by Bruce Chilton, represents a similar, connected contrast, but at the level of theology. Wiard Popkes then takes us into the practice of theology by relating the leadership of James and Paul in light of the rhetorical moves and metaphors of the literary evidence. Peter H. Davids's concern is also practice in "The Test of Wealth," because he delineates the existential issue of what that challenge makes of a person's stature in theological terms. He makes the distinction between the aim of righteousness in James and the aim of sacrifice in Paul, and this opens the way for Marianne Sawicki in "Person or Practice? Judging in James and Paul." She there makes the acute distinction between justice and justification, relating that difference to issues of time and eschatology as well as judgment. This difference is also reflected in "Sin, Repentance, Atonement and Resurrection" by Jacob Neusner, where James' construction of the "crown of life" seems congruent with the promise of the sages, albeit less strictly eschatological. In stark contrast, the truncation of repentance and atonement within Paul's system of Christianity seems to speak a different language. Peter

Davids explores that apparent chasm between James and Paul, in "Why Do We Suffer?" There the distinction between an emphasis upon righteousness and a theology of the cross again becomes apparent. Ithamar Gruenwald maps Paul's theology as a variant of apoclayptic Judaism in "Ritualizing Death in James and Paul in Light of Jewish Apocalypticism."

Once James is considered, not only on his own terms, but also in relation to Peter and Paul, it becomes plain that the pluralism of earliest Christianity is more comprehensive and more radical than the simple, binary opposition between "Jewish Christianity" and "Gentile Christianity" can possibly express. All the terms of those categories were themselves redefined in the experience of Jesus' first followers, and within the ferment of early Judaism. James has therefore aided us in coming to a more critical appreciation of aspects of Jesus' movement that he did not himself lead.

We remain grateful to Mr. Frank T. Crohn for the impetus to study James, as well as for his interest in assessing where that study may illuminate the origins and evolution of Christianity. The editors also thank Danny Zacharias for his assistance in the preparation of the indexes.

Bruce Chilton
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June, 2004

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972–)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AV	Authorized Version
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDF	Friedrich Blass, A. Debrunner and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961)
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling (ed.), *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953)
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BThSt	Biblisch-theologische Studien
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum Judaicarum*
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

DNTB	C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter (eds.), *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000)
DPL	Hawthorne G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (eds.), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993)
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
EWNT	*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GNS	Good News Studies
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HervTeolStud	*Hervormde teologiese studies*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JHC	*Journal of Higher Criticism*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, Robert Scott and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 9th edn, 1968)
NCB	New Century Bible
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the*

	Holy Land (4 vols., Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1993)
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDNTT	Colin Brown (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (3 vols.; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1975)
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum*, Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ODCC	F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (2 vols., Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–1905)
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar: Neues Testament
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RSN	*Religious Studies News*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLSP	*SBL Seminar Papers*
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden and Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1923–)
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ST	*Studia theologica*
Str–B	[Hermann L. Strack and] Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (7 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1922–61)
TDNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (trans. Geoffrey W.

	Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–)
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TWNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (11 vols.; Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1932–79)
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
USF	University of South Florida
UTB	Urban-Taschenbücher
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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PART ONE
JAMES AND PETER

JAMES, PETER, PAUL, AND THE FORMATION OF THE GOSPELS

Bruce Chilton

INTRODUCTION

Any evaluation of James is fraught with the basic difficulty that his perspective and personality are not represented directly within the New Testament. A case can be made for the argument that the Epistle of James represents something of both, but if so, it does so indirectly. In that source, as in the book of Acts and Hegesippus and Eusebius, James is taken up within the theological perspective of the works as a whole, so that it is difficult to sort him out from his hagiography. Even the reference in Josephus is far from straightforward.[1] It is a positive assessment of James, but in the interests of a negative assessment of the high priest who had James put to death.

Although this problem of the quality and perspectives of the sources can never be wholly overcome (absent a fresh discovery), there is a way of getting at James' own orientation and influence. That is through his relationships with people and perspectives that are well characterized in the sources. Our purpose here is to locate James in respect of Peter, Paul, and those who framed the Gospel traditions, and then to offer a conclusion in regard to his status and position with the primitive Church (that is, the Church prior to any conscious separation from Second Temple Judaism).

PETER: BAPTISM INTO JESUS' NAME

The remarkable and early agreement that Jews and non-Jews could be included in the same movement by baptism established a radical principle of inclusion. This is reflected in the book of Acts, an indirect but powerful witness to the character of Petrine Christianity. Peter's conviction, signaled by the story of his visit to the house of Cornelius, a Roman centurion, was that God's spirit flowed from the risen Jesus, not only upon his original followers, but to any believers, circumcised

[1] These sources are discussed in detail in B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

or not, who would be immersed (that is, baptized) in his name (Acts 10). Even at Pentecost, the spirit in Acts is portrayed as descending on the twelve apostles (including the newly chosen Matthias), and they speak God's praises in the various languages of those assembled from the four points of the compass for that summer feast of harvest, both Jews and proselytes (Acts 2:1-12). The mention of proselytes (2:11) and the stress that those gathered came from "every nation under heaven" (2:5) clearly point ahead to the inclusion of non-Jews by means of baptism within Acts. Peter's explanation of the descent of the spirit explicitly does that. He quotes from the prophet Joel (3:1-5 in the Septuagint), "And it will be in the last days, says God, that I will pour out from my spirit upon all flesh." "All flesh," not only historic Israel, is to receive of God's spirit. Now we are in a position to see why it was natural within the Petrine circle to speak of immersion "into the name of Jesus:" this is not idiomatic Greek, but more probably reflects the Aramaic *leshun* (or Hebrew *leshem*). The Mishnah (*Zebah.* 4:6) refers to those "for the sake of" whom a given sacrifice is offered: that cultic usage was inspired by the environment of Pentecost. Those who entered into a fresh relationship to God by means of the holy spirit were themselves a kind of "first fruits" (the offering of Pentecost) and found their identity in relation to Christ or spirit as "first fruits" (so Rom 8:23; 11:16; 16:5; 1 Cor 15:20, 23; 16:15; James 1:18; Rev 14:4). The wide range of that usage, which attests the influence of the Petrine theology, reflects the deeply Pentecostal character of primitive Christianity. Access to the covenant by means of the spirit meant that they entered sacrificially "into the name" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα) of Jesus in baptism.[2] Also within the Petrine circle, Eucharist was celebrated in covenantal terms, when one broke bread and shared the cup "into the remembrance" (εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24-25) of Jesus, a phrase associated with covenantal sacrifice (see Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 5:12; 6:8; 24:7; Num 5:26).[3] Both baptism and Eucharist are sacrificial in the Petrine understanding, and both intimately involve the spirit of God.

When Peter is speaking in the house of Cornelius in Acts 10, the spirit falls upon those who are listening, and those there with Peter

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[2] See Lars Hartman, "Into the Name of the Lord Jesus," in *Baptism in the Early Church: Studies of the New Testament and its World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997) 37-50.

[3] See Bruce Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings: Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus through Johannine Circles* (NovTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 75-92.

who were circumcised were astounded "that the gift of the holy spirit has been poured even upon the nations" (10:44-45). The choice of the verb "to pour" is no coincidence: it is resonant with the quotation of Joel in Acts 2:17. Indeed, those in Cornelius' house praise God "in tongues" (10:46) in a manner reminiscent of the apostles' prophecy at Pentecost, and Peter directs that they be baptized "in the name of Christ Jesus" (10:47-48). That is just the direction Peter gave earlier to his sympathetic hearers at Pentecost (2:37-38). Probably in the case of his speech at Pentecost, and more definitely in the case of his speech in the house of Cornelius, Peter's directions were in Greek, and we should understand that immersion is not in any general sense and that "Jesus" (Ἰησοῦς) has entered the Greek language. Christian baptism, immersion into the name of Jesus with reception of the Holy Spirit, was developed within the practice of the circle of Peter. Lucidity of speech, as Paul would later insist in 1 Corinthians 14, was taken to be a mark of the spirit's presence.

In aggregate, the two passages from Acts do not suggest any real dispute as to whether the gift of the spirit followed or preceded baptism into Jesus' name. The point is rather that belief in and baptism into him is connected directly to the outpouring of God's spirit. Two questions immediately arise at this point. First, why would it have been so natural for Peter to have extended baptism to non-Jews on the basis of the outpouring of spirit, when he was still sensitive to the scruples of Judaism? (And Paul, a contemporary witness, records that sensitivity, see Gal 2:11-14.) Second, where did Peter understand the new infusion of spirit to have derived from?

As it happens, those two questions have a single answer. The source of the spirit is Jesus as raised from the dead. In Peter's speech at Pentecost, Jesus, having been exalted to the right hand of God, receives the promise of the holy spirit from the father and pours it out on his followers (2:33). The spirit that is poured out, then, comes directly from the majesty of God, from his rule over creation as a whole. This is the spirit as it hovered over the waters at the beginning of creation (Gen 1:1), and not as limited to Israel. Because the spirit is of God, who creates people in the divine image, its presence marks God's own activity, in which all those who follow Jesus are to be included. Jesus' own program had involved proclaiming God's kingdom on the authority of his possession of God's spirit. Now, as a consequence of the resurrection, Jesus had poured out that same spirit upon those who would follow him. Baptism in the Spirit (see Acts

1:4-5) and baptism into the name of Jesus were one and the same thing for that reason. That was why believing that Jesus was God's son and calling upon his name were the occasions on which the spirit was to be received. In the new environment of God's spirit which the resurrection signaled, baptism was indeed, as Matt 28:19 indicates, an activity and an experience which involved the Father (the source of one's identity), the son (the agent of one's identity), and the holy spirit (the medium of one's identity).

The influence of Peter's stance is attested by the agreement of James, and teachers such as Barnabas and Paul, that circumcision should not be made a requirement for Christians. Deep though this agreement was, it also brought about the greatest and most enduring controversies within the early Church. Although Peter, James, and Barnabas agreed that circumcision could not be demanded of non-Jews who received baptism, there were strong factions which did not concur who are styled as Christian Pharisees (see Acts 11:1-18; 15:1-5). They had weighty arguments on their side, above all the covenant of circumcision (Gen 17:9-14) that, on a plain reading of the text, brooks no exceptions. They were obviously a considerable contingent within primitive Christianity, and the requirement of circumcision was honored at least until the second century. Even among those teachers—the most influential, in the end—who extended baptism to non-Jews without requiring circumcision, disagreements arose.

ANTIOCH: THE DISPUTE AMONG PAUL, PETER, AND JAMES

The best-attested argument occurred at Antioch, where non-Jews had begun to eat together with Jews in the context of Christian practice of Eucharist and other common meals. Paul's version of events, written in his letter to the Galatians around 53 C.E., is the best available (see Gal 2:11-21). At Antioch, Jews and non-Jews who had been baptized joined in meals of fellowship together. According to Paul, Peter fell in with the practice and Barnabas apparently tolerated it. Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus, was a prominent, loyal recruit in Jerusalem, who enjoyed the trust of the apostles and mediated relations between them and Paul.

Paul's policy of including Gentiles with Jews in meals, as well as in baptism, needed the support of authorities such as Peter and Barnabas, in order to prevail against the natural conservatism of those for whom such inclusion seemed a betrayal of the purity of Israel. When representatives of James arrived, James who was the brother of Jesus

and the pre-eminent figure in the church in Jerusalem, that natural conservatism re-asserted itself. Peter "separated himself," along with the rest of the Jews, and even Barnabas (Gal 2:12, 13). Jews and Gentiles again maintained distinct fellowship at meals, and Paul accuses the leadership of his own movement of hypocrisy (Gal 2:13).

The radical quality of Paul's position needs to be appreciated. He was isolated from every other Christian Jew (by his own account in Gal 2:11-13, James, Peter, Barnabas, and "the rest of the Jews"). His isolation required that he develop an alternative view of authority in order to justify his own practice. Within Galatians, Paul quickly articulates the distinctive approach to Scripture as authoritative which characterizes his writings as a whole. His invention of the dialectic between grace and law, between Israel as defined by faith and Israel after the flesh, became a founding principle in the intellectual evolution of Christianity in its formative period. But the Pauline character of that evolution was by no means predictable at the time Paul himself wrote, and Paulinism can become an obstacle to historical study, insofar as it prevents us from imagining other forms of theological commitment to Jesus, such as that of James.

The confrontation at Antioch that Paul recounts to his audience in Galatia did not turn out happily for him at the time. His explanation of his own point of view is triumphant and ringing only in retrospect. Indeed, by the time he recollects his argument for the benefit of the Galatians (to whom he writes some four years after this confrontation), he seems so confident that one might overlook the fact that he was the loser in the battle with the representatives of James. It was he, not they, who left the area of Antioch (so Acts 15:22-41).

THE ADJUDICATION OF JAMES

The position of James is not represented, as is Paul's, by a writing of James himself. But the book of Acts does clearly reflect his perspective in regard to both circumcision and the issue of purity (Acts 15), the two principal matters of concern in Galatians. The account in Acts 15 is romanticized; one sees much less of the tension and controversy which Paul attests. But once allowance has been made for the tendency in Acts to portray the ancient Church as a body at harmonious unity, the nature and force of James' position become clear.

The two issues in dispute, circumcision and purity, are dealt with in Acts 15 as if they were the agenda of a single meeting of leaders in

Jerusalem. (Paul in Galatians 2 more accurately describes the meeting he had with the leaders as distinct from a later decision to return to the question of purity.) The first item on the agenda is settled by having Peter declare that, since God gave his holy spirit to Gentiles who believed, no attempt should be made to add requirements such as circumcision to them (Acts 15:6-11). Believers who are named as Pharisees insist that "it is necessary both to circumcise them and to command them to keep the law of Moses" (15:5). That sets the stage for conflict, not only with Paul and Barnabas, but also with Peter. And it is Peter who, in the midst of great controversy, rehearses what happened in the house of Cornelius, which he has just done a few chapters previously (see Acts 11:1-18; 15:7-11). Peter comes to what is not only a Pauline expression, but more particularly an expression of the Pauline school, that "through the grace of the Lord Jesus we believe to be saved, in the manner they also shall be" (Acts 15:11, see Ephesians 2:8). For that reason, it seems natural for the reference to Barnabas and Paul to follow (15:12). (That order of names is no coincidence: after all, Barnabas is much better-known and appreciated in Jerusalem than Paul.) Paul could scarcely have said it better himself; and that is consistent with the version of Paulinism represented in Acts.

The second item on the agenda is settled on James' authority, not Peter's, and the outcome is not in line with Paul's thought. James first confirms the position of Peter, but he states the position in a very different way: "Symeon has related how God first visited the Gentiles, to take a people in his name" (Acts 15:14). James' perspective here is not that all who believe are Israel (the Pauline definition), but that *in addition* to Israel God has established a people in his name. How the new people are to be regarded in relation to Israel is a question that is implicit in the statement, and James goes on to answer it. James develops the relationship between those taken from the Gentiles and Israel in two ways. The first method is the use of Scripture, while the second is a requirement of purity. The logic of them both inevitably involves a rejection of Paul's position (along the lines laid out in Galatians 2).

The use of Scripture, like the argument itself, is quite unlike Paul's. James claims that "with this (that is, his statement of Peter's position) the words of the prophets agree, just as it is written" (Acts 15:15), and he goes on to cite from the book of Amos. The passage cited will concern us in a moment; the form of James' interpretation is an

immediate indication of a substantial difference from Paul. As James has it, there is actual agreement between Symeon and the words of the prophets, as two people might agree: the use of the verb συμφωνεῖν is nowhere else in the New Testament used in respect of Scripture. The continuity of Christian experience with Scripture is marked as a greater concern than within Paul's interpretation, and James expects that continuity to be verbal, a matter of agreement with the prophets' words, not merely with possible ways of looking at what they mean.

The citation from Amos (9:11-12, from the version of the Septuagint, which was the Bible of Luke-Acts) comports well with James' concern that the position of the Church agree with the principal vocabulary of the prophets (Acts 15:16-17):

> After this I will come back and restore the tent of David which has fallen, and rebuild its ruins and set it up anew, that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called . . . .

In the argument of James as represented here, what the belief of Gentiles achieves is not the redefinition of Israel (as in Paul's thought), but the restoration of the house of David. The argument is possible because a Davidic genealogy of Jesus—and, therefore, of his brother James—is assumed.

The account of James' preaching in the Temple given by Hegesippus (quoted in Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23) represents Jesus as the son of man who is to come from heaven to judge the world. Those who agree cry out, "Hosanna to the son of David!" Hegesippus shows that James' view of his brother came to be that he was related to David (as was the family generally) and was also a heavenly figure who was coming to judge the world. When Acts and Hegesippus are taken together, they indicate that James contended Jesus was restoring the house of David because he was the agent of final judgment, and was being accepted as such by Gentiles with his Davidic pedigree.

But on James' view, Gentiles remain Gentiles; they are not to be identified with Israel. His position was not anti-Pauline, at least not at first. His focus was on Jesus' role as the ultimate arbiter within the Davidic line, and there was never any question in his mind but that the Temple was the natural place to worship God and acknowledge Jesus. Embracing the Temple as central meant for James, as it meant for everyone associated with worship there, maintaining the purity which it was understood that God required in his house. Purity involved excluding Gentiles from the interior courts of the Temple, where

Israel was involved in sacrifice. The line of demarcation between Israel and non-Israel was no invention within the circle of James, but a natural result of seeing Jesus as the triumphant branch of the house of David.

Gentile belief in Jesus was therefore in James' understanding a vindication of his Davidic triumph, but it did not involve a fundamental change in the status of Gentiles vis-à-vis Israel. That characterization of the Gentiles, developed by means of the reference to Amos, enables James to proceed to his requirement of their recognition of purity. He first states that "I determine not to trouble those of the Gentiles who turn to God" (15:19) as if he were simply repeating the policy of Peter in regard to circumcision. (The implicit authority of that "I" contrasts sharply with the usual portrayal in Acts of apostolic decision as communal.) But he then continues, saying that his determination is also "to write to them to abstain from the pollutions of the idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood" (15:20).

The rules set out by James tend naturally to separate believing Gentiles from their ambient environment. They are to refrain from feasts in honor of the gods and from foods sacrificed to idols in the course of being butchered and sold. (The notional devotion of animals in the market to one god or another was a common practice in the Hellenistic world.[4]) They are to observe stricter limits than usual on the type of sexual activity, in which they might engage, and with whom. (Gross promiscuity need not be at issue here; marriage with near relations is also included within the likely area of concern. That was fashionable in the Hellenistic world, and proscribed in the book of Leviticus [see chap. 18 and 20:17-21]). They are to avoid the flesh of animals that had been strangled instead of bled, and they are not to consume blood itself. The proscription of blood, of course, was basic within Judaism. And strangling an animal (as distinct from cutting its throat) increased the availability of blood in the meat. Such strictures are consistent with James' initial observation, that God had taken a people from the Gentiles (15:14); they were to be similar to Israel and supportive of Israel in their distinction from the Hellenistic world.

The motive behind the rules is not separation in itself, however. James links them to the fact that the Mosaic legislation regarding

[4] See Vincent J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (American Classical Studies 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).

purity is well and widely known (15:21):

> For Moses from early generations has had those preaching him city by city, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath.

Because the law is well known, James insists that believers, even Gentile believers, are not to live in flagrant violation of what Moses enjoined. In the words of Amos, they are to behave as "all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called." As a result of James' insistence, the meeting in Jerusalem decides to send envoys and a letter to Antioch, in order to require Gentiles to honor the prohibitions set out by James (Acts 15:22-35).

The same chapter of Leviticus that commands, "love your neighbor as yourself" (19:18) also forbids blood to be eaten (19:26) and fornication (19:29 see also 18:6-30). The canonical (but secondhand) letter of James calls the commandment of love "the royal law" (James 2:8), acknowledging that Jesus had accorded it privilege by citing it alongside the commandment to love God as the two greatest commandments (see Mark 12:28-32). In Acts James himself, while accepting that Gentiles cannot be required to keep the whole law, insists that they should acknowledge it, by observing basic requirements concerning fornication and blood and idolatry.

It is of interest that Leviticus forbids the eating of blood by sojourners as well as Israelites, and associates that prohibition with how animals are to be killed for the purpose of eating (17:10-16). Moreover, a principle of exclusivity in sacrifice is trenchantly maintained: anyone, whether of Israel or a sojourner dwelling among them, who offers a sacrifice which is not brought to the LORD's honor in the Temple is to be cut off from the people (17:8-9). In other words, the prohibitions of James, involving sacrifice, fornication, strangled meat produce, and blood, all derive easily from the very context in Leviticus from which the commandment to love is derived. They are elementary, and involve interest in what Gentiles as well as Israelites do.

James' prohibitions as presented in Acts are designed to show that believing Gentiles honor the law which is commonly read, without in any way changing their status as Gentiles. Thereby, the tent of David is erected again, in the midst of Gentiles who show their awareness of the restoration by means of their respect for the Torah. The interpretation attributed to James involves an application of Davidic vocabulary to Jesus, as is consistent with the claim of Jesus' family to

Davidic ancestry. The transfer of Davidic promises to Jesus is accomplished within an acceptance of the terms of reference of the Scripture generally: to embrace David is to embrace Moses. There is no trace in James' s interpretation of the Pauline gambit, setting one biblical principle (justification in the manner of Abraham) against another (obedience in the manner of Moses). Where Paul divided the Scripture against itself in order to maintain the integrity of a single fellowship of Jews and Gentiles, James insisted upon the integrity of Scripture, even at the cost of separating Christians from one another. In both cases, the interpretation of Scripture was also—at the same moment as the sacred text was apprehended—a matter of social policy.

Amos 9:11 was also cited at Qumran. In one citation (in 4Q174 3:10-13, a florilegium), the image of the restoration of the hut of David is associated with the promise to the David in 2 Sam 7:13-14 and with the Davidic "branch" (cf. Isa 11:1-10), all taken in a messianic sense.[5] Given the expectation of a son of David as messianic king (see *Pss. Sol.* 17:21-43), such an application of the passage in Amos, whether at Qumran or by James, is hardly strange. On the other hand, it is striking at first sight that the passage in Amos—particularly, "the fallen hut of David"—is applied in the *Damascus Document* (CD 7:15-17), not to a messianic figure, but to the law which is restored. Now the book of Amos itself makes Judah's contempt for the Torah a pivotal issue (Amos 2:4), and calls for a program of seeking the Lord and his ways (Amos 5:6-15), so it is perhaps not surprising that "the seeker of the law" is predicted to restore it in the *Damascus Document.* Still, CD 7:15-20 directly refers to the "books of the Torah" as "the huts of the king," interpreted by means of the "fallen hut of David." Evidently, there is a precise correspondence between the strength of the messiah and the establishment of the Torah, as is further suggested by the association with the seeker of the law *not only here*, in the *Damascus Document*, but also in the *Florilegium.* A contextual reading of the two passages demonstrates a dual focus, on messiah and Torah in each case, such that they stand in a complementary relationship. The possibility of influence on James' interpretation of Amos as presented in Acts 15

[5] See the discussion by John J. Collins in Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (eds), *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 151.

may not be discounted.

JAMES AND THE NAZIRITE VOW

The ideal of Christian devotion that James has in mind is represented in Acts 21. There, Paul and his companion arrive in Jerusalem and are confronted by James and the elders' report to them that Paul's reputation in Jerusalem is that he is telling Jews in the Diaspora to forsake Moses, and especially to stop circumcising their children (Acts 21:17-21). Paul is then told to take on the expense of four men who had taken a vow, entering the Temple with them to offer sacrifice (Acts 21:22-26).

The nature of the vow seems quite clear. It will be fulfilled when the men shave their heads (so Acts 21:24). We are evidently dealing with a Nazirite vow.[6] As set out in Numbers 6, a Nazirite was to let his hair and beard grow for the time of his vow, abstain completely from grapes, and avoid approaching any dead body. At the close of the period of the vow, he was to shave his head, and offer his hair in proximity to the altar (so Num 6:18). The end of this time of being holy, the LORD's property, is marked by enabling the Nazirite to drink wine again (6:20).

Just these practices of holiness are attributed by Hegesippus to James. The additional notice, that he avoided oil, is consistent with the especial concern for purity among Nazirites. They were to avoid any contact with death (Num 6:6-12), and the avoidance of all uncleanness—which is incompatible with sanctity—follows naturally. The avoidance of oil is also attributed by Josephus to the Essenes (*Jewish War* 2.8.3 §123), and the reason seems plain: oil, as a fluid pressed from fruit, was considered to absorb impurity to such an extent that extreme care in its preparation was vital (see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.21.2 §§ 590-594; Lev 11:34; *m. Menah.* 8:3-5; and the whole of *m. Makhshirin*). Absent complete assurance, abstinence was a wise policy. James' vegetarianism also comports with a concern to avoid contact with any kind of corpse. Finally, although Hegesippus' assertion that James could actually enter the sanctuary seems exaggerated to the point of implausibility, his acceptance of a Nazirite

[6] See Roger Tomes, "Why did Paul Get his Hair Cut? (Acts 18.18; 21.23-24)," in C. M. Tuckett (ed.), *Luke's Literary Achievement. Collected Essays* (JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 188-97. Tomes rightly points out that there is considerable deviation from the prescriptions of Numbers 6 here, but Mishnah amply attests such flexibility within the practice of the vow.

regime, such as Acts 21 explicitly associates him with, would account for such a remembrance of him, in that Nazirites were to be presented in the vicinity of the sanctuary.

As it turned out, James' advice proved disastrous for Paul. Paul's entry into the Temple caused a riot, because it was supposed he was bringing non-Jews in. As a result, he was arrested by a Roman officer (Acts 21:27-28:21), and so began the long legal contention that resulted ultimately in his death. The extent to which James might have anticipated such a result cannot be known, but it does seem obvious that his commitment to a Nazirite ideology caused him to ignore the political dangers that threatened the movement of which he was the nearest thing to the head.

JAMES' CONCERN FOR THE TEMPLE IN THE SYNOPTIC TRADITION

The particular concern of James for practice in the Temple has left its mark on teaching attributed to Jesus. In Mark 7:15, Jesus set down a radical principle of purity:

> There is nothing outside a person, entering in that can defile,
> but what comes out of a person is what defiles a person.

That principle establishes that those in Israel were to be accepted as pure, so that fellowship at meals with them, as was characteristic in Jesus' movement from the beginning, was possible. Their usual customs of purity, together with their generosity in sharing and their willingness to receive and accept forgiveness, readied them to celebrate the fellowship of the kingdom of God.[7] His program was not as suited to Nazirites as it was to those his opponents called "tax agents and sinners;" to them Jesus seemed a drunk and a glutton (see Matthew 11:19; Luke 7:34).

But within this same chapter of Mark, in which Jesus' principle is clearly stated, a syllogism is developed to attack a particular practice in the Temple (Mark 7:6-13):

> But he said to them,
> Duly Isaiah prophesied about you frauds, as it is written,
> "This people honors me with lips,
> But their heart is far distant from me.

[7] For further discussion, see B. D. Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus: His Sacrificial Program Within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); idem, "A Generative Exegesis of Mark 7:1-23," *JHC* 3.1 (1996) 18-37; idem, *Pure Kingdom. Jesus' Vision of God* (Studying the Historical Jesus 1; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1996).

> In vain they worship me,
> teaching men's commandments as doctrines."
> Leaving the commandment of God, you adhere to men's tradition.
> And he was saying to them,
> Duly you annul the commandment of God,
> so that you establish your tradition. For Moses said,
> "Honor your father and your mother,"
> and,
> "Let the one who curses father or mother die the death."
> But you say, "If a person says to father or mother, 'Whatever you were owed from me is Qorban (that is, gift), you no longer let him do anything for father or mother,'" voiding the word of God by your tradition. And your do many such things.

Two features of this argument are striking. It assumes familiarity with the vow of *qorbana*, which does indeed mean "gift" in Aramaic. One could, in effect, shelter one's use of property by dedicating it to the Temple at one's death, continuing to use it during one's life.[8] Mishnah envisages a man saying, "Qorban be any benefit my wife gets from me, for she stole my purse" (*m. Ned.* 3:2). The simple complaint about the practice in vv. 11-12 may indeed reflect Jesus' position, since his objection to commercial arrangements involving worship is well attested. But that only focuses our attention all the more on the syllogistic nature of the argument, which is unlike what we elsewhere find attributed to Jesus.

The argument as a whole is framed in Mark 7:6-7 by means of a reference to the book of Isaiah (29:13): the people claim to honor God, but their heart is as far from him as their vain worship, rooted in human commandments. That statement is then related to the custom of *qorban*, which is said to invalidate the plain sense of Moses' prescription to honor parents (compare Exod 20:2; 21:17; Lev 20:9; Deut 5:16). The simple and inevitable conclusion is that the tradition violates the command of God (see Mark 7:8-9, 13).

The logic of the syllogism is not complicated, and it can easily be structured in a different way (as happens in Matt 15:3-9). The association of similar Scriptures is reminiscent of the rabbinic rule of interpretation, that a principle expressed in a text may be related to another text, without identity of wording between the two passages.[9]

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[8] See *m. Nedarim*, and Zeev W. Falk, "Notes and Observations on Talmudic Vows," *HTR* 59 (1966) 309-12.

[9] See B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans, "Jesus and Israel's Scriptures," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*

But the scriptural syllogism by no means requires the invocation of any such formal principle. The fundamental argument is that the Law and the Prophets are antithetical the practice of authorities in the Temple.

The rhetoric of the syllogism turns on the necessity of honoring Moses, as in the interpretation attributed to James in Acts 15 (see Acts 15:21). Moreover, the principle inherent here is that Scripture is that which is actually implemented in the case of Jesus' movement. Finally, the centrality of the Temple is manifest throughout. All this attests the influence of James.

JAMES' EUCHARIST PASSOVER

Recent scholarship has rightly seen that the identification of the last supper with Passover is theologically motivated. The Gospels correctly report that the authorities had every reason to deal with Jesus before the crowds of Passover arrived (Matt 26:1-5; Mark 14:1-2; Luke 22:1-2). Jesus' final meals would therefore have taken place near the paschal season, but not during the feast.[10] That would explain why the most basic elements of the Seder—lamb, unleavened bread, bitter herbs (see Exod 12:8)—are notable in the narratives only for their absence. Jesus might well have expressed a desire to eat the Passover, such as Luke 22:15 attributes to him, but if so, that desire remained unfulfilled.

For all that, there is no question of any ambiguity in Matt 26:17-20 // Mark 14:12-17 // Luke 22:7-14: the pericope explicitly and emphatically presents the last supper as paschal. Whatever the sense of the meal originally, there is no doubt a theological investment in the Synoptics as great as Paul's (see 2 Cor 5:17) in presenting the meal in that light, just as the Johannine timing of Jesus' death when the paschal lambs were normally slain accomplishes a similar aim (John 19:36 with Exod 12:46). But where Paul is content to make that link in purely theological terms, the Synoptics and John in their different ways insist upon a calendrical correspondence (albeit without being able completely to agree) between Passover and the Last Supper. The degree of concern to link the entire complex of material related to the death of Jesus with Passover is so great

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(NTTS 19; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 281-335, here 294-95.

[10] In addition to *A Feast of Meanings*, see Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Le partage du pain eucharistique selon le Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982).

throughout the sources, that certainty regarding the actual course of events is unattainable. It is clear that the calendar of the early Church has vitiated the historical value of all the extant documents.

When the Synoptic pericopae specify the timing of the Last Supper, its identification as a Seder appears problematic. The Synoptic tradition (Matt 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7) insists that Jesus' instructions to prepare to celebrate the feast in the city were given on the first day of unleavened bread, when the paschal lamb was to be slain. On any reckoning, that must be regarded as short notice, in that the lamb was to be selected on the tenth day of the month, for slaughter on the fourteenth day of the month (Exod 12:3-6). Whatever arrangements needed to be made therefore required several days prior to the feast in strictly cultic terms. The exigencies of accommodation in Jerusalem—which is commonly recognized to have had an infrastructure grossly inadequate for the number of its pilgrims —would no doubt have required even more notice. The paradox, then, is that the only pericope to insist upon a paschal chronology (see Matt 26:19 // Mark 14:16 // Luke 22:13), with the unequivocal reference to the meal as the Passover, does not make good sense in the light of that chronology.

The strain that the pericope places upon plausibility emerges in another, more technical consideration. Commentators have observed that the reference to "the first day of the unleavened bread" in Mark 14:12 and Matt 26:17 is odd, since that would presumably be Nisan 15. But the lambs were slain on Nisan 14, so that they could be eaten on the evening which marked the beginning of Nisan 15. Luke's Gospel appears both to recognize and to clean up the difficulty, by referring to "the day of the unleavened bread, in which it was necessary to sacrifice the Passover" (22:7). But with or without the Lukan explanation, a pericope which otherwise makes some sense of the considerable preparations involved in keeping Passover in Jerusalem then betrays its own credibility by confining the action to a short and ill defined period of time. The substance of the story seems plausible; its chronology seems schematic.

The Synoptic Gospels nonetheless proceed with the chronology invoked by the pericope. The tensions involved with a narrative of Jesus' meal which is neither explicitly nor implicitly paschal are evident, but they would have become less striking, the greater the distance from the actual practices of Passover. The most severe tension is confronted in Luke, where the originally unfulfilled desire

of 22:15 is now expressed in the setting of a Seder. Luke 22:16 puts 22:15 into a new key, by framing its meaning to accord with that of v. 18 (cf. Matt 26:29; Mark 14:25), as if Jesus were swearing an oath, not to eat or drink of Passover until the fulfillment of the kingdom. But the Lukan gambit is only successful, if Jesus is supposed in the meal recounted by the narrative to be drinking fulfilled wine or eating fulfilled Passover in the kingdom of God. Luke provides a window into the considerable adjustments of meaning which were consequent upon transforming Jesus' meal from a surrogate of sacrifice enacted near (but before) Passover into a Seder in a strict sense.

What purpose is served by the strict identification of the Last Supper as a Seder in Matt 26:17-20; Mark 14:12-17; Luke 22:7-14? Several changes in the understanding of the meal are effected by a single shift of liturgical setting, however implausible its precise chronology. First, of course, the meal becomes a unique occasion within the ritual year: it is a paschal supper, and only that. Second, it is possible to keep the Passover only because Jesus makes specific preparations in or near Jerusalem (see Matt 26:18, 19; Mark 14:13-16; Luke 22:8-13), where it is assumed he is acquainted with at least one householder sufficiently sympathetic with his position to permit him to use a space for the celebration. The intentionality of Jesus' timing of the Last Supper as a Seder is underlined by the narrative.

None of the Synoptics makes mention of the paschal lamb or its sacrifice, although they may be assumed to have been a part of the preparations which are envisaged, once the identification with the Seder was accepted. In any case, from the moment of Jesus' arrival (Matt 26:20; Mark 14:17; Luke 22:14), there is no express reference to the Passover, except in Luke 22:15, 16, as part of a statement that Jesus will eat and drink of the paschal celebration only in the kingdom. Moreover, there is no reference to any of the constituent elements of a Seder: the roasted lamb with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Exod 12:8). They are all left to be inferred, on the strength of the context created by Matt 26:17-20 // Mark 14:12-17 // Luke 22:7-14.

The mention of singing in Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26 is sometimes taken as evidence of a paschal setting, and it may belong to the presentation of the meal as a Seder. In order to construe the singing in that way, however, it must be assumed that the Hallel, a sung version of some form of Psalms 113–118, is at issue; even on that assumption, the Hallel was not uniquely paschal, but amounted to a festal song

which might be used on several occasions. Whether or not the mention of singing is of apiece with the vignette concerning with preparations for Passover, it adds nothing to the introductory setting which is the principal instrument of the paschal presentation. That presentation make the last meal of Jesus into a Passover, fully repeatable only once a year, and then only with the sympathetic cooperation of other Israelites of sufficient wealth to provide the conditions necessary for the celebration.

By a stroke of artificial context, then, the meal is more tightly linked to the liturgical year than it ever had been before, and its only possible occasion is in Jerusalem. The dominical meals as practiced by Peter and Paul were repeatable anywhere and frequently. The present transformation of what is now a last Passover could only truly be enacted, to use the Rabbinic phrase, "between the evenings" (during the twilight of passage from one day to the next within the calendar of Judaism) of 14 and 15 Nisan, and in the vicinity of the Temple, where the paschal lambs were slain. If Jesus' "Last Supper" were understood as strictly paschal, its re-enactment would be limited in three ways. Temporally, it would only take place at Passover; geographically, the only appropriate venue would be Jerusalem; socially, participants would need to be circumcised (see Exod 12:48).

The last limitation appears the most dramatic, given the increasing importance of non-Jewish Christians during the course of the first century and later. By fully identifying Jesus' meal and Passover, the circle of potential participants in Eucharist excluded the uncircumcised and was limited to those who were Jews or who accepted circumcision, since circumcision was an explicit requirement for males who took part in a Seder (according to Exod 12:48-49). Once Jesus' movement reached Gentiles, the matter of their participation in such a paschal supper would become problematic. Before we proceed to investigate a paschal limitation in the understanding of who might participate in Eucharist, we need to consider whether difficulties of the sort which might be caused by such a policy of exclusion in fact arose.

Problems accommodating Eucharist and Passover were in fact a feature of the early Church. A strict association of the meal and Passover lies at the heart of the Quartodeciman controversy. Eusebius provides the fullest account of the controversy, as erupting towards the end of the second century *(Hist. Eccl.* 5.23-24). The consequence of the policy of ending the fast prior to Easter on 14 Nisan was that

the day of the resurrection would often be other than Sunday, and such a practice conflicted with apostolic tradition. But such is the tenacity of Quartodeciman practice, Eusebius reports, that councils were convened in Palestine, Rome, Pontus, Gaul, Osrhoene, and Corinth (5.23).

Eusebius' claim of a cheerfully unanimous rejection of Quartodecimanism is dubious, especially in the light of his own premise, that the controversy persisted in Asia. Polycrates is designated as the leader of bishops there in insisting upon the antiquity of their practice (5.24). Eusebius proceeds to cite Polycrates' position in some detail, he says on documentary evidence. Polycrates claims that keeping the day is connected to the rising of the luminaries to meet the coming Lord, and the gathering of the saints. Some of the saints are enumerated, including Philip, John, Polycarp, and Melito; it is furthermore claimed that they all kept "the day of the fourteenth of Passover according to the gospel," as does Polycrates himself in the tradition of his kin.

Several features of Polycrates' apology invite our immediate attention, in that the strict association of Passover and Jesus' last meal, such as is achieved in Matt 26:17-20; Mark 14:12-17; Luke 22:7-14, would largely account for his position. The observance is indeed Quartodeciman, and in its attachment to the fourteenth day of the month, it is paschal in a calendrical sense. The calendrical observation is linked to the position of the luminaries, much as Passover was to be observed on the basis of the coincidence of a full moon and the vernal equinox. The practice is said to derive from the gospel; a continuous tradition from the apostles is said to derive from that evangelical mandate; the tradition is kept alive, not only in Asia, but in precisely those churches in which the Judaic environment is attested in Acts and/or the Pauline letters.

The Quartodecimans do not provide the cause for the association with Passover, only the assertion that it is correct (indeed, that it is both evangelical and apostolic). Eusebius would have us believe that the controversy is simply a matter of when the fast ends and the feasting begins, and that may have been the case by his time (at least in his own mind). But the heat of the controversy is such as to suggest that the identification of Jesus' last supper and Passover carried with it far more profound implications. Melito of Sardis, for example, dwells in his paschal homily on the correspondence between Jesus and the lamb of Passover in a manner which shows why by his time the entire

language of paschal sacrifice had been appropriated by Christians.[11] The evident affinity between the Quartodecimans and Jewish practice serves to confirm that, at an earlier stage, identifying Eucharist with Passover and limiting participation within it to Jews were tendencies which went together.

The letter to the Galatians mentions just the elements cited here as observances, practices and beliefs which are to be avoided. Paul warns his readers against their observation of days, months, seasons, and years, and connects those practices to serving the "elements" of nature (4:8-11). The question of the meaning of the term (στοιχεῖον) as employed by Paul is not entirely settled, but it is the same word which clearly means "luminaries" in Eusebius' citation of Polycrates' position. Paul is also upset that "another gospel" should be competing with his among the Galatians (1:6-12; 2:7); he is nearly scathing in his reference to the apostolic authority of others in chap. 2 (vv. 6, 9, 11-14); he attacks those who would impose Judaic customs upon non-Jews in the name of Christ (2:14-21; 5:1-12, cf. 1:13-14), and Peter in particular (2:11-14); he identifies that threat with Cephas and James' followers in Antioch, who are said to have influenced Barnabas and "the other Jews" (2:11-13). In aggregate, Paul is opposing practices involving the observation of a calendar which themselves claim evangelical and apostolic warrant, rooted in Christian Judaism.

The fundamental dispute in which Paul was engaged, and which would take up his attention for years after the particular argument which he relates, was far more profound than the simple question of dating Easter. His charge is that Cephas, Barnabas, and "the rest of the Jews" were unduly influenced by unnamed followers of James, with the result that they ceased to eat with the Gentiles, and separated from them (2:11-13). Quartodecimanism was a dispute regarding when to end the fast prior to the celebration of baptism and Eucharist within the Christian institution of the paschal mysteries. The archaic tradition from which it derived was based upon the custom among Christian Jews of keeping Passover and recollecting Jesus' last Eucharistic meal, a custom which by the definition of Exod 12:43-49 would exclude the uncircumcised. Circumcision is, of course, just the line of demarcation which Paul in Galatians wishes to eradicate (cf. 2:3-5, 7-9, 12; 5:2, 3, 6, 11, 12; 6:13, 15).

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[11] For an introduction which is still useful, see F. L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers: Studies in Theology* (London: Duckworth, 1960) 103-109.

An extension of the Torah to the "Last Supper," as to a paschal meal, would carry with it the consequence that "no uncircumcised person shall eat of it" (Exod 12:48). Insofar as Eucharistic meals were modeled on Jesus' final meal, exclusive fellowship would prevail then, as well, for two reasons. First, ordinary considerations of purity would make separation from non-Jews incumbent upon Jews (as in Gal 2:11-13). Second, even those who might permit of exceptional social intercourse with non-Jews could not circumvent the strictures of the Seder. The exclusionary policy of James, as reflected in Galatians 2 and Acts 15, finds its narrative rationale in Matt 26:17-20; Mark 14:12-17; Luke 22:7-14: only the circumcised celebrated the last Seder, and even then, only at Passover, as part of the ritual of the Temple (the only place where paschal lambs could be slain).

This policy of associating Eucharist and Passover would accord with a deliberate attempt to avoid confrontation with the authorities of the Temple, as well as with an insistence upon the Judaic identity of the new movement and upon Jerusalem as its center. The narrowing of Eucharistic celebration to the practice of Passover would be consistent, then, with James' policy in regard to purity, Gentiles, and the Torah, while managing to avoid regulating Eucharist practice outside of Jerusalem. Moreover, his standing within the Church, along with the supportive authority of "prophets" such as Judas and Silas (Acts 15:22-35), would explain why the Synoptics are so emphatically stamped with a paschal interpretation of Jesus' meal.

The reach of the Jacobean circle, from the group in Jerusalem to envoys such as Judas Barsabbas and Silas in Antioch, helps to explain the development of tradition associated with James. The Synoptics (Matt 26:17-20; Mark 14:12-17; Luke 22:7-14) represent frustrating mixture of plausible and implausible material. Incidental references to the preparation of a Passover in Jerusalem seem to reflect local knowledge. The disciples know that Jesus will celebrate Passover, they have only to ask where, and Jesus instructs them how to go about making the contact necessary to complete preparations. It is only the strictly chronological insistence that all those preparations were accomplished on the fourteenth day of Nisan, and that the last supper itself was a Seder, which strains credibility. The Jacobean tradition began by associating Jesus' final meal with the Passover for which he wanted to prepare (but did not observe). In the midst of conflict concerning the meaning of and appropriate participation in Eucharist, involving prophetic teachers such as Judas Barsabbas and Silas, the

cycle of tradition hardened into a chronological identification of that supper with the Seder.

The Jacobean source, as derived through Joseph Barsabbas and Silas, needed to take account of paschal practice in the Diaspora. Even prior to 70 C.E., all the Jews of Antioch were scarcely in a position to acquire lambs which had been slaughtered in the Temple. The only other options were (1) to revert to the domestic conception of the paschal meal (as in Exodus 12) against the provisions of Deut 16:5-7, or (2) to suppress the consumption of the lamb itself, as in later, Rabbinic practice. The Jacobean source, absent an explicit mention of the lamb, could proceed on the tacit understanding that, within its community, the paschal lamb was either eaten (in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and elsewhere by a special cultic and commercial arrangement) or it was not (further afield). The device would particularly come into its own after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. and its demolition in 135 C.E., from which points, from the perspective of sacrifice, Jerusalem itself entered the Diaspora. The burden of the pericope is that Jesus joined with the "twelve" specifically, the signature group of the Jacobean source (cf. Mark 4:10-12), for a commemoration of Passover, and that he followed the appropriate customs. The meal was therefore marked definitively—both before and after 70 C.E.—as a Last Supper and a paschal meal.

CONCLUSION: JAMES, NAZIRITE AND BISHOP

The stance of James as concerns purity, the Temple, and Eucharist, as well as his interpretation of Scripture, comports well with Hegesippus' description of his particular practices. The evidence in aggregate suggests that James understood his brother as offering an access to God through the Temple, such that Israel could and should offer God the Nazirites with their vows, as Moses provided. It has been argued that Jesus himself adhered to such a position, but that seems to put a strain on his usual practice of fellowship at meals. [12] The reference in

[12] So Marcus Bockmuehl, "'Let the Dead Bury their Dead': Jesus and the Law Revisited," in *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000) 23-48. Of all the arguments adduced, the most attractive is that Jesus' statement concerning wine and the kingdom involves his accepting Nazirite vows. See P. Lebeau, *Le vin nouveau du Royaume. Etude exégétique et patristique sur la Parole eschatologique de Jésus à la Cène* (Paris: Desclée, 1966); M. Wojciechowski, "Le naziréat et la Passion (Mc 14,25a; 15:23)," *Bib* 65 (1984) 94-96. But the form of Jesus' statement has not been rightly understood, owing to its Semitic syntax. He is not promising never to drink wine, but only to drink wine in association with his

the *Gospel of the Hebrews* of the risen Lord giving the linen (σινδών) to the servant of the high priest before his appearance to James, evokes a powerful theme in the Jacobean view of the resurrection: raised from the dead, Jesus—as the son of man—offers an access to the sanctuary which no one else can. Just as Jesus healed the servant of the high priest when he was wounded during his arrest (see Luke 22:50-51), so he presents him with the cultic linen after his resurrection. Both the removal of the physical defect and the provision of the garment amount to an enabling of the figure to conduct acceptable sacrifice. Such an emphasis on the acceptability of worship in the Temple was obviously crucial within the circle of James. As a consequence, as Hegesippus relates, James wore only linen, ordinarily the high priest's unique garment on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:4), but also a more generally priestly (see Lev 6:3, for example) and angelic (see Dan 10:5, for example) garment. Linen was an expression of the linkage between Jesus as the son of man in heaven and the Sanctuary as God's throne on earth (cf. Mark 14:51 in relation to Mark 16:5).

Indeed, our suggestion that James was a Nazirite, and saw his brother's movement as focused on producing more Nazirites, enables us to address an old and as yet unsolved problem of research. Jesus, bearing a common name, is sometimes referred to as "of Nazareth" in the Gospels, and that reflects how he was specified in his own time. There is no doubt but that a geographical reference is involved (see John 1:45-46). But more is going on here. Actually, Jesus is rarely called "of Nazareth" or "from Nazareth," although he was probably known to come from there. He is usually called "Nazoraean" or "Nazarene." Why the adjective, and why the uncertainty in spelling? The Septuagint shows us that there were many different transliterations of "Nazirite:" that reflects uncertainty as to how to convey the term in Greek. (That uncertainty is not in the least surprising, since even the Mishnah refers to differing pronunciations [see *m. Nazir* 1:1].) Some of the variants are in fact very close to what we find used to describe Jesus in the Gospels.

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celebration of the kingdom. See Chilton, *Feast of Meanings*, 169-71. In any case, Bockmuehl's interpretation seems to put a strain on Jesus' usual practice of fellowship at meals. It is for this reason that the circle of James also sought to restrict the definition of who might participate in the full celebration of the eucharist. Mark 14:12-15 turns that meal into a Seder, in which only the circumcised could participate; see Chilton, *Feast of Meanings*, 93-108.

In the Gospel according to Mark, the first usage is in the mouth of a demon, who says to Jesus (Mark 1:24):

> We have nothing for you, Nazarene Jesus!
> Have you come to destroy us?
> I know who you are—the holy one of God!

In this usage, "Nazarene" in the first line clearly parallels "the holy one of God" in the last line. The demon knows Jesus' true identity, but those in the synagogue where the exorcism occurs do not. And they do not hear the demons, because Jesus silences them (so Mark 1:25). This is part of the well-known theme of the "Messianic secret" in Mark.[13]

For James and those who were associated with him, Jesus' true identity was his status as a Nazirite. The demons saw what others did not, and after the resurrection the knowledge of the holy one of God could be openly acknowledged and practiced. That practice could include men, women, and slaves, in accordance with the Mishnah (*m. Nazir* 9:1). In the Christian movement, the custom was apparently widespread. In Acts 18:18, it is said that even Paul "had his head shorn in Kenkhraea, because he had a vow." Such vows in regard to hair alone were held in Mishnah to equate to a Nazirite vow (*m. Nazir* 1:1), so that what Paul thought of his vow from his own perspective, many would have seen him as falling in with the program of James, the brother of Jesus. Under the influence of James, they might have said, even Paul was concerned with getting it right.

Just as the observation of how Amos is interpreted in Acts 15 helps us to characterize the theology of James and his circle, so Amos proves to be a key to James' Nazirite practice. Within the same section of Amos which blames Judah and Israel for ignoring the Torah, a particular example is given (Amos 2:11-12):

> I raised up some of your sons as prophets, and some of your young men as Nazirites . . . . But you caused the Nazirites to drink wine, and you commanded the prophets, saying, "Do not prophesy."

James takes the "hut of David" to be symbolic of the Torah, and his practice of the Nazirite vow is a metonym for the Torah. In both cases, the book of Amos actuates his understanding.

The content of his understanding cannot be compared in detail to

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[13] See Chilton, "Exorcism and History: Mark 1:21-28," in D. Wenham and C. L. Blomberg (eds.), *The Miracles of Jesus* (Gospel Perspectives 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986) 253-71.

the theology of the Essenes, although a comparison of the manner of interpretation is instructive. As in the case of the *Damascus Document*, James in Acts claims that his community guards the understanding which restores the Torah, and he does so with recourse to Amos. Reference in general terms has frequently been made to the technique of *pesher* from Qumran as an antecedent of biblical interpretation within the New Testament. But the precise similarity between James and the *Damascus Document*, that the community in its present teaching is held directly to actuate the biblical image, makes such a reference far more helpful here.

Comparing James to an Essene document does not make him an Essene. As far as I am aware, nothing in the scrolls found near the Dead Sea imagines that that the inclusion of uncircumcised non-Jewish as being a people God takes for himself amounts to the restoration of the house of David. The social constitution James was engaged with seems quite unlike anything the Covenanters were willing to countenance.

The similarity with Essene interpretation remains, however, that James in his cultic emphasis developed an immediately halakhic understanding of the Scripture, in which the prophetic books, properly interpreted in the life of the community, realized the sense of the Torah. That was a distinctive perspective, and not only in contrast to Paul's. If we turn back to the example of Mark 7, the difference between the halakhic syllogism of Mark 7:6-13 and the demand for inner purity in Mark 7:17-23 is manifest. Still more striking is the variance from the claim that Jesus here transcends the entire question of purity in the normal understanding (Mark 7:1-5, 19). James' Nazirite focus brought with it a natural recourse to the prophetic corpus as establishing a restorative halakhah.

James' status as Jesus' brother and therefore as head of the Christian congregation in Jerusalem, his dedication to worship in the Temple in Jerusalem, and his exercise of authority on the basis of a precise citation of the Scriptures of Israel are commonly acknowledged. To that we now have to add his status as a Nazirite and a further element: Eusebius on several occasions refers to James as having been the first bishop of Jerusalem, and once cites a source of the second century to do so (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1, 23; 7.19; in the first passage, he refers to Clement's *Hypotyposei*). James died in the year 62 C.E., so that his example had been there to influence the emerging model of episcopal hierarchy within the church attested

within the Pastoral Epistles for more than three decades before the Pastoral Epistles themselves were written. James was clearly a local leader, who made decisions on the basis of Scripture, and the exercise of his authority—owing to his familial relationship—brought with it a personal link to Jesus himself which was reinforced by his own martyrdom. The personal model of James as bishop was evidently sufficient to elevate that office above other possible contenders for what was to be the predominant authority within the church by the end of the first century.

There is, no doubt, a degree of anachronism in Eusebius' portrait of James' episcopal authority. He conceived of it as being a "throne" (see *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1, 23; 7.19) in the manner of the image of dominant power which only the fourth century saw fully achieved, and he imagines a formal election as being involved. In fact, if one sees the episcopate as an entirely Hellenistic invention within the life of the church, it is easy enough to dismiss the entire reference to James as bishop. But that would be a hasty judgment. Eusebius' reference is persistent, and grounded in an identification of James' office from the second century. Moreover, if Eusebius helps us correctly to identify that office (for all his own anachronism), then we can explain the key shift in the hierarchy of the church during the first century, from apostolate to episcopate.

Still, the objection remains that ἐπίσκοπος is an odd title for James—or for any Aramaic speaker—to bear. In just this regard, a suggestion made many years ago by Joachim Jeremias turns out to be helpful. Jeremias fastened his attention on the office of the *mebaqqer* at Qumran.[14] That term in fact means "overseer," just as ἐπίσκοπος does, and the *mebaqqer was* charged to do many of the same things that an ἐπίσκοπος was do to: he was to teach the Torah (even to priests) as well as the particular traditions of the Essenes, to administer discipline, and to see to the distribution of wealth (see CD 13:1-19; 14:3-22) As Jeremias points out, comparisons are made between the *mebaqqer* and a father and a shepherd (CD 13.9); he does not mention, but the point is worth making, that Christ himself is said to be an *episkopos*, to care as a shepherd does in bringing us to God (so 1 Pet 2:25; a letter, like the Pastorals, written around 90 C.E.).

[14] Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (trans. F. H. and C. H. Cave; London: SCM, 1969) 260-62.

Divine care and the institution of the overseer appear to have been linked in both Essene theology and primitive Christianity.

The connection as Jeremias attempted to make it was vitiated by his surmise that the community at Qumran somehow represented the Pharisaic ethos. In fact, the Essenes pursued their own system of purity, ethics, and initiation, followed their own calendar, and withdrew into their own communities, either within cities or in isolated sites such as Qumran. There they awaited a coming, apocalyptic war, when they, as "the sons of light," would triumph over "the sons of darkness:" not only the Gentiles, but anyone not of their vision (see the *War Scroll* and the *Community Rule).* The culmination of those efforts was to be complete control of Jerusalem and the Temple, where worship would be offered according to their revelation, the correct understanding of the law of Moses (cf. CD 5:17–6:11).

Now James is quite unlike the Essenes in his acceptance (however qualified) of uncircumcised followers of his brother, as well as in his fellowship in Jerusalem with a group centered on the Temple, and not associated with Qumran. Yet his devotion to the Temple involved tension with the administration there (tension severe enough ultimately to bring about his death), and he appears to have recourse to an interpretation of Scripture which may be compared to the Essenes'. For all that his practice and encouragement of the Nazirite vow in the Temple of his time also distinguished him from the Covenanters of Qumran, his prominence among Jesus' disciples in Jerusalem earned him the respect which at Qumran would have been accorded a *mebaqqer.*

JAMES AND PETER: THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

Peter H. Davids

When one starts discussing the relationship of James and Peter, one is immediately confronted with the fact that literature attributed to each of these men exists. While it would widen our spectrum too much to consider the *Apocryphon of James* (first half of second century), *Protevangelium of James* (second half of second century), *First* and *Second Apocalypse of James*, the *Gospel of Peter* (mid-second century), *Apocalypse of Peter* (first half of second century), *Kerygma Petrou* (second century), *Kerygmata Petrou* (*c.* 200 C.E.), *Acts of Peter* (180–190 C.E.), the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (late second century), or the *Act of Peter* (*c.* 200 C.E. or later), especially since these clearly second century works are far removed from the men for whom they purport to speak,[1] we certainly do need to consider the canonical works attributed to each of them, since on any account they are closer in time to the lives and thought of these men and have the best claim of reflecting their thought.

In a previous study we looked at the Epistle of James in terms of locating it within its social context.[2] Our conclusion then was that the social context of James is first century, and probably pre-70 C.E., Palestine. The letter is formally a Jewish-Christian Diaspora letter. Although one cannot test whether James himself is the author, since we lack any other agreed-upon works of James with which to compare the letter,[3] we did argue that it comes from the milieu in

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[1] This statement does not imply that there may not be earlier traditions in these works, and even traditions of historical value. Although some of them are clearly Gnostic in orientation (e.g., the *Letter of Peter to Philip*), and others come from locations not especially associated with either Peter or James (Egypt or Syria), in works like the *Second Apocalypse of James* and the like we do find material that may be of historical value. However, none of these as a literary composition may be attributed to either James or Peter themselves or to their close followers.

[2] See Peter H. Davids, "Palestinian Traditions in the Epistle of James," in Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 33-57.

[3] That is, Jas 1:1 identifies the write as James the Just (to use later terminology). If we are trying to prove this attribution, it cannot itself be evidence, since it is what we are trying to prove. Thus in the end one notes that the milieu is correct and either

which he operated and thus would be consistent with his views in general.[4] That is, it presents a law-abiding Jewish-Christian community experiencing what they perceive as economic persecution at the hands of the social elites. The concern of the letter is for continued generosity towards community members and the maintenance of traditional speech-ethics, both in the service of communal solidarity. The Christology of the letter is one in which Jesus is the exalted Lord and coming Judge, but not identified with God, whose attribute of oneness is a central credal affirmation.

When we ask this James to come into dialogue with the Peter of the Petrine epistles,[5] we first need to ask about the context of these epistles. That will form the first part of our inquiry. After we describe their social context, we can then turn to ask if these implied authors have anything to say to one another.

THE SOCIAL SETTING OF THE PETRINE EPISTLES

There are some things that can be said in general about the Petrine epistles before one turns to each of their unique aspects. First, both of the epistles are attributed to Simon Peter, one of the leaders of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth.[6] 1 Peter has a joint closing in which Peter is joined by Silvanus, presumably the Silas that accompanied

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simply accepts the attribution or else does not; both options are something of faith statements.

[4] Further confirmation of this position has come from Donald J. Verseput, "Wisdom, 4Q185, and the Epistle of James," *JBL* 117 (1998) 691-707, who agrees that James is in the form of a Diaspora letter and points out parallels with 4Q185 that indicate that James draws from the same stream of tradition. This would also confirm that the document is at home in a Palestinian setting.

[5] While we will start off handling the two Petrine epistles together, for reasons that will become clear as we do so, we are not arguing for unity of authorship. There are enough stylistic differences to make this problematic. And if one attributes the style in 1 Peter to some amanuensis such as Silvanus (but on Silvanus, see below), then one ends up with at the least dual authorship, and so a different authorship from 2 Peter (assuming that one is willing to attribute that work to Peter himself).

[6] It is the universal tradition of the Gospels that Peter was a leading member of the band of disciples. All of them present him as one of the leaders of a core group of twelve within that band, and as the spokesman on some critical occasions. Matthew probably intends to present him as the pre-eminent leader (Matt 16:17-19; cf. the fact that Matthew has five special stories about Peter). However, one's evaluation of this data will depend on one's evaluation of the historical reliability of the Gospels. On the evaluation of Peter by Matthew, see Michael J. Wilkins, *Discipleship in the Ancient World and Matthew's Gospel* (2nd ed., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995) 173-216.

Paul,[7] but both 1 and 2 Peter are attributed to Peter alone in the salutation (the one difference being that 2 Peter adds "servant" to the title of "apostle").[8] This Peter is the implied author with whom we have to deal.

A second common characteristic of the two works is that they are addressed to gentile coverts rather than to Jewish-Christians. One might suspect this from that fact that 1 Peter is a circular letter addressed to Christians living in provinces in the northwest quadrant of Asia Minor, but what clinches the argument is the references he makes to his readers. Certainly not until the *Epistle of Barnabas* would a Christian writer refer to a *Jewish* past with words such as "the futile ways inherited from your ancestors" (1:18), nor does "Once you were not a people" (2:10) or "You have already spent enough time in doing what the Gentiles like to do" (4:3 with a vice list attached) indicate a Jewish consciousness. Thus, while it is clear that these Christians do know the LXX (which was part of the socialization of most converts to Christianity), there is no indication that Jews formed a significant part of the group being addressed.[9] When we turn to 2 Peter we do not find out as much about the self-consciousness of the implied readers. What we do learn is that the author frequently chooses to use rhetorical styles and language that would be more familiar to those with a Graeco-Roman background than to those with a Palestinian Jewish background. For example, the references to God's "divine power" and Jesus' "goodness" (1:3) use

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[7] It has often been assumed that this indicates that Silvanus was the amanuensis and thus to some degree the co-author of the epistle. However, E. Randolph Richards ("Theological Bias in Interpreting διὰ Σιλουανοῦ . . . ἔγραψα in 1 Pet 5:12" [paper read at the 1999 meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society in Danvers, MA]), has shown that examples from both secular papyri and the Apostolic Fathers use this formula exclusively for letter carriers, who needed commendation because they were expected to add oral commentary on the letter text and give news about the author.

[8] It is beyond the scope of this article to evaluate these claims of authorship. We will simply see what these implied authors may or may not have to say to James.

[9] There is the single term διασπορᾶς in 1:1, that could indicate the Jewish Diaspora, especially if the "resident alien" language is taken literally, as John H. Elliott does in *A Home for the Homeless* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). However, there are no other references that would point to a specifically Jewish group, so it is more likely that this term is to be taken metaphorically. They are resident aliens, a Diaspora, but a Diaspora from their future home and future inheritance, which is kept for them in heaven. (One is tempted to say, "heavenly home," but we do not know that 1 Peter conceives of this as heavenly or as coming from heaven and being set up on this earth in the day that God visits to bring about justice.) See the more detailed discussion on pp. 37-38 below. On the origins of 1 Peter, see further Peter H. Davids, *1 Peter* (NICNT; Grand Rapds: Eerdmans, 1990) 3-14.

language that, while found in Alexandrian Jewish literature, is not typical of either Jewish or Christian literature from further north. Since there is little other evidence of Alexandrian thought patterns (for example, no reference to λόγος, nor to the immortal soul as opposed to a corrupt body), it is more likely that both the Alexandrian writers and 2 Peter draw on a common store of Graeco-Roman virtues and terminology than that 2 Peter is to be located within the Alexandrian Jewish world. There is also evidence that 2 Peter has edited the material taken from Jude to demand less knowledge of Jewish literature and tradition, i.e. he made it more readable to an audience with a gentile background.[10] We will, then, assume that both epistles address a largely gentile-Christian audience that lives outside of Palestine, 1 Peter explicitly locating this audience in northwest Asia Minor.

It is also possible that both share a similar implied provenance. 1 Peter is certainly set in Rome (1 Pet 5:12-13) in that not only is Babylon probably a cipher for Rome, but John Mark is also traditionally associated with Rome (Col 4:10; Phlm 24; 2 Tim 4:11).[11] The intention of 2 Peter is much more difficult to discern. There are no current (with respect to the implied date at which the epistle was written) geographical or personal references[12] other than one to Paul (3:15) that places the letter in an area where Paul's letters were known and valued. There is also a reference to 2 Peter being a "second letter" written to the readers (3:1). Does that refer to 1 Peter or to some other letter attributed to Peter?[13] One cannot know the answer to that question with certainty, since we cannot rule out *a priori* the possibility that several letters attributed to Peter existed. However, given our present state of knowledge there is firm

[10] This is a central thesis of J. Daryl Charles, *Virtue amidst Vice* (JSNTSup 150; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 76-83.

[11] Colossians and Philemon, of course, have often been associated with an Ephesian imprisonment, which is quite possible, although later church tradition quickly located them in Rome. While the date and authorship of 2 Timothy is disputed, it is clear that the work sets itself in Rome and thus locates Mark there in the last New Testament reference to him outside of 1 Peter.

[12] The one geographical reference (which is also a personal reference) is to the site of the transfiguration in Palestine. But from the perspective of the letter, even that is a past geographical location, far removed from the current one.

[13] J. B. Mayor (*The Epistles of Jude and II Peter* [Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1907; repr. 1979]) cxxxvi-cxxxvii) suggests that the previous letter is Romans and that 2 Peter is written to Rome. This, however, is not the most natural reading of the text.

evidence for only one other first century letter attributed to Peter and thus it is more likely that 2 Peter intends to refer to that letter than that it refers to some unknown letter.[14] If this is true, then 2 Peter implies a similar provenance and readership to that of 1 Peter.

These letters fit a Graeco-Roman setting, perhaps even that of Rome, while James fits a Palestinian setting, perhaps that of Jerusalem. These letters address readers most of whom have a gentile background, while James shows no consciousness that any of its readers have anything other than a Jewish background.[15]

The two commonalities that the three works possess are (1) that it is likely that all three were written after 60 C.E. and (2) that many contemporary scholars argue that all three were written by disciples of the implied author rather than by the implied author himself.[16] This, however, is not a lot of commonality for bringing two authors into discussion. To discover more, we shall have to turn to 1 and 2 Peter individually.

JAMES AND 1 PETER

There are a number of similarities between James and 1 Peter. First,

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[14] See the discussion in Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC 50; Dallas: Word, 1983) 285-86, who discusses Jude and other candidates for the previous letter, including the idea that the first two chapters of 2 Peter might be that letter.

[15] While we continually speak of the Jewish context of James, even of the Palestinian Jewish context, we are not viewing this as if it were a unitary context. In our view, among the competing Judaisms in Palestine was a Judaism that held that Jesus of Nazareth was God's Messiah (however they conceived of this Messianic role). The man James was a leader in this movement, which likely itself reflected several of the surrounding Judaisms on various less central matters. What the letter of James does not reflect is the Hellenistic Judaism of Philo, nor the Graeco-Roman thought that forms the background for the Pauline correspondence.

[16] This statement is more or less true whatever the confessional stance of the scholar, for even evangelical scholars often argue for something less than full authorship of 1 Peter by Peter. See, for example, Norman Hillyer (*1 and 2 Peter, Jude* [NIBC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992]), who argues that 1 Peter was written in 63 C.E. by Peter (p. 1), allows that 5:12 "can mean that [Silas] composed the letter as a ghost-writer, embodying Peter's thoughts" (p. 151), so at least dual authorship would be implied. More explicitly, Michael Green (*The Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude* [TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968] 16) similarly says that Peter "allowed [Silas] a large say in the form of the composition" and in a note quoting Selwyn adds "nothing short of joint authorship." More than this would be implied if the work were posthumous. James is probably a posthumous editing of traditions thought to come from James or the circle around James, as I have argued elsewhere (Peter H. Davids, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982] 21-22). And 2 Peter is often viewed as a testament written by a follower, which would make it a posthumous work.

both deal with situations of persecution. While in James it appears to be economic persecution by "the rich" (e.g., Jas 2:6-7 and the condemnations of the rich in Jas 1:10-11; 5:1-6), in 1 Peter the persecution appears to be shaming by the populace at large.[17] Still, the two issues are not that far removed from one another in that both involved low-grade, unofficial persecution that made life difficult rather than official persecution that might have resulted in execution, imprisonment or flight. Both also draw on some of the same traditions in support of those experiencing persecution. For example, Jas 1:2-4 ("Count it all joy, my brethren, when you meet various trials, for you know that the testing of your faith produces steadfastness") is a chain saying similar to 1 Pet 1:6-7 ("In this you rejoice, though now for a little while you may have to suffer various trials, so that the genuineness of your faith"), down to the level of having some phrases in common; both chain-sayings are arguing for (1) eschatological anticipated joy (*eschatologische Vorfreude*) and (2) virtue-building. At the same time, as the table below shows, there is not enough verbal identity to say that both authors borrowed from the same source, but it is certain that they both drew from the same stream of tradition.[18] That is, in both letters there are two phrases that use identical vocabulary (in one case the word order is reversed) and one that has a conceptual identity, but does not use identical vocabulary. Together these comprise roughly one quarter of the passage. Three quarters is unique to the respective authors.

James 1:2-4	1 Peter 1:6-7	Romans 5:3-5[19]
2Πᾶσαν (a) χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν (b) πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις, 3γινώσκοντες ὅτι (g) τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως (d) κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν. 4ἡ δὲ	6ἐν ᾧ (a) ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον [ἐστὶν] λυπηθέντες ἐν (b) ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, 7ἵνα (g) τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολ-	3οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ (a) καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς (b) θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλῖψις (d) ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, 4ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ (g) δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα. 5ἡ δὲ

[17] This is a major part of the thesis of Barth L. Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter* (SBLDS 160; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

[18] As does Rom 5:3-5.

[19] This comparison chart in part anticipates later discussion of the relationship of 1 Peter to the Pauline writings in which Rom 5:3-5 will be discussed more explicitly. The Greek text has been marked by underlining similar elements and then labeling them (a through d) to make comparison easier. The closest verbal parallels are between James and 1 Peter, although there is a common use of patient endurance in James and Romans.

ὑπομονὴ ἔργον τέλειον ἐχέτω, ἵνα ἦτε τέλειοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι.	λυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ (g) δοκιμαζομένου, εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν.
[2]My brothers and sisters, whenever you face trial of any kind, consider it nothing but joy, [3]because you know that the testing of your faith produces endurance; [4]and let endurance have its full effect, so that you may be mature and complete, lacking in nothing. (NRSV)	[6]In this you rejoice, even if now for a little while you have had to suffer various trials, [7]so that the genuineness of your faith —being more precious than gold that, though perishable, is tested by fire—may be found to result in praise and glory and honor when Jesus Christ is revealed. (NRSV)	[3]And not only that, but we also boast in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, [4]and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, [5]and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us. (NRSV)

Second, both works also show affinities with the tradition behind Matthew's Gospel. That is, neither work shows literary dependency upon Matthew, but both works show knowledge of the tradition that Matthew used. James has long been recognized to be full of allusions to the teaching of Jesus. While in some cases there are aspects of the tradition that remind one of Luke (such as James' negative statements about the rich), the fact is that most of the allusions (25 out of 36 allusions by this author's count) are to the sermon tradition as it is presently found in Matthew.[20] Turing to 1 Peter, while more than one commentator has noted the parallels between 1 Peter and Matthew,[21] the fullest discussion is found in Rainer Metzner's monograph,[22] which argues for the use of pre-Matthean tradition (that is, pre-Gospel, but still recognizably in the Matthean stream) in 1 Peter. In essence he is arguing for the "literary" influence (in that oral tradition can exert literary influence) of the Matthean form of the Sermon and the theological influence of the rest of Matthew on 1 Peter. To the extent that he succeeds, he places 1 Peter in the same

[20] Davids, *James*, 47-50; cf. Dean B. Deppe, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Epistle of James* (Chelsea: Bookcrafters, 1989), and Patrick J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

[21] For example, see Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter, Jude*, 1.

[22] Rainer Metzner, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief* (WUNT 2/74; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1995).

thought-world in which we have located James. This is to say, James, 1 Peter, and Matthew handle a number of themes in common, as a partial listing of parallels shows:

Theme	*Matthew*	*James*	*1 Peter*
Blessed, poor	5:3	2:5	
Blessed, suffer, right	5:10		3:14
Rejoice, testing/persecution	5:11-12	1:2; 5:10	4:13-14
See good deeds, glorify God	5:16		2:12
Do not repay evil for evil	5:38-48		3:9
Be holy/perfect	5:48	1:4	1:15-16
Testing	4:1-11	1:2	1:6
Resist devil, submit to God, humble self	4:1-11	4:6-10	5:5-9

What we see here are some interesting similarities in the way the three works handle certain themes. We should not be surprised at these similarities since all three works address communities that are experiencing rejection (we are assuming, as many scholars argue, that the Matthean community is experiencing rejection by the synagogue[23]). Each speaks of rejoicing in the face of this rejection, of viewing it as a test of commitment. Each calls the reader to resist the devil, who is in one way or another behind testing (in Matthew this is best seen in the testing of Jesus in chap. 4). Each calls for endurance. And each calls for holiness or perfection (that is, some version of the Hebrew תָּמִם). תָּמִם is normally translated in the LXX by τέλειος, which appears in the literature under discussion in places like Matt 5:48 and Jas 1:4. Furthermore, we could easily extend this comparison and with Metzner argue for a similar eschatology and ecclesiology for the three works.[24]

We also notice some differences between 1 Peter and James. James is interested in *Armenfrömigkeit* (piety of the poor), which is not a concern of 1 Peter (although it is found in Matthew and even more strongly in Luke). Conversely, 1 Peter is far more interested in relating to societal institutions and in particular in blessing those who persecute (although James pronounces woes on the persecutors [e.g.,

[23] Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word, 1998). See "The Sitz im Leben ('Life Setting') of Matthew's Community," for a discussion of the issue.

[24] Metzner (*Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums*), of course, only discusses 1 Peter and Matthew, but one can see the parallels on these two topics in James as well. Where the works differ is in their Christology, for while James presents Jesus as coming judge, he does not present Jesus as the one who suffered patiently (cf. 1 Pet 2:21-23 and Matthew's passion story). For that topic James uses the example of the prophets (Jas 5:10-11).

Jas 5:1-6] and distrusts external social structures [Jas 2:6; 5:6]).[25] Thus James is more concerned about harmony within the community (versus communal conflict)[26] and 1 Peter about harmony with those outside of the community (versus conflict with societal authorities). This difference even influences their respective language. For instance, James addresses his readers 15 times with the kinship term ἀδελφοί. His focus is on the "family." By way if contrast, 1 Peter never uses this noun of address and 2 Peter uses it only once (1:10).[27] We must not, then, let the similarities cover up the differences.

Another interesting similarity that also brings with it differences is found in the address of the respective letters. James is addressed "To the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" (Jas 1:1, NRSV; ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ), while 1 Peter addresses "God's chosen ones, resident-aliens of the Dispersion" (1 Pet 1:1; ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς). The one similarity is the use of the term Diaspora or Dispersion, which at least among Jews referred to those areas of Jewish residence outside of Israel or, more simply, "the land". Other than in these two passages, the term itself appears in the New Testament only in John 7:35. The term does occur a dozen times in the LXX (Deut 28:25; 30:4 = Neh 1:9; Isa 49:6; Jer 15:7; 41:17 [= MT 42:16]; Ps 146:2 [= MT 147:2]; Dan 12:2 [an addition in the Old Greek]; Judith 5:19; Jonathan's prayer in 2 Macc 1:27; Ps Sol 8:28; 9:2). While often used with the term "Israel" or a synonym, indicating that the term by itself was not enough to designate the scattered people of God, all of these passages refer to the scattered Jewish people.[28] James, of course, has the required addition in "the twelve tribes". While not a Septuagintal phrase in itself, it parallels the way that those authors make clear that Israel's

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[25] Normally James ignores social structures external to the community. The only places he mentions them are in 2:6, where the rich drag community members into court, in 4:13, where he refers to commercial activities, and in 5:1-6, where a social elite is castigated, accused of withholding fair wages, and condemned for judicial murder. Thus when he does mention external social structures, he speaks negatively about them.

[26] *This was the focus of Ward B. Ward's dissertation, "Communal Concern in the* Epistle of James" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Harvard University, 1966).

[27] Nor is this a Pauline influence in 1 Peter, for the form of address appears numerous times in all Pauline letters except Ephesians, Colossians, Titus, and Philemon. It also occurs in Hebrews and once in 1 John, so it clearly was a generalized Christian expression.

[28] Dan 12:2 is an exception in that it refers to the punishment of the wicked who are raised from the dead, but even these are Israelites in Daniel's view.

Diaspora is being designated. This fits with the description of James as a Diaspora letter[29] sent from the central Jewish community (in this case the central Jewish-Christian community) to the scattered communities of their people. 1 Peter, including his first verse, is full of Septuagintal language. In looking at 1:1 one thinks of how often Israel is called "my chosen" in the LXX (e.g., Isa 42:1; 43:20; 45:4), not to mention the term "Diaspora" itself. Yet 1 Peter also uses "resident-alien" that is not a particularly Septuagintal term. It occurs there (Gen 23:4; Ps 38:13 [MT 39:12]), but is used for residence in "the land" or in the presence of God, not for residence outside "the land." Also, "chosen" normally appears in the LXX with a clear designation of Israel (e.g. "Israel, my chosen"), and here in 1 Peter it stands without such a term. Thus Peter does not appear to be addressing congregations as the Jewish Diaspora, but rather transferring Septuagintal language to the largely gentile congregations he addresses and to their experience of estrangement from the societies in which they were at one time very much citizens.

Could it be that the two works also show a similar geographic consciousness? Markus Bockmuehl has cogently argued on the basis of primary source material that for at least some first century Jews the borders of "the land of Israel" extended up to and past Antioch, perhaps to the Taurus Mountains.[30] If this is the case, is it possible that these works are both addressed to people in Asia Minor, i.e. just outside the land of Israel?[31] That is indeed possible when we think of James, although one must remember that not just Jews from Asia Minor but also those from Babylon passed near or through Antioch on their way towards Jerusalem. There is no reason to concentrate James' implied readership in Asia Minor alone. At the same time this points up another difference. While 1 Peter may reflect Antiochene

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[29] See p. 29 above.

[30] Markus Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins*, 169-79.

[31] Interestingly enough, Acts 15:23 addresses its letter to τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν, that is, the area from Antioch north, but south of the Taurus mountains. If this area was considered outside of "the land," then it could also be the intended audience of James and Acts 15 would view the letter as a Diaspora letter, although, as we will mention below, one cannot rule out a much wider audience for James even if Antioch is focal. If it were considered still part of "the land," then Acts 15 intends to regulate purity *within* "the land" and James' implied readership lies outside of this area, either in Asia Minor itself or eastward towards Babylon. See further Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just," who suggests that the latter position is the more accurate one.

theology (on which see below), it addresses *Gentile* Christians. The indications are that "Diaspora" is metaphorical, although their being outside the physical boundaries of "the land" (on any accounting of the borders) may have helped make the term relevant. James does not show any similar contact with Antiochene theology except perhaps in his use of the traditions behind Matthew. His images and mentality are more Judean, even Jerusalem centered. The examples of Diaspora letters that we now have all came from Judea, not from Antioch. Thus while both works may view Syria as the northern boundary of Israel (although our evidence is slim and thus a firm conclusion is impossible), they do so from different perspectives.

Therefore, these similarities and differences go with differing settings. For Metzner the comparison with 1 Peter demonstrates the reception of Matthean traditions in Rome and Asia Minor, the two settings of 1 Peter in terms of implied author and recipients. That means that he agrees that 1 Peter is speaking into a Graeco-Roman context. James remains within a Jewish context and thinks about it from a Palestinian, even Judean, perspective, and that may explain some of the differences.

An indirect point of contact between James and 1 Peter is found in the contact between 1 Peter and Acts. Barth Campbell has pointed out that in Acts 6:2-4 we find the statement, "It is not right that we should neglect the word of God in order to wait on tables. Therefore, friends, select from among yourselves seven men of good standing, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, whom we may appoint to this task, while we, for our part, will devote ourselves to prayer and to serving the word." Here is a twofold division of ministry into "word" and "serving tables" (or "distribution of food" in 6:1). The only other place in the New Testament where this division of ministries or gifts is found is in 1 Pet 4:10-11, where we read, "Like good stewards of the manifold grace of God, serve one another with whatever gift each of you has received. Whoever speaks must do so as one speaking the very words of God; whoever serves must do so with the strength that God supplies, so that God may be glorified in all things through Jesus Christ." Again we find the twofold division, this time expressed as "whoever speaks" versus "whoever serves."[32] Campbell concludes, probably correctly, that the twofold division is the one normally used by the author of 1 Peter. What he does not

[32] Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 196-97.

speculate on is the relationship of this to Acts, only noting its difference from Paul's three lists of spiritual gifts (Romans 12; 1 Corinthians 12; Ephesians 4). Given that Acts appears to be an apologetic written in Rome (in that it ends Paul's story in Rome), could it be that Acts and 1 Peter reflect a Roman division of spiritual gifts? Or is it that both works preserve a Petrine tradition on spiritual gifts? If the latter is the case, then we have some contact between 1 Peter and the social world of James. Unfortunately, James never mentions the Spirit (except in his wisdom pneumatology), much less spiritual gifts,[33] so the possible social world contact does not extend to real dialogue.

Yet another possible point of contact between 1 Peter and James is Peter's use of temple imagery in 1 Pet 2:4-10:

> Come to him, a living stone, though rejected by mortals yet chosen and precious in God's sight, and like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it stands in scripture:
> "See, I am laying in Zion a stone,
> a cornerstone chosen and precious;
> and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame."
> To you then who believe, he is precious; but for those who do not believe,
> "The stone that the builders rejected
> has become the very head of the corner,"
> and
> "A stone that makes them stumble,
> and a rock that makes them fall."
> They stumble because they disobey the word, as they were destined to do.
> But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, in order that you may proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.
> Once you were not a people,
> but now you are God's people;

[33] Jas 5:14-18 does mention healing, which Paul includes as a spiritual gift. Yet in James this is not called a spiritual gift, but is included under the rubric of prayer. Do the elders act *ex officio* or are they elders because they are the most gifted? How does this prayer by the elders relate to the "one another" prayer of 5:16? The answer to these questions would go a long way towards answering whether James had a theology of spiritual gifts (which is likely since we know of no early Christianity lacking some theology of the Spirit) and what it was. Unfortunately, the author never answers those questions.

once you had not received mercy,
but now you have received mercy.

It is clear that here we have contact with the synoptic tradition (Matt 21:42-44; Mark 12:10-11; Luke 20:17-18; also cited in Acts 4:11) that is itself dependent upon Ps 118:22-23 (Matthew alone quotes both verses). 1 Peter adds Isa 28:6 (also cited in Rom 9:33) and Isa 8:14 (to which Luke may allude and which Paul conflates with Isa 28:6 in Rom 9:33). One could argue that this is another example of Roman (because of the citation in Acts 4) or Petrine (since Peter is the speaker in Acts 4) tradition in 1 Peter. The question arises, however, as to whether this use of the imagery of the temple and sacrifice shows temple piety similar to that attributed to James ?

Sacrificial imagery is not common in the New Testament outside of Hebrews and the idea of spiritual sacrifices is found outside of 1 Peter only in Heb 13:15-16. Priesthood is another concept that Hebrews and 1 Peter share. The image of a temple is not found in Hebrews; it is Paul who shares it with 1 Peter (1 Cor 3:16, "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you?" cf. the individual use for a person's body in 1 Cor 6:19) although in Paul's picture the Christians are building the temple while in 1 Peter they are stones being built into the temple.[34] In some ways 1 Peter is closer to *Hermas* (*Vis.* 3; *Sim.* 9) where the stones are people, although there it is a tower rather than a temple that is being built and the building agents are clearly angels.

What type of comparison, then, do we have between 1 Peter and James? The answer is that we have more contrast than comparison. The Epistle of James does not mention the temple but rather the synagogue, although it certainly does not rule out temple piety.[35] It is literature from a community where such temple piety that existed was not controversial but taken for granted.[36] Temple piety is

[34] The other difference is that 1 Peter speaks of a "spiritual house" and "spiritual sacrifices" using οἶκος, while Paul uses the technical term for temple, ναός. Both differ from Hebrews which speaks of a tent and a sanctuary, and apparently purposely avoids temple/house language. See further, O. Michel, "οἶκος," *TDNT* 5.125-28; and R. P. Martin, *The Family and the Fellowship* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 122; cf. P. S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960).

[35] There is cultic imagery in James, e.g., 4:8, but this does not necessarily reflect a temple piety, for it could reflect biblical language or synagogue piety.

[36] In a Diaspora letter there would be little reason to mention temple piety unless (1) it came up as an illustration, or (2) the author wished to encourage pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Neither is the case in James.

attributed to James in Hegessipus. Indeed, it is quite an exaggerated piety.[37] The points of contact with 1 Peter are the reference to his worship in the temple ("He alone was allowed to enter the sanctuary . . . he used to enter alone into the temple . . .") and his priestly clothing ("he did not wear wool but linen"). However, in 1 Peter the sanctuary is spiritual rather than literal and so are the sacrifices, ideas that might have been acceptable to James alongside temple piety, but are unlikely to have been acceptable to him as a replacement for it. In this 1 Peter show only superficial similarity to James. His real conceptual closeness is in some ways to Paul[38] and in others to Hebrews.[39] Rather than similarity to James or Jacobean piety, 1 Peter shows a Christian use of temple imagery drawn from scripture. This imagery fit well into the pagan environment, where the readers were surrounded with temples, and it spoke to their need to have a "place" to belong, but it shows neither longing for nor use of the actual Jerusalem temple.

A final point of comparison between 1 Peter and James is in their use of Paul/Pauline traditions. The key passage in James, of course, is Jas 2:14-26. While this has been variously evaluated from its being an anti-Pauline polemic[40] to its being viewed as a position with which Paul would agree, virtually no one looks at this passage as reflecting pure Pauline sentiment. It may well be that James is arguing with a distorted Paulinism and not with Paul himself or that he has significantly misunderstood Paul, yet the fact remains that he does not express himself as Paul would. He is moving in another thought-world.[41]

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[37] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.23.4-6. The picture of James as a Nazirite from birth and as one dressed as a priest and allowed to enter the sanctuary is clearly an exaggeration, although there is evidence in Acts of Nazirite piety in the early church as well as evidence of Jewish-Christians worshipping in the temple along with other Jewish groups.

[38] Not only does Paul use temple language for the church, but he also can think of gentiles taking part in the promises given to Israel (e.g., Rom 9:8, 24, 26; 11:17, 24), as 1 Peter clearly does in 2:10 where he uses the same allusions to Hos 1:6, 9-10; 2:23 that Paul does. The same idea also appears in 1 Peter's use of Exod 19:6 in 2:5, 9.

[39] Like Hebrews 1 Peter can refer to spiritual sacrifices and apparently has no place for animal sacrifices. Unlike Hebrews 1 Peter speaks of all Christians as priests, while Hebrews focuses on Jesus as the one high priest.

[40] Martin Hengel, "Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik," in G. F. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds.), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament. Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1987) 248-78.

[41] See further Davids, "Palestinian Traditions," 51-53, where it is argued that

The same cannot be said about 1 Peter. It would be an exaggeration to claim as some have that 1 Peter is essentially a Pauline letter (it is sometimes compared with the pastorals), yet it is nonetheless more at home in the world of Paul's thought than anywhere else. True, there is no Jew-Gentile tension in this letter. 1 Peter is written to a largely-gentile audience, views this audience as part of the renewed Israel (1 Pet 2:5, 9-10), and does not mention any tension between this assertion and Jewish-Christian positions. If there is any overlap between those in Galatia in 1 Pet 1:1 and the Galatians addressed in Paul's letter, then Paul was indeed successful and the law-grace tension had been resolved (or else the author of 1 Peter did not know about it and blithely strolls through the minefield). At the same time there is Pauline language in the letter.

Where do we find this Pauline language? First, we have common (literary?) traditions behind Paul and 1 Peter. There are parallels between the *Haustafeln* (household codes) in 1 Pet 2:11–3:7 and the *Haustafeln* in Ephesians (5:18–6:9),[42] Colossians (3:18–4:6), and Romans (13:1-4). As we have seen above, there is also a common use of biblical texts, such as Isa 28:16 in combination with Isa 8:14 (Rom 9:33; 1 Pet 2:6-8). Furthermore, both Paul and 1 Peter have similar vice lists (Rom 13:13; 1 Pet 4:3). Finally, 1 Pet 3:8-9 and 4:7-11 give similar admonitions to Romans 12 and, also noted above, Rom 5:3-5 uses a chain-saying also found in 1 Pet 1:6-7. All of this speaks of the common use of the same or similar exegetical and paraenetic traditions, some of which could have been in written form, although there is no evidence that the author of 1 Peter had read any Pauline letters.

Second, we have linguistic parallels. Bigg lists six pages of them, largely in an attempt to find literary parallels indicating 1 Peter's use of Pauline letters.[43] While they are not sufficient to prove literary dependence, they still show an interesting adoption of what sounds

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James uses three critical terms differently than Paul does: (1) works are charitable deeds rather than "works of the law" as in Paul, (2) faith is creedal orthodoxy rather than personal commitment (which is its meaning, not only in Paul but also elsewhere in James), and (3) δικαιόω / δικαιοσύνη is showing oneself to be just (its meaning in the LXX), rather than Paul's novel making the unjust just.

[42] Whether Ephesians or Colossians is to be viewed as Pauline or Paulinist is not significant for our purposes here. At the least they reflect Pauline influence and are in the Pauline stream, which is all that is necessary to admit in our discussion of the location of 1 Peter.

[43] Charles Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901) 16-24.

like Pauline language. For instance, the way Peter names himself in 1:1 is quite in line with Paul, as is his extended blessing, starting in 1:3. More important is the fact that the blessing starts off identically to those in 2 Cor 1:3 and Eph 1:3. In 1 Pet 1:4 the concept of having an inheritance and thus being an heir at least parallels Paul's concept of heirship found in Gal 4:7 ("if a child then also an heir, through God" NRSV). Within the chain saying in 1 Pet 1:6 (paralleled as noted in Rom 5:3-5 and Jas 1:2-4) Peter's focus on hope is closer to Paul than to James. Later in the letter the imitation of Christ in suffering in 1 Pet 2:21-25 reminds one of Phil 2:5-11. And we should also notice that "in Christ" appears in 1 Pet 3:16; 5:10, 14.[44] Thus, while we miss themes such as justification by faith and terms such as "the church" and "the cross" (including "crucify"), we do notice a similarity to Pauline thought.

Some would attribute this similarity to the use of Silvanus as scribe/co-author of the letter.[45] More interesting is the idea that both Paul and 1 Peter may be dependent upon Antiochene theology. It was there that believers were first called Χριστιανοί (Acts 11:26; cf. 26:28), a term that appears in the rest of the New Testament only in 1 Pet 4:16. There is also an interesting use of Isa 53:9 in 1 Pet 1:22, with Isaiah 53 being alluded to further in 1 Pet 1:23-25. Paul in Romans makes four possible allusions to this chapter (4:25; 5:1, 15, 19; cf. also 1 Cor 15:3; Phil 2:7), although he quotes it only once (Rom 10:16). If Paul is indeed using this passage (the allusions are general enough that they could be debated), this is a characteristic that both authors share mostly with the Gospels, especially with Matthew and Mark, and, to a lesser degree, with Acts. Furthermore, 1 Peter also calls Jesus a "shepherd" (1 Pet 1:25; 5:4; cf. Heb 13:20; Rev 7:17), which could also be the Antiochene imagery. Here his language clearly differs from Paul's (who never uses this imagery), but is again similar to the Gospel tradition (Matthew's four references almost equaling the five in John 10; Mark has two, both

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[44] See further J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1969) 11.

[45] As noted above, Silvanus is the letter carrier. It is possible that he was also the scribe or in some way co-author, but we are not informed whether such ideas are true or mere speculation. As letter carrier he would be expected to interpret the letter upon his arrival at the various churches, but while this might ensure an Pauline interpretation of the letter, it does not inform us about a Pauline composition of the letter.

taken over by Matthew).[46] It could well be, then, that 1 Peter shares with Matthew an interpretation of the Jesus tradition that circulated in Galilee and northward.[47] Since Antioch was Paul's base for much of his career, the indications that 1 Peter is drawing on a stream of tradition associated with Antioch would also explain why his language sounds like Paul as well as like Matthew and the Gospel tradition in general.

Whether this linguistic similarity to Paul is attributed to Silvanus (or some other paulinist) or to Antiochene theology, it does exist, even if it must not be overstressed. And that is something that cannot be said about James. 1 Peter may not be in the Pauline orbit, but he is not far away. James appears to be in another solar system.

We are, then, a long ways from the Peter of Galatians 2 who appears more influenced by James than by Paul,[48] just as in the addressees we are a long ways from the mission to the "circumcision" attributed to Peter in Gal 2:9. It is naturally possible that Peter (or his disciples) in their moving away from Jerusalem and into the gentile world (assuming that the tradition is accurate that has Peter ending up in Rome) found it useful to adopt Pauline perspectives that seemed more relevant in their new context. After all, even on the most conservative dating we are a minimum of ten years later than Galatians. Many have found their minds changing or their paradigms shifting in shorter periods than this. Thus while it would be an exaggeration to say that 1 Peter is another Pauline letter (its main theme and interests are different from any extant Pauline letter), it would be correct to say that this letter is more in dialogue with the world of Paul (or at least its Antiochene base) than with the world of James. Together with James there is a common theme (enduring persecution), a common use of some early Christian traditions, and, if we include the portrait of James in Acts,[49] a common

[46] If we include references to "sheep" and "flock," there are 51 additional references in the Gospels, again mainly Matthew and John, while Paul uses such imagery only twice, once in a citation of a Psalm (Rom 8:36) and once in a metaphor that is independent of Christian imagery (1 Cor 9:7).

[47] Peter's access to the passion tradition appears to be independent of any of the Gospels or Paul, at least in his interpreting the suffering of Christ as an example in 1 Pet 2:21-25.

[48] Although in that Gal 2:11 does place Simon Peter in Antioch, which would associate him with Antiochene theology, even if Paul's reason for mentioning his presence was because in Paul's eyes Peter (temporarily?) slipped backward into a more Jerusalem-oriented theological stance.

[49] We are assuming that Luke intends to include James with the Twelve who chose

division of spiritual gifts into two groups. Language, style, and addressees, however, separate James and 1 Peter.

JAMES AND 2 PETER

When we turn to James and 2 Peter, we appear to find two works that have even less in common. First, James does not share 2 Peter's concern about false teachers. It is true that James warns that not many are to become teachers, but that appears to be more because of internal conflict over scarce resources (partially as a result of economic persecution) within the community than because of false teaching. In Jas 3 it is internal bickering ("we curse those who are made in the likeness of God" Jas 3:9 NRSV) and party spirit itself that are the issue, not the content of what the rival groupings were about.[50] The moral failures that 2 Peter finds in the false teachers find no place in James. For example, James does know about greedy people (cf. 2 Pet 2:3, 14), but they are outside the community among "the rich."[51]

Second, while the language of James would fit well within a Palestinian context, the language of 2 Peter is that of Hellenism. The use of ἐπιγνώσις in 1:2 is unique in the New Testament, while θεῖος in 1:3, 4 appears only here and in Paul's Areopagus speech (Acts 17:29). To these one could add the stress on ἀρετῇ and εὐσέβεια, and the virtues ἐγκράτεια and φιλαδελφία (although the latter also appears in the Pastorals). All of these are far more at home in Philo or the Stoics than in Paul or James. And we have only covered the first seven verses of the book. Likewise the rhetoric of the book belongs in the Hellenistic world rather than in the world of James.[52] It is not that James lacks rhetorical structure, but that the rhetorical structure of James is far less a part of the Hellenistic world than that of 2 Peter. We are, in fact, in 2 Peter far closer to 1 Peter and his

"the Word" over "waiting on tables."

[50] So also the "anger" of 1:19-20, the "judging" of 4:11-12, and the "grumbling" of 5:9 are criticized for the moral weakness of the acts themselves, not for what was being judged or grumbled about.

[51] In 2 Pet 2:1 the false teachers are "among you," while "the rich" in Jas 2:6-7, 5:1-6, and probably 1:10-11 are outside the community, blasphemers of Christ and persecutors, rather than erring community members. See further Davids, *Commentary on James*, 43-47.

[52] For a rhetorical analysis of 2 Peter, see J. Daryl Charles, *Virtue Amidst Vice* (JSNTSup 150; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), or Duane F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* (SBLDS 104; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

rhetoric than we are to James.[53] The Peter of 2 Peter is the Peter of the Graeco-Roman world, not the Jewish-Christian missionary to the "circumcision" of Galatians 2.

Third, James' Christology is far less developed than that in 2 Peter. While in James Jesus is "our glorious Lord" (2:1) with an "excellent name" (2:7; perhaps the NIV's "noble name" is better) and probably "the Judge" who is "at the door" (5:9), James does not go as far as 2 Peter. In 2 Peter we read of the knowledge of "Jesus, our God and Lord" (1:2, NLV),[54] an ascription that is paralleled even in Pauline literature only in 2 Thess 1:12 and Tit 2:13 (cf. Rom 9:5), although fitting with the type of statement found in John 1:1; 20:28; Heb 1:8-9. Less unusual, but still explicit is the reference to "the kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" in 2 Pet 1:11 ("Lord and Savior" being a favorite title, cf. 2:18; 3:2; 3:18). However one interprets these passages, 2 Peter's Christology is far more explicit than that of James (whose Christology is so understated that some commentators, most notably Spitta,[55] have argued that the Christology was a later addition to a Jewish book), and appears to fit better with later New Testament works than with earlier works.

There are, however, some common features between these works. First, both works draw on Palestinian traditions. In our previous article we have argued this point at length for James, trying carefully to exclude the influence of Septuagintal language upon the work. Here we will simply assume that data.[56] However, 2 Peter also shows the influence of Palestinian traditions. It is not just the presence of the Gospel tradition in 1:16-18, for that is unlike James whose use of Gospel traditions is mostly that of Q-sermon tradition, not narrative (while the testing tradition in James may reflect the testing of Jesus in Matt 4 and Luke 4, the narrative itself is never called upon; it is stories from the Hebrew scriptures that James presents as narrative).

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[53] This is true despite the presence of larger rhetorical structures in James, such as 2:1-13 and 14-26. While these are often deemed "diatribes," such a structure is not found in 2 Peter, and their more accurate identification would be "oral discourse," for their characteristics are as at home in the synagogue homily as in the discourses of Epictetus.

[54] That 2 Peter refers to Jesus as God is defended by Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 168-69; and A. Vögtle, *Der Judasbrief, der 2. Petrusbrief* (EKK 22; Solothurn: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994) 133.

[55] F. Spitta, *Der Brief des Jakobus untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896). So also L. Massebieau, H. Thyen, and B. S. Easton, as well as apparently R. Bultmann. See further the discussion in Davids, *Commentary on James*, 3-5.

[56] See Davids, "Palestinian Traditions."

It is mainly in 2 Peter's use of Jude that we find the parallel. Here is a long prophetic denunciation not unlike Jas 5:1-8 (one must include Jas 5:7-8 as well as 5:1-6, since Jude like James discusses the proper response of the community). Probably both prophetic denunciations pre-existed the present literary structure they are found in.[57] Both are to some extent concerned with the feasting of those they oppose. And both picture the group that they castigate as burning in hell. It is there that the similarity ends. James' group is outside the Christian community and is labeled with the "outsider" label "the rich" (cf. Jas 2:6). He presents both a socio-cultural (rich/poor) and religious (blaspheme "the name"—faith in Jesus) barrier as separating them from the community. 2 Peter's group is inside the community (2:1 "among you") and separated from the "orthodox" community only by their being desire-driven (in 2 Peter's eyes).[58] Still, in combating them 2 Peter sees fit to use a piece of Jewish-Christian literature, although he edits it to tone down the references to non-Septuagintal works and so focuses it on the "Bible" that was read in his church. Thus, while he is in touch with at least some non-biblical Palestinian literature, our author apparently does not believe that his readers would be familiar with the traditions that Jude takes for granted.[59]

Second, both seem to have concerns with a distorted Paulinism. As noted above, this has been a major discussion point for James, focusing on 2:14-26. And while we feel that it is unlikely that the author of James had any direct contact with Paul or Pauline writings, it would not surprise us to discover that James combats slogans and perspectives that were derived from a misunderstanding of Paul's teaching.[60] That Paul's law-free gospel could easily become a works-free gospel (to use James' terms), a separation of intellectual faith from personal commitment and concomitant action, seems clear in some Pauline letters (one thinks of 1 Corinthians 5–6, among other

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[57] For 2 Peter this is clear in that most scholars argue that he is using Jude, which means that Jude pre-existed 2 Peter. For James this would be true if we accept our argument that James is an editing together of Palestinian, ostensibly Jacobean, traditions. Thus the parts—whoever their author was—pre-existed the whole.

[58] We are taking the doctrinal issue of chap. 3 as a rationalization for the behavioral issue of chap. 2, for that seems to be the interest driving the book from the start. The rejection of the return of Christ/final judgment allows them to continue the behavior that 2 Peter castigates.

[59] If 2 Peter actually rejected the non-Septuagintal literature, one would be surprised that he would use Jude at all. Thus the editing is most easily explained as a fitting of the work to his readers.

[60] Davids, "Palestinian Traditions," 51-53.

places) and could explain the problem in James 2. It is even possible that this distortion of Paul's teaching would happen more easily in a Jewish-Christian environment, where Paul's "works of the law" such as circumcision and the keeping of festivals were taken for granted and thus not issues. This assumption of Judaism would leave more conscious and voluntary aspects of religious duty as vulnerable to critique using Pauline slogans. Whether this admittedly hypothetical reconstruction was the case or not, it does appear likely that Pauline or Pauline-like slogans are being used to make charity and other loving actions towards fellow-believers more optional than James believes they are.

Turning to 2 Peter, we have a situation that is both similar and dissimilar. It is similar in that 2 Pet 3:15-16 indicates that Paul's writings are being misused by "ignorant and unstable" people, presumably the teachers he opposes. The particular teaching referred to is one relating to the final judgment/delay of the parousia theme under discussion (" . . . strive to be found by him at peace, without spot or blemish; and regard the patience of our Lord as salvation," 3:14-15.). This apparently buttressed the teachers' arguments for ethical license. Thus Paul's law-free position with the final judgment for the Christian already having taken place in Christ appears to be having a similar, if more radical, result to the teaching underlying James 2.

Yet it is also different in that in this case our author acknowledges that it is Paul's letters that are being "distorted". Unlike James, who does not mention (and may or may not know) the source of the teaching he opposes, 2 Peter states that (1) the sources are Paul's letters (plural), (2) one of these letters was addressed to the implied recipients of 2 Peter ("Paul wrote to you"), and (3) the teaching is a distortion of Paul's actual teaching (as 2 Peter understands it). This explicit reference appears to place 2 Peter in another stage of canon history (i.e., after the collection of at least some of Paul's letters)[61]

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[61] 2 Peter has been thought to reflect Romans (Mayor, *Jude and II Peter*, cxxxvii; Vögtle, *Der Judasbrief, Der Zweite Petrusbrief*, 263) or Romans and other Pauline *Hauptbriefe* plus the Prison epistles (Kelly, *Peter and Jude*, 371-72, who does not feel a specific work is in mind) or Galatians, Colossians, or Ephesians (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 329-30, on the basis of a common destination with 1 Peter, arguing that the subject matter is found in most of Paul's letters). Thus while Romans most clearly expressed the theme of 2 Pet 3:14b-15a, the relationship is not clear enough to argue for dependence nor does Romans appear to have been sent to the implied readers of 2

than James and place Paul in a different relationship to the implied recipients as well (as there is no indication in James that Paul had ever addressed or was known by his implied readers). As for the relationship between the two authors, 2 Peter points more to the Peter of Acts 15, who defends Paul, than to the Peter of Galatians 2, who is attacked by Paul. (We are never told the outcome of this *Auseindersetzung*; it could perhaps have ended with Peter being able to say "our beloved brother Paul," although the fact that Paul does not mention a reconciliation—which would have supported his argument—may indicate that the dispute ended with at least a temporarily strained relationship.)

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions may we draw from our attempt to look at James and Peter in conversation though the lens of the letters attributed to each of them?

1. James and the Petrine Epistles have two very different settings, although they may not be far apart in date. James is set in a Jewish Palestinian context, while the Petrine Epistles are set in a gentile northern Mediterranean context. This implies that the Peter of the letters is at least in a very different context than the Peter of Galatians.

2. James and 1 Peter are similar in that (a) both are addressed to situations of persecution, and (b) both use some traditions in common, in particular, traditions behind Matthew's Gospel, most notably the tradition about rejoicing in suffering. Yet 1 Peter lacks James' *Armenfrömigkeit*, speaks positively of social institutions, and blesses enemies, while James is focused on the community of the poor, speaks negatively of social institutions, and pronounces woes on community opponents.

3. James and 1 Peter are most dissimilar in their approach to the temple in that later tradition attributes to James a Jewish second temple piety that is consistent with the epistle and 1 Peter argues that the temple and sacrifices are spiritual and involve gentiles (without any trace of Paul's Jew-Gentile tensions). Indeed, when one considers language, form and perspective, 1 Peter is far

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Peter. The result is that we do not know how much of the Pauline canon our author did or did not know.

closer to Paul than it is to James.

4. James and 2 Peter are separated by the latter's concern over false teachers, Hellenistic vocabulary, and higher Christology.
5. James and 2 Peter are similar in their use of Palestinian traditions, their prophetic denunciation of opponents and their struggles with a distorted Paulinism. However, those denounced by James are outside the community and those by 2 Peter within the community, and the Pauline distortions in James show no dependence on Paul's extant letters, while 2 Peter refers to a collection of such letters.

Thus in the end we have three distinct voices, two from the gentile-Christian world and one from the Jewish-Christian world. Our Peter is no longer the apostle to the circumcision, but an apostle to the gentiles. While not part of the Pauline mission (most clear in 2 Peter where, although Paul's letters are appreciated by the author, he does not speak of personal knowledge of Paul or Pauline leaders), he is more like the Pauline mission than he is like Jewish-Christian mission. It may say that Peter[62] developed after leaving Palestine and that these works reflect the perspective of a Peter ten or more years removed from the Palestinian situation. That would not surprise us, for Paul indicates that Peter's behavior could change in a gentile context (Gal 2:12). Such a change in Peter would presumably be reflected in later Petrine disciples, so it would influence the two works irrespective of authorship so long as they were in some way connected to the Petrine tradition. Yet in that case our works show a Peter and James growing apart, inhabiting two different worlds. The one remained in the Jewish-Christian world that would collapse with the war of 66–70 CE and never regain the importance that it had enjoyed before that time. The other left that world for the Graeco-Roman world and thus becomes part of the stream that would be the leading influence in the church in the successive decades and centuries.[63]

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[62] It is clear linguistically that 1 Peter and 2 Peter are by different authors, the latter being far more Hellenistic than the former. When contrasted with James, however, the two are similar enough that we can simply speak of Peter.

[63] Thus we can say that the figures of both Peter and James in letters attributed to them are in line with what we know about their biography. Obviously outside of the letters we do not know how Peter may have changed and developed nor what influences may have impinged upon him during the years between Galatians 2 and, if tradition is correct, his execution in Rome between 64 and 68 C.E. Since James

remained in Jerusalem, the context of his life is better known. However, each writer is presented in ways that are consistent with what we (and those in the first century) know (knew) about their biography or might rationally conjecture given what is known of their biography.

SIMON PETER AND BETHSAIDA[1]

Markus Bockmuehl

Over half a century ago, Oscar Cullmann wrote the following words in the opening pages of his magisterial treatment of Simon Peter:

> According to John 1:44 Peter comes from Bethsaida . . . Even if the place itself was Jewish, we must note, nevertheless, that it was located in Gentile surroundings. This is indicated, indeed, as John 1:44 and 12:21 suggest, by the Greek name of his brother Andrew and of Philip, who likewise came from Bethsaida, as well as by the name of Simon himself. . . . If the information of the Gospel of John that Peter came from that place is true, this could be related to the fact that in the accounts of Acts, chs. 10 and 11, Peter champions a universalistic point of view and, as we shall see, is not too far removed from Paul in his theology.[2]

Cullmann composed these sentences at a time when the study of Galilean archaeology was barely in its infancy, and when his knowledge of it was apparently limited to a footnote reference to Gustav Dalman's topographical researches in the first two decades of the century.[3] The Dead Sea Scrolls had just been discovered, but were a long way from being understood. And rabbinic literature was still virtually unknown in New Testament scholarship: even in his second edition, Cullmann confined himself to half a dozen references to Strack-Billerbeck. Josephus, too, is rarely cited, and never in order to substantiate the argument about Bethsaida.

It is perhaps more surprising, however, that recent monographs on Peter have had so little to add to Cullmann's statement. In an attempt to develop Cullmann's argument, Rudolf Pesch's 1980 monograph did devote a couple of pages to the subject of Peter's Jewish family

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[1] I gratefully acknowledge the support received for part of this project through a British Academy Research Readership.

[2] Cullmann 1962: 24 (cf. Cullmann 1952).

[3] Dalman 1935, first published in German (Dalman 1919, with subsequent editions in 1921 and 1924). The English translation included "considerable additional matter by the Author" (Dalman 1935: v). Having been Director of the Jerusalem-based Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes (1902–1917), Dalman returned to Palestine from Greifswald in 1925 to become the founding director of the Gustaf Dalman-Institut für Palästinawissenschaft (*ODCC* [3], p. 448). See also Männchen 1993.

among a largely Gentile population, but without adducing any substantive additional evidence.[4] Christian Grappe cautiously followed Pesch in a single extended footnote,[5] but both of them pursued this question only in relation to Peter's likely knowledge of Greek. Pheme Perkins in 1994 virtually ignored Peter's connection with Bethsaida, deferring simply to Cullmann.[6] Recent works by Thiede, Böttrich, and Gnilka have added little of substance.[7]

Is it really defensible to follow Cullmann to such far-reaching conclusions about Simon Peter's life and personality from what is effectively a single New Testament attestation of his home town? Put as baldly as that, the question is of course impossible to answer. Nevertheless, in view of recent advances in archaeological and historical study of this part of Galilee, it may be possible to supply a little more of the background against which to assess Cullmann's largely unsupported assertion.

Our procedure will be in three steps. After examining the Gospel tradition about Peter and Bethsaida, we shall consider recent archaeological work on Bethsaida before returning to Cullmann's thesis and considering a number of possible implications.

I. PETER AND BETHSAIDA: THE GOSPEL TRADITIONS

Was Bethsaida Peter's birthplace? On the surface, the New Testament's information about his origin is exceedingly sparse. Leaving aside the manuscript tradition's well-known confusion over Bethesda in John 5:2,[8] Bethsaida appears exactly seven times in the Nestle-Aland text of the New Testament: once in Matthew and twice in each of the other Gospels.[9]

A. The Synoptic Evidence

1. What's in a Name? Simon, Peter, Cephas.

The Gospels unanimously portray Peter as a man who inhabits a bilingual world. His name is consistently given in the Greek form Σιμών, rather than in the Septuagint's rendition of the Hebrew

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[4] Pesch 1980: 10-12.

[5] Grappe 1992: 153 n. 5. Cf. also Böcher 1996: 268; Grant 1994: 55.

[6] Perkins 1994: 40.

[7] Thiede 2000:24-25; Böttrich 2001:32-33; Gnilka 2002.

[8] See Metzger 1975: 208.

[9] Matt 11:21; Mark 6:45; 8:22; Luke 9:10; 10:13; John 1:44; 12:21.

patriarch as Συμεών throughout the canonical books. In post-Biblical Greek documents, including the New Testament, the form Σιμών is by far the more common of the two. Nevertheless, 1 Maccabees illustrates how both can be used side by side (2:1, 3, 65); and Acts, too, applies both forms to Peter (11:13 and *passim*; 15:14),[10] perhaps because he himself did.[11] At the same time, the Synoptics are so consistent in their Greek preference for Σιμών and Πέτρος, and Paul in his penchant for the Aramaic Κηφᾶς (כיפא),[12] that some have seriously tried to argue for the existence of two different people.[13] That particular option, however, seems pretty well ruled out on the balance of the Pauline and Johannine evidence.

Here is not the place to expound the complex issues surrounding the use of the epithet "Peter," which in the Synoptics appears only in its Greek form (contrast John 1:42). On recent evidence it seems most likely to denote a rock or cliff.[14] It can be shown that its application to Simon probably dates back to his youth;[15] and it was almost certainly in use at an early stage of his association with Jesus,[16] some of whose other disciples bore comparable epithets.[17]

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[10] Cf. also 2 Pet 1:1 (on which see Metzger 1975: 699). Contrast Riesner 1994 for a recent, but perhaps ultimately unpersuasive, attempt to view Acts 15:14 as a reference to the Simeon of the infancy narratives.

[11] Cf. Fitzmyer 1981: 112-13.

[12] The only exception is Gal 2:7-8. The use of Πέτρος here has been thought to reflect dependence on the actual wording of the Jerusalem agreement, though it is not immediately obvious why this should have been drafted in Greek. Another possibility is that, in dealing with Greek-speaking congregations, Paul usually prefers the Aramaic designation in order to avoid any ecclesiological connotations along the lines of Matt 16:18, which might seem to deprecate his apostolate in favor of Peter's. See also his argument about Christ as the only true "foundation" (θεμέλιος), in trying to minimize the significance of divisions between the apostles: 1 Cor 3:16-17; cf. Rom 15:20; but also Rev 21:19, where the twelve apostles are the new Jerusalem's θεμέλιοι. Luke 6:48 (cf. Matt 7:24) similarly speaks of building the "foundation" upon the Rock, ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.

[13] So, e.g., Ehrman 1990, following *inter alia* Lake 1921. These scholars were preceded by some ancient Christian texts wishing to minimize the apostolic conflict at Antioch (e.g., *Epist. Apost.* 2; Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 1.12.2). The contrary case is convincingly mounted, e.g., by Allison 1992.

[14] Fitzmyer 1981 shows that it means primarily the latter at Qumran. Rabbinic evidence also uses the plural in connection with gemstones.

[15] See my full discussion in Bockmuehl 2004.

[16] So Mark 3:16; John 1:42; Matt 16:18 (cf. Matt 10:2) has been taken to assume a later, more specific setting, which in its present form does have obvious overtones of post-Easter concerns. Dinkler 1961 and Conzelmann 1965 postulate a post-Easter origin of the name based partly on the tense of κληθήσῃ in John 1:42.

Interestingly, however, Jesus only reported use of either form of Peter *as a proper name* occurs at Luke 22:34, where it is probably redactional. In any case *both* כיפא and its equivalent, Πέτρος, appear to have been used in their respective linguistic settings from the beginning of the Christian community. Peter's brother, by contrast, seems to bear only the Greek name Ἀνδρέας.

"Cephas" is admittedly absent from the Synoptic account. Matthew does, however, introduce another undeniably *Aramaic* element in the form of Peter's patronymic "Bar-Jona" (Βαριωνᾶ, Matt 16:17). Despite a long-standing argument to the effect that this should be interpreted as the Aramaic term בריונא ("rebel"),[18] the evidence for this usage seems to be relatively late and its relevance to Simon Peter is not patently obvious.[19] The Fourth Gospel and early Jewish Christian sources unequivocally take this term to mean "son of John" (1:41; 21:15-17);[20] but while this is possible, it remains difficult to document such an abbreviation elsewhere.[21]

2. Bethsaida's Place in Jesus' Ministry.

As for Bethsaida itself, however, despite the occasional glimpse of its role in Jesus' ministry, none of the five Synoptic mentions gives us the slightest hint that Peter came from there, or had any dealings with it. According to the Q tradition it was evidently a place where, along with Chorazin, Jesus performed "mighty deeds" (δυνάμεις: Luke 10:13 = Matt 11:21). Both cities signally failed to respond to Jesus ministry: the logion of their condemnation evidently turns on a pun comparing Bethsaida (ן[א]ציי[ד] ית[בה][22]) with what would have

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[17] Note above all the sons of thunder (Βοανηργές) James and John, Mark 3:17; perhaps also Thomas Δίδυμος (John 11:16; 20:24), although the latter does not appear to be an Aramaic name.

[18] See the fuller discussion in Bockmuehl 2004: 65-67.

[19] Note Hengel 1989: 54-56; and cf. Bockmuehl 2004: 62-69. Allison and Davies 1988–1997: 2.622 follow Gundry in suggesting simple Matthean redaction to create a link between Peter and the prophet Jonah. But no connection with Jonah is evident in Matthew or even (*pace* Wall, cited *ibid.*) in Acts.

[20] Cf. *Gospel of the Nazarenes* 14, 16, cited by Jerome and Origen in their respective commentaries on Matthew (cf. Schneemelcher 1991–1992: 1.161).

[21] Similar formations might underlie the names of fourth-century Galilean rabbis: e.g., R. Yonah, R. Samuel bar Yonah, R. Mana (= Menaḥem) bar Yonah. Cullmann 1963: 16 is perhaps a little hasty in asserting that there is "no documentary evidence for Jona as an abbreviation for Joḥanan." See further Bockmuehl 2004: 66-67.

[22] The pronunciation was probably already "nunated," in typical Galilean fashion (cf. Dalman 1905: 102): the spelling Βηθσαϊδάν is used both times in Mark (6:45; 8:22) and may also be original in Luke (= Q?) 10:13 *v.l.* (𝔓[45] א W Γ $f^{1.13}$ 700 *al*).

happened in Sidon (צידון[ב]).[23] With only two exceptions, these mighty deeds in Bethsaida and Chorazin are not recorded, as we shall see below. Matthew in particular, despite his keen interest in Peter, virtually eliminates Bethsaida: his sole reference to it in the judgement logion may indicate that it continued to prove singularly unreceptive to the gospel mission.[24] Nevertheless, one tradition attributed to the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* confirms the impression of the city's importance to the ministry of Jesus, when it speaks of no less than fifty-three miracles that he performed at Bethsaida and Chorazin.[25]

The canonical Gospel tradition may thus engage in a conspiracy of silence when it explicitly locates only *two* miracles at or near Bethsaida: the feeding of the multitude and the two-stage healing of the blind man. When he wanted to escape the crowds on the western side of the Lake, Jesus apparently sometimes took refuge in the territory of Bethsaida. Thus, Luke suggests somewhat awkwardly that before the feeding of the 5,000 he "went privately to a city (κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς πόλιν) called Bethsaida" (9:10). Two verses later he himself agrees with the Marcan parallel that describes the location as an ἔρημος τόπος (Mark 6:32); so it may be possible to see behind this a misunderstood local reference "to the wilderness (in the district) of Bethsaida."[26] Such a reading naturally commended itself to an early Eastern scribe's interpretative emendation of the text, which found widespread acceptance in the subsequent manuscript tradition.[27]

Luke proceeds to place the feeding of the 5,000 apparently in the vicinity of Bethsaida (9:12-17), although neither Mark nor Matthew localise either of their two feeding miracles in this fashion.[28] In view

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Although rabbinic unfamiliarity with the ruined city introduced considerable variations of orthography, the most consistent spelling is ציידן[ב], which appears to derive from oral usage: see Freund 1995.

[23] Matt 11:21 = Luke 10:13.

[24] Judgement on Bethsaida is clearly expressed in 5 Ezra 1:11 *v.l.*, an early second-century Christian document. See Strickert 1997.

[25] *Gospel of the Nazarenes* §27.

[26] In Greek, see, e.g., 2 Kgs (= 2 Sam) 2:24 (ἔρημον Γαβαων); 2 Chr 20:16, 20; 1 Esdr 8:78 (cf. Ezra 9:9). Note also Dalman 1935: 167. This conventional usage eliminates a number of the problems raised by Kuhn 1995: 247-48 and noted in the major commentaries.

[27] εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαϊδά: A C W Ξ^{mg} $f^{(1).13}$ along with the Majority Text (cf. AV: "a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida").

[28] Note, e.g., the difficulty of Mark 6:45, which seems to imply a crossing "towards" Bethsaida (N.B. πρός, not εἰς) after the feeding. If the final destination of

of this, it is sometimes suggested that Bethsaida only intrudes into Luke's narrative here because of his "great omission" of Mark 6:45–8:26: the town appears both at the beginning and at the end of that Marcan section (6:45; 8:22).[29] Luke's handling of his sources certainly raises complex issues at this point; and it may well be that his copy of Mark was either defective or in a different form from that known to us.[30]

On the other hand, to short-circuit the text and rule out any connection with Bethsaida solely on these grounds seems unwarranted.[31] What is more, a setting on the north-eastern shore may also be implied in John, where Jesus first crosses the lake to get to the site of the feeding and afterwards returns in the same manner to Capernaum (6:1-17). And without unduly literalising the evangelists' narrative details, neither an ἔρημος τόπος nor a mountainside covered with grass during the Passover season[32] would be hard to find on the slopes that rise to the south-east of the swampy plain of Bethsaida.[33] That relatively sparsely settled area was, moreover,

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Ginosar (6:53) is also taken into account, however, the conflict may be more apparent than real. Dalman 1935: 175-76 reports a similar early twentieth-century experience of setting out to sail from a point north of Hippos towards Bethsaida, but being driven instead towards Capernaum by a strong midday storm; note further p. 183 and see similarly Nun 1989: 52-54. Smith 1996 and others conveniently dismiss such inelegant "naturalism" in favor of more sophisticated literary tactics; and perhaps it is true that meteorology does not exhaust the text. Still, I confess to finding mystification rather than enlightenment in interpretations that forsake grappling with the plain sense of this admittedly difficult passage in order to revel in more fashionably post-structuralist allegory, untroubled by the absence of any contextual or cultural indication that this is what the author might reasonably have expected his readers to understand.

[29] So, e.g., Kuhn 1995: 248; cf. the commentaries.

[30] See, e.g., Koester 1990: 284-86 on the possible absence of the "Bethsaida section" from proto-Mark (*Urmarkus*).

[31] Cf. also Dalman 1935: 176, who suggests that, despite the story's admittedly awkward placement, a connection of the feeding miracle with Bethsaida may to Luke have seemed implicit in the Marcan account: there, too, Jesus is in Bethsaida (Mark 8:22) before the first passion prediction (8:31 = Luke 9:22), having discussed the meaning of a feeding miracle on the journey.

[32] So John 6:3-4, 10; cf. Mark 6:39 = Matt 14:19 for the reference to grass, and perhaps Mark 6:46 = Matt 14:23 for the reference to a nearby mountain.

[33] One could even surmise that the Eastern shore favours grassy hillsides because of its greater exposure to the winter rains. Strickert's comment about grass on basalt, however (Strickert 1998: 122), does not seem to advance the argument inasmuch as it would in theory apply equally well to the hills above Capernaum.

At the same time, we must probably agree that a similarly remote spot on the western side of the lake would be rather more difficult to find. On the eastern shore,

easily accessible from the lake without having to pass through the town (cf. also Mark 1:45).[34]

Mark alone has the story of the blind man healed in two attempts, apparently in the town of Bethsaida itself (8:22-26). This account is now widely regarded as dependent on authentic tradition. There is of course no obvious way to substantiate its location. Nevertheless, Mark's placement of it following a boat crossing from Capernaum and preceding the journey to Caesarea Philippi makes good geographic sense. At the same time, the popular, quasi-magical flavor of the narrative has been widely noted and might suit its notional setting in a partly or largely pagan town.[35]

At the end of the day, while one or two other Gospel episodes might possibly be connected to Bethsaida, as we shall see, in no case is such a link either obvious or compelling. And none of these texts shed any immediate light on Simon Peter. Indeed, the Synoptic Gospels would lead us to believe that his primary association is with Capernaum from the start: it is there that we find "the house of Simon and Andrew," where he lives with his wife and mother-in-law.[36]

3. Simon Peter's Social Background.

This latter piece of evidence also suggests that the question of Peter's social status may be quite complex. Later patristic writers consistently assumed that Peter came from very humble circumstances, that in his youth he was very poor and perhaps even orphaned.[37] Be that as it may: as a fisherman he evidently enjoyed a more secure status than that of tenant farmers or day laborers, many of whom suffered the perennial threat of unemployment and struggled along at bare subsistence level.[38] In the synoptic narrative it is of course true that unlike James and John, whose father has a

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by contrast, Dalman 1935: 167 identified Khirbet ʿAḳib (Kfar ʿAqavya; cf. Nun 1999: 21 and possibly the ostracon described in Arav 1995: 17-18), just to the south of the plain of Bethsaida, as an area in which to locate a plausible landing.

[34] Cf. Mark's comment that the people from the towns raced ahead of him on land (6.33).

[35] Cf. e.g., Rousseau 1995: 261-64; see the major commentaries.

[36] Mark 1:29-31; cf. Matt 8:14-15 = Luke 4:38 "Peter's house." Peter's wife is also mentioned in 1 Cor 9:5.

[37] So Chrysostom, *Hom.* 4 on Acts 2:1-2: "he of Bethsaida, the uncouth rustic"; cf. *Hom.* 2 on John 1:1; Ps.-*Clem. Hom.* 12.6.

[38] See Freyne 1988: 155-67; cf. Chester 1996: 12-16.

boat as well as hired workers (μισθῶτοι, Mark 1:19-20), Peter is called while fishing from the shore (see below). In fact, only a single passage implies that Peter himself owns a boat (Luke 5:3). Still, his livelihood is clearly not immediately under threat.

As for his level of education, the Jerusalem authorities in Acts 4:13 are said to regard him as an uneducated (ἀγράμματος), common man (ἰδιώτης)—a charge that came to be regularly applied to the Apostles by Christianity's critics in the second and third centuries.[39] And leaving aside the doubtful authorship of the epistles ascribed to him in the New Testament, we have indeed no reason to assume anything more than a basic Jewish family upbringing. Rudolf Pesch offers the homely surmise that Peter would have received the customary elementary education through "Bethsaida's local synagogue."[40] This somewhat wishful assumption, however, needs to contend with the fact that excavations of Bethsaida around the time of Christian origins have unearthed a Graeco-Roman village without any evidence of a recognizably Jewish presence or building.

B. The Johannine Evidence

Only John 1:44 and 12:21, therefore, unambiguously link Peter with Bethsaida. Both passages are really about Philip and Andrew more than about Peter, yet they alone establish the claim that all three men are from "Bethsaida of Galilee" (so 12:21). Despite such slender attestation, the absence of any patent Johannine theological agenda suggests there is no reason to depart from the widely held consensus that the Fourth Gospel here preserves a reliable tradition.[41] Indeed the most likely explanation may be that the Synoptic silence on Peter's birthplace is simply part of a wider narrative strategy on Bethsaida and Chorazin, as discussed above (see pp. 56-59).

All three disciples' names in John 1:40-44 are Greek; but that Hellenic character is developed quite differently in the remainder of the Gospel. Philip and Andrew, whose names are not recognisably

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[39] E.g., Celsus in Origen, *C. Cels.* 1.62; cf. Justin, *1 Apol.* 39; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.45.1-2.

[40] Pesch 1980: 11-12. On Jewish elementary education see, e.g., Stemberger 1996: 8-9.

[41] Few contemporary commentators question this judgement. For somewhat speculative suggestions to the contrary see, however, de Burgos 1991: 240 and Haenchen 1980: 181.

Jewish, are most obviously characterised under that heading.[42] Philip, in fact, may well have been named in keeping with a Herodian family penchant, which had come to be particularly appropriate to the tetrarchy of Gaulanitis and Trachonitis. In any case Herod's son Philip was a popular ruler,[43] after whom even Jewish aristocrats named their sons.[44]

Perhaps in keeping with their names, Philip and Andrew also seem to be the disciples most fluent in Greek. In John 12:21-22 it is Philip who is first approached by the pilgrim "Greeks" wanting to see Jesus;[45] and he takes along Andrew to pass on this request. (Might there even be an assumption that Philip is perceived as the most suitable contact for Greek speakers because he is known to be "from Bethsaida in Galilee"?[46])

As for Simon Peter, his Greek epithet appears together with its Aramaic form "Cephas" in John 1:42. In his case, then, John seems from the first to introduce both Greek and Aramaic dimensions. His origin in the evidently bilingual town of Bethsaida is clearly affirmed, but even here the connection is less developed than in the case of Philip and Andrew. This is perhaps what we would expect if Peter had indeed moved to Capernaum some considerable time ago, as the Synoptic evidence implies.

Beyond that, it would appear that Andrew and Philip, but not Peter, are called upon for their local knowledge of the Bethsaida area in the Johannine feeding of the five thousand. Jesus turns to Philip to ask where bread for the crowds might be bought (6:5), and it is Andrew who finds the boy with five loaves and two small fish (John 6:8-9).[47]

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[42] Philip is a name associated with Israel's enemies in 1–2 Maccabees. Note, however, the deacon Philip in Acts, appointed on behalf of the Greek-speaking Christians in Jerusalem (Acts 6:5). He (or another namesake?) is from Caesarea Maritima and is later called "the evangelist" (21:8).

[43] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.6 §106-107; cf. 17.2.2 §28.

[44] See, e.g., Josephus, *J.W.* 2.17.4 §421; 2.20.1 §556; *Ant.* 17.2.3 §29-31; *Life* 11 §46-61 (the grandson of a wealthy Jewish immigrant from Babylonia, later the governor of Gamla and a general under Agrippa II); *J.W.* 3.7.21 §233 (a Galilean defender of Jotapata). Even in the Amoraic period the name was still in use (see Jastrow s.v. פליפא).

[45] They have come up to worship at the feast.

[46] τῷ ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (12:21). Freyne 1988: 126 (cf. p. 124), however, assumes too much when he refers to the inquirers as "Greeks from Bethsaida in Galilee."

[47] ὀψάρια, i.e., most plausibly roasted or salted sardines, typically pickled for

C. The Social Context of Bethsaida in the Gospels

Other textual hints may help to clarify several aspects of the Jesus tradition's implied perception of Bethsaida's socio-political and linguistic setting.

1. Geography.

We begin with several passing remarks of relevance to Bethsaida's geographical and political location on the Sea of Galilee.

(a) Village or City?

Luke and John refer to Bethsaida as a πόλις (Luke 9:10; John 1:44), but Mark describes it as a κώμη (8:23, 26). It is unclear if Luke and John thereby betray a knowledge of Philip the Tetrarch's transformation of Bethsaida into a city named Julias. Josephus remains vague about the date and nature of this foundation, which he recounts first in connection with Philip's accession in 4 B.C. (*Ant.* 18.2.1 §28) and then again with that of Tiberius in A.D. 14. As we shall see below, it seems in fact to have occurred only around A.D. 30.

We should perhaps refrain from reading too much into the evangelists' possibly inadvertent use of terminology. Luke was in any case not a native of Palestine,[48] and Mark's understanding of Galilean topography may not always be equally precise (cf. 7:31). What is more, Josephus implies *prima facie* that Bethsaida was known as a κώμη and the renamed Julias as a πόλις. It is interesting, too, that Philip's renaming of Bethsaida is never reflected in early Christian or rabbinic literature. Pliny and Ptolemy, by contrast, know the city only as Julias, although they are the last Graeco-Roman writers to mention it.[49] For reasons that will become obvious below, it may well be that both designations continued to co-exist for a while.

(b) Galilee or Gaulanitis?

A second topographical issue is John's designation of Peter's home

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example at Magdala, whose Greek name Taricheae (frequently in Josephus) and Aramaic name "Tower of Fish" (מגדל נוניא, *b. Pesaḥ.* 46b) confirms its continuing role as a centre of that industry. Cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.45 and see Nun 1989: 49-52; Dalman 1935: 126; Dalman 1939: 105; Strange 1992b: 464. Grant 1994: 56 rightly suggests that salt was an important auxiliary source of the local fishing industry's prosperity.

[48] Note even the implicit perspective of the phrase εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαϊδά (9:10), presumably for the benefit of both author and readership.

[49] Cf. Baudoz 1985: 30.

town as "Bethsaida of Galilee" (12:21), which has sometimes led scholars to posit either a straightforward error,[50] a second Bethsaida in the west,[51] or even a change in the course of the river Jordan.[52] Most scholars now recognise, however, that Jewish settlements in the Jordan valley and around what is known in the Gospels as the Sea of Galilee were sometimes described as part of Galilee. Both Josephus and Luke refer to Judas of Gamla as a Galilean,[53] and the geographer Ptolemy also viewed Julias as belonging to Galilee.[54]

2. Language.

Another set of observations arises from two quite different linguistic features in the Gospels, one pertaining to Peter's native accent and the other to a word play on the name of Bethsaida.

(a) Accent Jokes

Galileans were easily recognisable for their careless pronunciation, especially of gutturals,[55] which became the butt of regional jokes. One famous Talmudic example runs as follows:

דההוא בר גלילא ואמר להו אמר למאן אמר למאן
אמרו ליה גלילאה שוטה
חמר למירכב או חמר למישתי
עמר למילבש או אימר לאיתכסאה

> A certain Galilean went around saying to people, "Who has *amar*? Who has *amar*?" They said to him, "You Galilean fool, do you mean an ass (*ḥămār*) for riding or wine (*ḥamar*) for drinking, wool (*ʿămar*) for clothing or a lamb (*ʾîmmar*) for slaughtering?"[56]

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[50] So, e.g., Klausner 1925: 288.

[51] Thus many nineteenth-century writers; see, e.g., Edersheim 1897: *passim*. A western site near Khan el-Minyeh in the Ginnosar plain was, however, variously assumed since the twelth century: see e.g. Kuhn and Arav 1991: 83 and n. 22, and McCown 1930.

[52] So, e.g., Pixner 1985: 213-14, reiterated in Pixner 1991: 138. Not long before his death in 2002, however, Pixner apparently changed his mind about this in light of the excavations (R. Arav, e-mail of 6 July 1999).

[53] Acts 5:37; Josephus, *Ant* 18.1.1 §4; 18.1.6 §23; 20.5.2 §102; *J.W.* 2.8.1 §118; 2.17.8 §433.

[54] Ptolemy, *Geog.* 5.15.3. The connection is merely implicit in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.15.70-71. A difficult text in *b. Suk.* 27b appears to make Caesarea Philippi part of Galilee; but contrast the parallel in *t. Suk.* 1.9; cf. Neubauer 1868: 237-40.

[55] Cf. Dalman 1905: 57-61 and pp. 56-68 *passim*. He points out that the same issue is raised about the inhabitants of Beth Sheʾan.

[56] *b. ʿErub.* 53b; cf. the earlier, more serious explanation in *b. ʿErub.* 53a: בידם בני גליל שלא הקפידו על לשונם לא נתקיימה תורתם, "Because the Galileans are not careful

The context of this passage seems to relate Galilean linguistic carelessness to a similar ignorance and imprecision in religious matters, as is also the case in related passages. But despite an intrinsic plausibility we can have no certainty about the extent to which such later religious snobbery pertained in the first-century context.[57]

As for Peter himself, he is of course upbraided for his Galilean accent in connection with the story of his denial of Jesus in Jerusalem (Mark 14:70; cf. Matt 26:73). For our purposes, the main point is that his accent is unmistakably *Galilean*, not Greek. Peter's origin in Bethsaida does indeed make him bilingual.[58] But his Aramaic accent is Jewish Galilean; and in Judaea he stands out as marked by this accent and its inevitable cultural connotations.[59] As Dalman suggests, moreover, the perceived Galilean carelessness about pronunciation might itself be the result of a relatively high proportion of non-native speakers.[60]

(b) Fishing Puns

Wordplays related to Bethsaida and fishing were apparently also integral to the ministry of Jesus. We have already noted Jesus' warning of the impending judgement in which Sidon (צידון) will fare

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about their language, their Torah interpretation is not valid" (early Amoraic attribution). Several other jokes follow in the immediate context. Despite the assertion of a *baraita* in some manuscripts, the passage as it stands is Babylonian and cannot be shown to be early. Nevertheless, attestation for consistent patterns of Galilean pronunciation is so widespread that it was clearly a commonplace from early on, as Matt 26:73 also implies. See above all Dalman 1905: 57; cf. Neusner 1996: 261, *ad loc.*

[57] An assumption of Galilean religious inferiority may well underlie passages like Luke 13:2 and John 7:52, along with the expression "Galilee of the Gentiles" (1 Macc 5:15); Matt 4:15. For a cautious assessment of the relevant rabbinic evidence see, e.g., Freyne 1988: 213-18 in discussion with Jacob Neusner.

[58] Pesch 1980: 11 n. 112 rightly suggests that Papias' famous comment about Mark as Peter's ἑρμενευτής therefore is unlikely to mean that Peter needed a "translator." Instead, it may be a literary term denoting a mediator of tradition. Thiede 1986: 21, followed by Grant 1994: 56, even suggests that Peter may have been "orally trilingual," although the evidence he supplies for this is very slender indeed.

[59] There is an extensive body of scholarly literature on the sociology of accent; examples include Honey 1989: 51-78 on the UK and Lippi-Green 1997 (esp. pp. 240-43) on the USA.

[60] See, e.g., Dalman 1929: 6. Contemporary English shows analogous development in comparable settings, in both idiom and pronunciation. Obvious illustrations include the "standard" English spoken in places like India or Jamaica, but also for example the older influence of German on American idioms like "different than" or "hopefully," and more recently the linguistic cross-pollination in strongly Hispanic areas.

rather better than Bethsaida (בית צייד[א]ן). Beyond that, Bethsaida of course means "fishing place"; and scattered rabbinic references suggest that even after its demise in the third century it was long remembered precisely for the rich variety of its fish.[61] An examination of the Peshitta gives some idea of the importance of stories and teachings using that root. We find cognates such as "fisherman,"[62] "fishing net"[63] and the "catch";[64] and Peter and Andrew, of course, are called as "fishermen" who are to become "fishers of men."[65] Given the evangelists' veil of silence over Jesus' ministry in Bethsaida, it is difficult to say if there could be more to this feature than simple wordplay.[66]

3. Bethsaida Fishing Techniques.

Finally, Peter's connection with the northern coastline of the Sea of Galilee near Bethsaida may be illustrated by a small detail of social history in the call narrative according to Mark and Matthew. As Jesus summons Peter and Andrew to follow him, both Matthew and Mark offer a uniquely pertinent description of the two brothers' activity: they were engaged in cast-net fishing, throwing their circular nets from the shore or while standing in shallow waters.

Matthew 4:1	*Mark 1:16*
Περιπατῶν δὲ **παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν** τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς, Σίμωνα τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, **βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν**· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.	Καὶ παράγων **παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν** τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος **ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ**· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.

No boats are mentioned on this occasion: the impression is of Jesus walking along the shore and coming upon Simon and Andrew casting their nets "*into* the sea" (Matt) from there. Historically, the typical

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[61] *y. Šeqal.* 6.2, 50a, reports of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel being offered a single dish made of 300 fish. Strickert 1998: 57 suspects here a reference to a catch of sardines.

[62] ܨܝܕ (*ṣyd*): Matt 4:18; Mark 1:16-17; Luke 5:2.

[63] ܡܨܝܕܬ (*mṣydt*): Matt 4:18, 20, 21; 13:47; Mark 1:16, 18, 19; Luke 5:2, 4, 5, 6; John 21:6, 8, 11.

[64] ܨܝܕ (*ṣyd*): Luke 5:4, 9.

[65] ܨܝܕ ܐ ܕܒܪܝ ܢܫ – ܨܝܕ (*ṣyyd – ṣyyd ʾdbry ʾnš*): Mark 1:16, 17.

[66] One intriguing passage is Jer 16:16, where the Lord sends for many fishermen and hunters (צידים) to catch the wicked Gentiles and to chase them from every mountain and cleft of the rocks (*Tg. Jon.* כיפיא). In the Targum at least, this action causes the surviving Gentiles to turn from their idolatry.

method of land-based deployment for the circular cast-nets has been fishermen standing on the shore or in the shallows.[67] They would take advantage of the large shoals of indigenous *musht* fish that in the winter months characteristically congregate in the northern part of the lake, especially at Capernaum's fishing outpost of Tabgha/Heptapégon with its warm springs (some on the lakebed) and around the mouth of the Jordan near Bethsaida.[68] It is there that fish entered or left the lake, and thus were often sufficiently plentiful to catch without using a boat. This of course should not be understood to limit the call narrative to a particular location, but merely to say that the specific use of the ἀμφίβληστρον, as distinct from other fishing techniques mentioned in the Gospels, does make excellent sense on the shoreline around Capernaum and Bethsaida.[69]

Several other features could be discussed, but to avoid excessive speculation we must now turn to the evidence of archaeology.[70]

II. PETER AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF BETHSAIDA-JULIAS

As a second step in our reconsideration of the opening quotation from Oscar Cullmann, we must turn to examine the light that archaeology may be able to shed on our question. Our discussion here inevitably enters contentious and disputed territory, which focuses above all on the identification of the site of Bethsaida and the

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[67] Cf. Dalman 1939: 346-48, 358, 361, and (more cautiously) 363; Nun 1989: 43.

[68] See, e.g., Nun 1989: 6, 43-44 (note also his pictures on pp. 25, 27); Dalman 1935: 134-35; Masterman 1909: 104.

[69] Among the other relevant techniques involving Peter are the seine and trammel nets as well as simple hooks. See Nun 1989.

[70] So for example in Dalman's time there was a regular build-up of sediment bars in front of the river-mouth, caused in by counter-currents from the lake. See also Shroder 1995. Might there be merit in taking natural features of this sort into account in a comprehensive re-assessment of the original experience underlying the story of Jesus walking ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης (Mark 6:45-52), which is usually classed as wholly mythological or theological in origin (but see the recent effort of Malina 1999, from the standpoint of social psychology)?

Since Dalman, a number of factors have affected water levels and altered the shoreline around the mouth of the Jordan by massively increased sedimentation: among the major reasons have been the mid-century draining of the Huleh lake and swamplands to the north and the major flood of 1969 that deposited an estimated 100,000 m^3 of sediment and advanced the shoreline by several hundred metres. (Cf. Shroder 1995: 78-79, who speaks of "a new hydrological and sedimentological regime in the Upper Jordan River.") Even so, the lakebed in this area continues to incline at a shallow angle.

interpretation of archaeological discoveries made in the area since the late 1980s.

While pilgrims since at least the sixth century were shown what they believed to be Bethsaida on the lakeshore north-east of Capernaum,[71] the difficulty of identifying the location of the first-century town confounded nineteenth and twentieth-century explorers of the area.[72] Two sites have been under serious consideration: a large mound simply known as et-Tell (now Tell Bethsaida), and the other a site nearer the lakeshore, known as el-Araj (Hebr. Beth Ha-Beq). We will discuss each in turn.

A. Et-Tell ("Tell Bethsaida")

Since 1988 an international team, led by Israeli archaeologist Rami Arav of Tel Aviv's Eretz Israel Museum and the University of Nebraska, has carried out annual excavations on a large rocky mound known as et-Tell, in the formerly Syrian Golan. The site rises 25 metres above its surroundings and is today located about 500 metres east of the Jordan and 2.5 kilometres north of the Sea of Galilee.[73] It constitutes the largest tell around the Sea of Galilee[74] and has revealed substantial remains dating especially from the Iron Age, but also from the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. The most spectacular of these finds to date concern the ninth and tenth century BC, at which time the site is perhaps to be identified with the capital of the kingdom of Geshur.[75] Arav's enterprise, known as the Bethsaida Excavations Project, found the largest three-chambered

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[71] On the pilgrims' accounts cf. Dalman 1935: 146; Nun 1998: 18-19; Kuhn and Arav 1991: 83; McNamer 1999.

[72] See the accounts in Kuhn and Arav 1991: 84; Nun 1998: 20-21; note also McCown 1930.

[73] I have deliberately chosen to derive a rough figure from the 1994 edition of the Israel Road Atlas (1:100,000), approved by the Survey of Israel and the Ministry of Tourism (Melzer 1994). The precise distance from the shore obviously varies a little with seasonal water levels. Nevertheless, the contentiousness of the identification is reflected in the fact that advocates like Arav set the site's distance from the lake at 1.5 km (Arav 1999d: 80), while critics like Nun cite exactly twice that figure (so, e.g., Nun 1998: 18; Strange 1992a: 692). H. W. Kuhn, another member of Arav's team, gives the present distance as "about 2 km" (Kuhn 1999: 284; cf. Kuhn and Arav 1991: 81); but that range (1.25 miles) was already proposed by Schumacher 1888: 246, well before the twentieth century's alluvial and drought-induced advances of the shore line.

[74] Arav 1999d: 80.

[75] So Arav 1999d: 81; see 1 Sam 27:8; 2 Sam 3:3; 13:37-38; 14:23, 32; 15:8 and *passim*.

gate ever uncovered in Palestine,[76] along with a stele pertaining to a "high place of the gate" (cf. 2 Kgs 23:8; 17:9).[77] After the town's destruction by the Assyrians in 732, the next significant influx of settlers came in the third century BC; the predominant construction pattern from now on was of private rural houses, until the settlement declined in the third century AD and was then apparently abandoned in the second half of the fourth.[78] Although the site is large enough for a population of several thousand, the patchy settlement pattern in the early Roman period has led Arav to an estimate of only "several hundred people during the time of Jesus."[79] It would have been a very small city indeed.

1. Architecture.

In the first century, then, the buildings on the site were fairly modest, and constructed without exception from the dark local basalt rather than from the more prestigious imported limestone employed, for example, for the fourth-century synagogue of Capernaum. Despite the humble and unadorned construction, a few of the houses were nevertheless relatively sizeable and built in typical Graeco-Roman courtyard style, of a similar kind but considerably larger than the so-called "house of Peter" found at Capernaum. Based on artefacts found in two of these houses, the excavators refer to one as a "fisherman's house" and the other as a "winemaker's house"; but both identifications rest on tenuous evidence and remain controversial.[80]

One of the more contentious factors is the virtual absence of public architecture from the Greek and Roman period. According to Josephus, Philip's renaming and transformation of Bethsaida into the city of Julias was achieved by adding a large number (πλήθει) of settlers. He also increased its power in other ways (καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει), which in the first century one might reasonably expect to

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[76] So Arav 1999d: 81; see the fuller descriptions in Arav 1999b: 25-30 and Arav 1999a.

[77] See Bernett and Keel 1998.

[78] Arav 1999d: 81-83; cf. also n. 112 below.

[79] Arav 1999d: 83; Strickert 1998: 68-74.

[80] Matters are not helped by romanticising speculations about how the former building might have been "the opulent *insula* of the Zebedees" (cf. Arav and Rousseau 1993: 423).

include public building projects and fortifications.[81] Josephus certainly had first-hand knowledge of Julias after fighting a battle in the immediate vicinity during the early stages of the Jewish war.[82]

However, virtually no material evidence for Josephus' assertion has thus far come to light at et-Tell. We do not find the usual Hellenistic city structures like a theatre or amphitheatre, a hippodrome, gymnasium, palaces, a profusion of temples, pools, pillars and porticoes, statues, inscriptions, an aqueduct or public baths, or any signs of concerted fortification.[83] Only a handful of first-century coins have come to light, three of them minted by Philip.[84] It is of course true that unlike his accounts of other Herodian *grands projets*, Josephus does not actually link Bethsaida's elevation to a single specific building effort, with the possible exception of the tetrarch's own tomb (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.6 §108). And contrary to a widespread misconception, he never claims that Philip either made Bethsaida his capital or turned it into a patently Hellenistic city.[85] Nevertheless, whatever his statement means, the silence of the archaeological record does seem deafening.[86] Can this really be one of the four main cities of Galilee named by Ptolemy in the second century, and one of the four "lovely" towns around the Sea of Galilee that Pliny the Elder described in A.D. 77?[87]

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[81] Strickert 1998: 91 seems to acknowledge this, without appreciating its implications for et-Tell.

[82] Josephus, *Life* 72 §398-406. Cf. Greene 1995.

[83] Arav 1999d: 108 concedes, "The buildings do not carry any Greek classical elements; there were no columns or Greek capitals, not even after the Roman temple was constructed . . . ."

According to Strange 1992a: 692, some early explorers spoke of a mosaic and remains of an aqueduct at the top of et-Tell. But thus far the literature of the Bethsaida Excavations Project makes no mention of such remains; indeed Arav 1999d: 88-89 seems to imply there are none (unless this evidence was destroyed during the site's twentieth-century use by the Syrian army). Strange may well be mistakenly referring to early twentieth-century reports pertaining instead to el-Araj (e.g., Dalman 1935: 162; cf. de Haas 1933:222 quoted in Pixner 1991: 138).

[84] On the Jewish coins, see most fully Kindler 1999a, who lists a total of 13 Hasmonean and nine Herodian coins (ranging from Herod the Great to Agrippa II). Strickert 1995 and Cecilia Meier in Arav 1995:54-55 offer lower figures that cover only the first six seasons of excavation, 1987–1993. On Philip's coins, see also Arav 1999d: 86. By contrast, Arav 1995: 53 lists 11 Ptolemaic and 21 Seleucid coins.

[85] So rightly Baudoz 1985: 30.

[86] See, e.g., Nun 1998: 26-27.

[87] Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 5.15.3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.15.71 (the lake is *amoenis circumsaeptum oppidis, ab oriente Iuliade et Hippo, a meridie Tarichea, . . . ab occidente Tiberiade*).

In reply to this critique, several mitigating factors may be mentioned. First, the excavators point out that there is evidence of a long history both of looting and of secondary use of the site's basalt stones;[88] and since the town was never significantly rebuilt after the Roman period, it is those remains that were nearest to the surface. Next, the site suffered significant damage under the impact of Syrian army trenches and other military installations deployed in the 1950's and 1960's.[89] And thirdly, excavators do in fact claim to have uncovered the foundations of a Roman temple of Julia Livia, also badly damaged by a twentieth-century Syrian trench, which measures 6 x 20 meters and revealed a single column base. An incense shovel of low-grade bronze from a nearby pit of domestic pottery shards has also been related to this building.[90] Four pieces of dressed stone, supposedly from the same edifice, were found in secondary use elsewhere on the mound; a small Graeco-Roman figurine, said to be of Julia Livia, also came to light.[91] The identification of this east-facing proposed temple remains somewhat tentative; Arav himself concedes that architecturally this "very modest temple"[92] is in any case "the only Hellenistic element" on the site.[93]

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[88] Arav 1995: 5; cf. n. 88 below.

[89] Arav 1999d: 6.

[90] See Arav 1999b: 18-24, 32-44. On the incense shovel, see further Freund 1999: 416-20, *passim*, who points out the striking similarity with the (supposedly Roman) incense shovels of the Bar Kokhba period that were found in Naḥal Ḥever in the Cave of Letters, as well as with the significant symbolic use of such objects in later synagogue mosaics. Cf. also Kuhn 1999: 288-89, who compares Rev 8:3, 5 and notes the evidence, in Tob 6:16-17; 8.2 and rabbinic literature, for Jewish domestic use of incense.

[91] See Strickert 1998: 103-106 and the more recent data in Arav 1999b: 22 and 32. (Several other small figurines were found.) Arav speculates rather freely that the rest of the Temple's pediment may have been stripped and re-used for the synagogues at Chorazin and ed-Dikkeh (Arav and Rousseau 1993: 422; Arav 1999d: 85-87; cf. Masterman 1909: 106 n. 2). Nun 1998: 26-27 also notes the similarity: but if looting was involved, it could of course go in either direction. (Zangenberg 2000, by contrast, is perhaps too sceptical about the possibility of off-site recycling.) Pictures of the dressed stones re-used for nineteenth-century Bedouin tombs appear in Arav 1999b: 17, figs. 11a-b (Arav and Rousseau 1993: 421 speak of 77 tombs). The finds suggest that the extent of secondary use at et-Tell was perhaps relatively limited; even Schumacher 1888: 245 found the huts of the nineteenth-century Arab village to contain "extremely few antique remnants."

[92] Arav 1999b: 24. Kuhn 1999: 289, too, wisely remains cautious about the identification of this building, although Arav in recent popular publications sounds rather more certain (e.g., Arav 1999c: 90; 2000: 54-56).

[93] Arav 1999d: 87; he adds the pensive, revealing comment, ". . . A single iron

Finally, questions have long been raised about Josephus' claim that Julias was named after Augustus' daughter.[94] This would have had to take place in 3 BC, since barely a year later she was disgraced and banished for adultery to the island of Pandateria.[95] But the embarrassment of naming a city after such a *persona non grata* means the new name could hardly have lasted. Instead, the Julia who came to be deified and endowed with a cult in her honour must have been the Emperor's *wife* Julia Livia, who was adopted into the Julian family and publicly revered after her husband's death in AD 14, including by Roman procurators and Herod Antipas.[96] It was only after her death in the year 29 that Philip the tetrarch minted coins in her honour, in 30 and again in 33;[97] on another coin, struck in honour of Tiberius in the year 30, Philip refers to himself as a κτίστης, i.e., a founder.[98]

A foundation of Julias is therefore most plausible in AD 30, on the occasion of Julia Livia's death.[99] This might also be confirmed by circumstantial evidence in the New Testament's use of the name Bethsaida and of the "village" terminology.[100] But if this is true, then

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strigilis which was also discovered at Bethsaida, does not mean that we have found a Hellenistic gymnasium or palaestra" (p. 88). This latter object in fact has now been rather more plausibly identified as a weaving shuttle: Kuhn 1999: 288; cf. already the extensive list of "Errata and Corrigenda" supplied with Arav 1995. Note further the critical comments of Meyers and Meyers 2002.

[94] So Josephus, *Ant.* 18.2.1 §28.

[95] See, e.g., Schürer 1973–1986: 2.172.

[96] On the two Julias and their bearing on Bethsaida, see, e.g., Smith 1999.

[97] Strickert 2002 stresses that this is the earliest "Jewish" coin featuring the portrait of a woman.

[98] Strickert 1995: 181-84; cf. Kindler 1999b.

[99] This is strongly argued by Kindler 1999b and Strickert 1998: 91-107; cf. Kuhn and Arav 1991: 87-90, and is also accepted by Nun 1998: 16. See also Richardson 1999: 302 n. 36, who cites the useful account of Hoehner 1972: 87-91 on Herod Antipas' foundation of Livias/Julias at Betharamphtha.

[100] Cf. e.g., Kuhn and Arav 1991: 87, suggesting that the strange persistence in the gospels (unlike, e.g., in Josephus, Pliny and Ptolemy) of the older name Bethsaida may be due to the possibility that the renaming did not apply until the year of Jesus' death. (Note, however, that rabbinic literature also consistently ignored the change of name.) In Kuhn's view, the use of κώμη in Mark 8:23, 26 and of πόλις in the later Gospels (Luke 9:10; John 1:44) may be due to the subsequent intrusion of political realities pertaining at the time of redaction.

Then again, however, Josephus is sometimes technically inaccurate in referring to certain localities as πόλεις, and Mark 1:38 of course employs the curious hybrid term κωμοπόλεις of the places where Jesus worked. As for Luke's usage, Freyne 1988: 94 writes, "All the places mentioned as cities—Nazareth, Capernaum, Naim [*sic*],

only four years remained from the city's foundation to Philip's death in AD 34. After that, his territory reverted to direct rule by the Roman governor of Syria, who presumably did not share Philip's enthusiasm for the place.[101] There will thus have been very little time to implement a substantial programme of public building or to mint coins in Julias.[102] Philip must have visited often, and he died there. On his own orders he was buried with due pomp and circumstance in a previously commissioned mausoleum that seems to have been nearby, although none has as yet been found.[103]

2. Material Culture.

The city's material culture suggests an interesting range of economic activity. Unsurprisingly for this location, a number of objects pertain to fishing, although the precise interpretation of the implements is heavily contested. According to the Arav team's official report published by Sandra Fortner, their finds have included 27 net lead weights, 29 stone weights, one bronze and 13 iron fish hooks, 7 bronze and iron needles for sewing and repairing sailboats, one basalt anchor as well as an anchor incised on a jar handle.[104]

It should be noted, however, that Mendel Nun, a widely published expert on the ancient Galilean fishing industry, has cast serious doubt on this interpretation of the evidence.[105] He regards the vast majority of the over 100 items listed as unrelated to the fishing industry. One

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Bethsaida—do not, even in Luke's narrative, possess the institutions one normally associates with a hellenistic city, and it is doubtful if he really wishes to convey the impression that they do." Cf. Freyne 1988: 143-45; Goodman 1983: 27-28.

[101] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.6 §108. It was briefly under the rule of Agrippa I (AD 41–44) and from AD 53 intermittently under Agrippa II.

[102] In a conversation with the author on 1.7.1999, Rami Arav thought it significant that Bethsaida is one of only two (out of c. 35) cities in ancient Palestine that never minted coins.

[103] The location is not certain, although its proximity to Julias is made likely both by practical constraints of the day and by Josephus' seamless syntax (*Ant.* 18.4.6 §108): τελευτᾷ δ' ἐν Ἰουλιάδι καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἔτι πρότερον ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτός, ταφαὶ γίνονται πολυτελεῖς.

[104] Fortner 1999; Arav 1999d: 83-84. Somewhat fancifully, Strickert 1998: 152-53 sees the jar handle as possible evidence of a Christian presence. Arav 1995: 19-20 and Strickert 1998: 56-57 also describe a possibly Graeco-Roman clay seal with a poorly preserved depiction of what may be two fishermen deploying cast-nets from a small boat.

[105] Nun 1998: 29-31; he claims to have had access both to the excavation project's report (subsequently published: Fortner 1999) and to most of the relevant finds, now kept at the museum of Kibbutz Ginnosar.

of his most serious charges is that even if one accepted the identification of all thirty of the supposed net weights,[106] this number is far too small for a proper fishing village: every ancient net required two to three hundred such lead or stone sinkers. Just as significantly, the supposed weights at et-Tell were found not in groups but strewn all over the site. And while most ancient Galilean fishing weights were made of limestone or flint, the et-Tell inventory includes none made of flint and only eight of limestone, half of them naturally formed. Nun raises major questions about almost every other aspect of the alleged evidence for a thriving fishing industry based at the tell. Even a small clay seal of uncertain date, which appears to show two figures with a fishing net (?) standing in a boat among reeds,[107] speaks more eloquently about Bethsaida's cultural setting than about the primary occupation of its citizens. Scholarly discussion must obviously continue, but Nun's conclusion is indicative of the scale of the disagreement: "The fishing implements found at et-Tell are not of the type made and used by professional fishermen on the lake 2,000 years ago, and they in no way point to the existence of a fishing village at et-Tell. . . . These 'fishermen' were simply residents of et-Tell who occasionally fished in the Jordan River for food and for their own pleasure."[108]

The tell's faunal remains also seem *prima facie* to militate against the idea of Bethsaida as primarily a Jewish fishing village. Despite the higher rate of decay for fishbones, it seems significant that only 8% of the extant animal bones were of fish, with a high percentage of non-kosher catfish.[109] Aside from fishing, the bones are relatively conventional and point to the keeping of cattle, horses, donkeys and

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[106] Nun thinks that half of them are agricultural or domestic utensils dating back to the Iron Age: Nun 1998: 30.

[107] See Arav 1995: 19-20; cf. n. 100 above.

[108] Nun 1998: 31. Whether in response or in anticipation of such criticism, Fortner concludes merely that fishing was 'one of the occupations' at Bethsaida (Fortner 1999: 269; cf. p. 278). Even this interpretation, however, remains contested, and Arav and Rousseau 1993: 422 evidently spoke too soon when they regarded the case as proven "indiscutablement." The Bethsaida Excavation Project's reply to these queries (in Arav 2000: 52, "S.F."—i.e., Sandra Fortner?) does not sufficiently address the weight of Nun's critique.

[109] Arav 1999d: 84. Perhaps these would have been among the "bad fish" (τὰ δὲ σαπρά) that the fishermen of the parable are envisioned as catching in their dragnet (σαγήνη), but throwing out as rotten or otherwise unsuitable (Matt 13:48).

mules, and to a lesser extent of sheep and goats—as well as of pigs.[110]

Other finds include remains of barley flour mills as well as implements for a tannery and for the spinning and weaving of flax and wool. Indeed, a thriving flax industry has also been confirmed by pollen analysis,[111] and its enhancement of the local economy may have been a plausible contributing factor in Bethsaida's elevation to the status of a *polis*.[112] Somewhat more tenuously, varying remains of wine amphorae and jars along with three supposed pruning hooks have been taken as evidence of viticulture,[113] but this evidence also seems tenuous. A possibly short-lived period of prosperity is reflected in over 400 fragments of imported Hellenistic fineware, mainly from the second and early first centuries BC,[114] ending with the time of Alexander Jannaeus' conquest. Interestingly, that conquest resulted not only in a relative decline of the village's fortunes, but it does not appear to have brought any significant Jewish resettlement in its wake. Indeed there is to date no evidence of a Jewish presence anywhere on the site: no synagogue, no *miqva'ot* (ritual baths), no Jewish writings, inscriptions or graphic arts.[115] And aside from a small handful of Jewish coins, the only epigraphic evidence is in Greek.[116]

B. El-Araj and El-Mes'adiyeh

The second site seems initially far less impressive. At the end of an unmarked dirt track, one finds a rambling and run-down nineteenth-

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[110] Arav 1999d: 84.

[111] Schoenwetter and Geyer 2000; Geyer 2001. The same technique was previously applied to Sepphoris by Longstaff and Hussey 1997.

[112] So especially Geyer 1998, as cited in Schoenwetter and Geyer 2000: 71. They are rightly cautious about their speculation that flax may have been tithed at Bethsaida's Roman temple.

[113] Arav 1999d: 84; Arav 1999b: 98; Strickert 1998: 72-74 (Arav's "pruning hooks" are here called "sickles of the type used in the grape harvest": cf. also the "Errata and Corrigenda" supplied with Arav 1995).

[114] See Fortner 1995; additional Hellenistic fineware has since come to light (R. Arav, personal communication at et-Tell, 1.7.1999).

[115] During a site visit on 1 July 1999, Rami Arav suggested to me orally that the spring at the foot of the hill would have made *miqva'ot* less necessary. In Arav 1999b: 99 he notes certain similarities in construction between the supposed "wine cellar" of the so-called "House of the Vintner" and Byzantine *miqva'ot* found at Chorazin, but considers an identification unlikely.

[116] The few first-century Jewish coins cannot be said to constitute evidence of Jewish habitation. Cf. n. 81 above.

century house with various outbuildings, frequented mainly by sheep and cattle and by the local park warden. A small pile of cluttered ancient and modern Syrian remains catches one's attention. From there, a clump of eucalyptus trees and dense brush stretches along a slightly elevated, sloping embankment (*c.* 1.5m high) for about 300 metres towards the bank of a lagoon formed by the Meshushim stream in the East; a few other scattered ruins can be found on the opposite shore at a site called el-Mesʾadiyeh. The main evidence of ancient habitation consists in miscellaneous rough and cut stones strewn about the site and along the embankment on a narrow strip of the floodplain that recedes towards the shore. The lake itself laps around the existing buildings after plentiful winter rains; but at the end of the summer in drought years such as 1986 or 1999, the water's edge is several hundred meters away.

Can this place possibly offer anything of relevance to our inquiry? The Bethsaida Excavations Project's answer is an unequivocal "No." In 1987, Rami Arav conducted a small probe on the site of el-Araj and found only Late Roman and Byzantine remains; from then on, it was written off.[117] The Project's official view is that the settlement of el-Araj was built "several centuries later, perhaps after the destruction of Bethsaida itself." On this reading, the lakeside settlement was constructed on debris and sediment deposited as a result of a major earthquake followed by catastrophic flooding, perhaps as late as the fourth century.[118] It was only at that stage, we are told, that the fishermen of Bethsaida abandoned their town for an alternative site close to the water.[119]

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[117] Arav 1988; Arav in Kuhn and Arav 1991: 93-94; Arav 1999d: 80; Strickert 1998: 44, 176-77.

[118] So Arav in Kuhn and Arav 1991: 94; cf. Arav 1999d: 80. Fred Strickert has repeatedly linked this destruction to a datable earthquake in AD 115, mainly by appealing to the Spanish recension of 4 Ezra 1.11 (*v.l.*): Strickert 1997, Strickert 1998: 167-69, 175-77 and Strickert 1999. Vol. 1 of the official Bethsaida publication series contains a somewhat more cautious statement by the project's chief geologist, who concludes, "It is not a question of whether or not Bethsaida was once closer to the shoreline, but rather it is a question of how and when that change occurred. . . . The only real problem remaining to be solved is . . . the rate and exact type of change through time" (Shroder 1995: 92). More recently, the team of Shroder 1999: 141-46, 170, *passim* argue on the basis of new geological and Carbon-14 analyses that el-Araj was formed as part of a landslide and flooding after "about 68 CE," perhaps in conjunction with a major earthquake known to have occurred in the year 363. This *terminus a quo* for el-Araj is now also endorsed by Kuhn 1999: 283.

[119] E.g., Arav 1995: 80.

This explanation is certainly worth considering. The fact is that massive geological and alluvial changes clearly do take place in this area from time to time, and have done so as recently as 1969.[120] The lake's water levels, too, can and do change significantly. It is indeed highly probable that the lake was at one time much closer to the mound of et-Tell, and that the site of el-Araj is the result of alluvial deposits over time. Nevertheless, time scales of geological change, and our ability to date them, tend to differ from those of human history by several orders of magnitude. For this reason, the only adequate basis to determine at what point et-Tell might have been a fishing village and when el-Araj was first settled is not geological but *archaeological.* It is here, arguably, that Arav and his colleagues still have a case to answer. Their admittedly random[121] probe of 4m by 4m in the spring of 1987 can hardly be said to settle this complex question, not least as it was carried out at seasonal high water levels.[122] A more recent survey by ground-penetrating radar reportedly found "nothing more than beach sand" under the Byzantine remains of el-Araj,[123] although publication of details about the scope, date, and method of that survey is still awaited. Until then, it remains the case that others since the nineteenth century have repeatedly found Graeco-Roman remains at el-Araj, including traces of a Roman road linking the site with et-Tell,[124] a large Roman mosaic,[125] an aqueduct,[126] and a considerable variety of decorated

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[120] See, e.g., Shroder 1995: 79-80. The 1969 flood, however, cannot be used as a straightforward illustration of recurring patterns. Shroder's own colleague Moshe Inbar stated as long ago as 1974 that the 1969 flood and sedimentation was "a direct result of man's activities within the watershed" (Inbar 1974: 197; cf. p. 206). It is perhaps worth noting that while aerial photos of 1957, 1958, 1969 and 1972 nicely illustrate the deposit of sediment at the mouth of the Jordan, they also show no obvious change in the relative position of el-Araj vis-à-vis seasonal high and low water levels (see photos in Inbar 1974: 204-205).

[121] E.g., Arav in Kuhn and Arav 1991: 94; cf. Arav 1988 and see Nun 1998: 23.

[122] So rightly Nun 1998: 23.

[123] Arav 2000: 48.

[124] Schumacher 1888: 94, 246; cf. Strange 1992a; Nun 1998: 21. Masterman 1909: 101-102, by contrast, emphatically denies finding any sign of either hewn stones or a Roman road.

[125] So de Haas 1933: 222, quoted in Pixner 1991: 138; cf. Nun 1998: 21. Pixner 1991: 138 reports seeing pieces of a mosaic in 1983. Strange 1992a seems to link this mistakenly with et-Tell: see n. 80 above.

[126] Nun 1998: 16; cf. Dalman 1935: 162. See n. 80 above for James F. Strange's claim of an aqueduct having been discovered at et-Tell.

architectural remains and artefacts from the Roman and Byzantine periods.[127] The state of the surviving remains was unfortunately not helped by the 1956 Israeli aerial bombardment of a Syrian ammunitions store on the site.[128]

More recent archaeological surveys carried out in the 1970s and the 1990s (i.e., both before and after Arav's initial probe) report of pottery and structural remains dating to the Hellenistic, Herodian and late Roman periods, including columns and capitals used in public architecture, and the foundations of several circular towers.[129] During a visit of the site in July 1999, even with the untrained eye I could easily verify scattered surface remains of large-scale public architecture in both basalt and imported limestone, analogous to buildings in nearby Capernaum that date back at least to the early Byzantine period. Roman building remains have been identified not only here, but reportedly also at el-Mesʾadiyeh: James F. Strange and others even speculate that both sites together may have constituted the large ancient village of Bethsaida, although that may be unlikely.[130] Arav and his colleagues have argued that the Roman pottery remains at el-Araj must be the result of secondary alluvial deposits.[131] Given the high water levels in the spring of 1987, Arav's survey unsurprisingly reported a very small site of just "ten dunams";[132] summer and autumn surveys, by contrast, have consistently revealed ruins over an area several times as large.[133] Indeed both Mendel Nun and James F. Strange point out that, like several other harbours around the lake, most of the large ancient sites of el-Araj and el-Mesʾadiyeh now lie under water for several months of the

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[127] See, e.g., de Haas 1933, Wilken 1953, and Dalman 1935: 162, all cited in Nun 1998: 21.

[128] Cf. Pixner 1991: 138.

[129] See Urman 1985: 121, whose report is cursorily dismissed by Kuhn 1999: 283 and n. 3; also Stepansky 1991: 87-88 and Nun 1998, *passim*.

[130] Strange 1992a; cf. Urman 1985: 121; and see already Schumacher 1886: 253 and Schumacher 1888: 246. Arav and Rousseau 1993: 420 describe el-Mesʾadiyeh as an insignificant ruin.

[131] So, e.g., Shroder 1995: 66; Arav as reported in Nun 1998: 26.

[132] I.e., 2.2 acres or 0.9 hectare.

[133] Stepansky 1991: 87 explicitly notes the benefit of a survey at seasonal low-water levels; his own work was carried out in September and October 1990. Masterman's sceptical comments about el-Araj also derive from a visit relatively early in the season, in June 1907 (Masterman 1909: 98, 102).

year.[134]

One of the most contentious and critical questions is the relative water level in antiquity. The Bethsaida Excavations Project argues that the ancient shoreline was considerably further north, reaching up to "dock facilities" near et-Tell.[135] By contrast, Mendel Nun and others see the extensive and now only seasonally visible remains of ancient fishing ports and breakwaters around the lake as evidence that average water levels must instead have slightly *risen* (by 3-4 feet) after changes in the southern outflow of the lake about 1,000 years ago, thereby advancing the shoreline inland by "up to 150 feet."[136] Even the Bethsaida Project's chief geologist concedes in light of conflicting studies that fluctuations in the water level over the past 6,000 years are "controversial" and "not entirely clear."[137] For this reason, the topographical dispute between et-Tell and el-Araj remains mired in the area's geological volatility. The resolution of this particular issue must await further research and additional data, preferably of an archaeological rather than geological kind.

Even Josephus is unfortunately somewhat ambiguous in his various descriptions of the location of Bethsaida-Julias. He refers to Julias a dozen times, but to Bethsaida only once, in the *Antiquities*; given the consistency of the New Testament and rabbinic usage, this might at least permit one to raise questions about a straightforward identification of the two. As Josephus describes it, the Jordan enters the lake "*after* passing the city of Julias," μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιάδα (*J.W.* 3.10.7 §515), which is reached from Magdala/Taricheae by boat and lies in Philip's territory just east of the river Jordan, surrounded by marshlands (*Life* 73 §406, 403; *J.W.* 3.3.5 §57). In AD 67, Josephus' troops, encamped near the Jordan 200m west of Julias, advance from there into the plain, μέχρι τοῦ πεδίου, to attack Agrippa II's troops led by Sulla (*Life* 73 §406). Thus far, the description agrees nicely

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[134] Nun 1998: 31 and *passim*: at times of low water levels he claims to have identified a 300m x 50 m strip of ruined remains on the lakeside of el-Araj, and a further strip of 300m x 100m on the inland side. Cf. also Strange 1992a: 692. Baudoz 1985: 30 estimates an even larger site, at 850m x 140m.

[135] E.g., Shroder 1995: 85 and *passim*; Strickert 1998: 41, 44.

[136] See Nun 1999: 22-23 and *passim*.

[137] Shroder 1995: 88-89, more confidently Shroder 1999. Bovine (*sic*) faunal remains under flood boulders at the foot of et-Tell, carbon-14 dated to between AD 68 and 375, are hardly unambiguous confirmation that the ancient lake reached up to this site (*pace* Arav 2000: 48). The opposite conclusion seems no less plausible.

with et-Tell. All we discover about Bethsaida before its elevation, by contrast, is that it is a village *on* the lake of Gennesaret, πρὸς λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι (*Ant.* 18.2.1 §28).[138]

Unless one is prepared to believe that the altered topography of the *Antiquities* is merely the result of an old expatriate's fading memories, it clearly introduces a significant indeterminacy about the location of a place that is both hard by the lake *and* some way upstream. Historically, this uncertain literary evidence has been variously resolved in favor of (1) et-Tell, (2) el-Araj, or (3) some combination of the two. Ironically, both the Bethsaida Excavations Project and Mendel Nun categorically deny the third possibility.[139]

For more than a century, however, explorers have plausibly argued for some kind of significant symbiosis between et-Tell and el-Araj.[140] The two sites appear at one time to have been linked by a road.[141] Obviously a more thorough survey of el-Araj is now a matter of some urgency, without which this discussion is unlikely to make definitive progress.[142] Meanwhile, however, the image of Julias as a kind of "acropolis" with its own fishing suburb on the lake continues in my view to be highly plausible. For both security and comfort, the city's most desirable location would certainly be on the hill, away from flood-prone and malaria-infested swamps; and yet a harbour outpost would ensure ready access to trade and to the Galilee's richest fishing grounds.[143] A comparable correlation can be demonstrated in a number of other cases around the lake, especially between Hippos/Susita and En Gev or between Gadara and Tell Samra.[144] A somewhat different case is Capernaum, which, although

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[138] πρός with the dative means "hard by" a place (cf. LSJ). It is intriguing that the only reference to Julias by its Aramaic name occurs in *Ant.* Might this be because in the Greek translation of *J.W.*, originally drafted in Aramaic (1.1 §3), references to Bethsaida were systematically replaced by the new name?

[139] E.g., Nun 1998: 31; Arav 1999d: 80; Arav in Kuhn and Arav 1991: 94; Kuhn 1999: 283.

[140] So, e.g., Guérin 1868–1880: 1.332, 338; Schumacher 1888: 246; Dalman 1935: 162; Ilan 1969: 238-39; Baudoz 1985: 29-31; Urman 1985: 120-21; Pixner 1985; and Pixner 1991: 127-41.

[141] So, e.g., Schumacher 1888: 94, 246, and more recently Strange 1992a.

[142] So rightly Nun 1998: 31.

[143] Cf. Masterman 1909: 103-104.

[144] Cf. Nun 1999: 30-31, 64 and more generally Nun 1992. Dalman 1935: 171 makes a similar case specifically for *Khirbet el ʿAshek̲* as the harbour of Susita; so also Baudoz 1985: 30. Although he rejected the idea of a "fishing suburb," Masterman mistakenly saw a reference to Bethsaida's dependent hamlets in Nero's gift to

located on the lake, also had nearby outposts near the abundant winter fishing grounds of Tabgha to the South and perhaps at Aish to the north.[145] Some such political synergy may explain the twin phenomena of a settlement "on the lake" that is nonetheless taken to be part of a city called Julias, at some remove from the lake. This theory does not of course account for the problem of et-Tell's relative poverty or lack of public architecture, but could accommodate it in conjunction with the chronology suggested above (pp. 76-77).

This idea of a joint identification might also make sense of the curious imbalance in nomenclature between Josephus and Graeco-Roman geographers on the one hand and Christian and rabbinic literature on the other. Philip never managed to build up a Hellenistic acropolis at et-Tell, and its fortunes seem to have gradually waned after the second century, until its eventual demise in the fourth. Given the present state of scholarship, this correlation of the two sites can be no more than an interim working hypothesis. Nevertheless, it does appear to make reasonable sense of the complexities besetting the literary and archaeological evidence.

III. ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSION

In view of the uncertain state of play, it would be unwise at this stage to draw too many firm conclusions. Although the identification of Julias with et-Tell seems in my view the most likely, expert opinion continues to be divided on the interpretation of the limited archaeological record, important parts of which may still lie untouched by the excavator's spade. Further publications from the Bethsaida Excavations Project are still forthcoming.[146]

In order to formulate at least an interim result, however, we may say that the evidence does now point to et-Tell as bearing a significant relationship to the New Testament Bethsaida—and therefore to Simon Peter.[147] On this basis, a number of tentative observations may

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Agrippa II of "Julias . . . with fourteen villages around it" in AD 54; cf. p. 102 (Masterman 1909: 95, 104). The reference in Josephus, *Ant.* 20.8.4 §159 is very clearly to Julias *in Perea*, i.e., Betharamphtha (cf. *J.W.* 2.13.2 §252; see also n. 95 above).

[145] Nun 1999: 27; cf. Dalman 1935: 136-37.

[146] Vol. 3 is still awaited.

[147] And whatever the eventual verdict on the archaeological question, Peter's origin in Bethsaida is hardly "una tradición insignificante" (so de Burgos 1991: 239), as

be offered. Peter's youth in Bethsaida linked him at least economically and politically, and perhaps socially, with et-Tell, a small town whose relatively humble architecture and modest material culture has revealed no indication either of public munificence or of Jewish religious observance.[148] The very limited evidence of the supposed fishing economy there still suggest that Peter either took up his profession only after moving to Capernaum, or else (and more likely) practised it from el-Araj or another site nearer the lake.

Both literary and archaeological evidence points to the fact that Bethsaida's culture in the first century was under strongly Hellenistic influence—a fact that is reflected both in the names of all three disciples from there and in the stories told about them. If there were any Jews at et-Tell, then unlike in other parts of the Gaulanitis they appear to have left no signs of a way of life that distinguished them from their Gentile neighbours.[149]

If Philip the Tetrarch really founded a city here in the year of Jesus' death, he lacked the time, and perhaps the resolve, to implement a corresponding programme of building and fortification before his death in A.D. 34. That said, it remains possible that evidence both of Philip's project and of a more defined Jewish community may still come to light at the lakefront suburb of el-Araj. As Peter's case demonstrates, Bethsaida Jews had easy professional and social links with the Jewish community of Capernaum—a town for which, significantly, even Josephus knows only an *Aramaic* name.[150]

But whether a Jewish religious presence can be documented or not, there is little doubt about the greater marginality of Jewish culture and religion in this area. Hellenistic cities of course existed on both sides of the Jordan, even if they were perhaps shunned by more

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certain redaction critics like to claim.

[148] The latter point limits the force of Arav's comparison with Gamla's similarly plain domestic architecture: Arav 1999d: 88-89.

[149] Josephus implies that Jewish settlers in the Trachonitis increased considerably under Philip the tetrarch (*Ant.* 17.2.2 §28), whose father had already offered hospitality to a wealthy Babylonian Jewish immigrant Zamaris with a large entourage (*Ant* 17.2.1 §24). Other towns in the area (e.g., Gamla, Yehudieh, ed-Dikkeh) show much clearer signs of a significant Jewish presence.

[150] Κεφαρνωκόν (*v.l.* Κεφαρνωμόν), *Life* 72 §403; cf. Καφαρναούμ, *J.W.* 3.10.8 §519, which seems (mistakenly? cf. Dalman 1935: 136) to denote a location nearer Tabgha or even Khan Minyeh.

conservative Jews.[151] We also saw earlier that Galilean Jews seem to have been generally regarded by Judaeans as imprecise in their use of language and perhaps, by extension, in their religious observance.[152] Nevertheless, by crossing the Jordan one was more evidently moving into a situation where Jewish culture existed among a Gentile majority, even if under Herodian rule it enjoyed a period of relative public favour. By the second and third centuries, this increased marginality came to be reflected in rabbinic attitudes to the parts of the biblical Land that lay to the north and east of Galilee.[153] Examples of this include the stories about Simeon ben Gamaliel and others that regard "Tzaidan" as just outside the Land of Israel, and as occasioning a good many halakhic inquiries about Jewish dealings with Gentiles.[154]

In view of the evidence we have examined, there is therefore a very strong likelihood that Peter grew up fully bilingual in a Jewish minority setting. That his family and their friends were at ease with their Greek-speaking environment and its Herodian tetrarch seems reflected in the names they gave to their children.[155] The political context of Bethsaida would have afforded at least a strong awareness of periodic visits by the entourage of its pro-Jewish and fully Hellenised ruler.

What Peter and his friends would have made of the pagan dimensions of Hellenism, and especially of their tetrarch's increasing devotion to the Roman emperor cult and Julia Livia, is a more difficult question. The Gospels suggest that the ministry of Jesus and his disciples expended great, if ultimately unfruitful, energy in the highly marginal, interstitial Jewish setting of Bethsaida. And the recent exploration of this city has indeed begun to shed fresh and interesting light on the nature of his mission to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" within the biblical boundaries of the Land.[156]

At the same time, however, certain elements of cultural resistance in the Gospel accounts must give pause to notions of Bethsaida as a

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[151] On the relationship between cities and villages in Galilee, and the Jewish dimension of that relationship in particular, see, e.g., Freyne 1988: 145-50; also more generally Neusner 1985 and Kasher 1990.

[152] See above, p. 67 and n. 54.

[153] Cf. also Bockmuehl 1999: 175-78 and *passim*.

[154] See Freund 1995.

[155] So also Thiede 1986: 21.

[156] Cf. further Bockmuehl 2000: 61-70, 75-79.

kind of Hellenised base of operations for the Jesus movement[157] —especially since such resistance arguably runs counter to pro-Gentile redactional interests. Thus, as far as the Bethsaida disciples are concerned, at least Peter's brother Andrew is said to have joined the Jewish renewal movement of John the Baptist (John 1:40-42). Whether or not the same is implied for Peter as well, he seems in any case to have married into a less palpably Hellenised Jewish environment at Capernaum in the Galilean heartland, where Jewish economic and religious life was more prosperous. Occasional hints of his militant sympathies and traditional concern for national renewal come to the fore in all four Gospels and perhaps in Acts, where he is also said to protest his faithful observance of the kosher laws.[158] Life in a minority context could certainly heighten, as much as it might dilute, Jewish national and religious zeal: proof of this is evident in the first-century Jewish communities of Gamla, Caesarea, Antioch, Alexandria and a host of other places. The liminality of the young Peter's Judaism may well have left him precariously balanced between a potential commitment to nationalism on the one hand and a potential openness to a multi-cultural reality on the other.

What, then, of Cullmann's quotation with which we began? Leaving aside his apparent assumption that "Greek" necessarily means non-Jewish, the archaeological and literary evidence does vindicate the claim that Peter grew up in predominantly Gentile surroundings. Cullmann clearly overplays his hand, however, in suggesting that a direct road leads from Bethsaida to the universalism and openness to the Gentile mission displayed by the Peter of Acts 10, not to mention the theology of Paul.

Still, eventually Peter did come on other grounds to be persuaded of the gospel's outreach to both Jews and Gentiles. From then on, it must indeed be the case that his upbringing left him culturally better

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[157] So, e.g., Arav 1999c: 90. His discovery of the proposed temple of Julia Livia leads him to the memorable, but highly speculative conclusion that Jesus literally carried out his ministry in the shadow of a temple of the Emperor cult.

[158] Mark 8:32; 14:29, 31 parr.; John 18:10 par. In view of such cultural and religious concerns, a possible "tax break" seems unlikely to have been a dominant consideration in Peter's move to Capernaum (*pace* Murphy-O'Connor 1999: 27, 48). Peter is also associated both with the saying about the Twelve judging the renewed twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 19:27-28 = Luke 22:28-30), and the Lucan Peter's speeches similarly contain elements of a concern for national restoration (e.g., Acts 2:36, 39; 3:19, 22-25; 5:31 and *passim*). He claims he has "never eaten anything that is profane or unclean" (Acts 10:14; 11:8).

equipped than James to integrate that vision of the gospel in his future ministry from Jerusalem to Antioch and Rome. In that sense, there is perhaps a symbolic link between Peter's youth and apostolic ministry—between the comprehensive menagerie that in Acts he sees lowered from heaven in a fisherman's sail[159] and the indiscriminate assortment of fish and animals that had been the diet of his Gentile neighbors at Bethsaida. After that vision at Jaffa, Peter embraced the gospel for all nations.

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[159] Acts 10:11; 11:5: an ὀθόνη with "four points." The meaning "sail" is attested, e.g., in *T. Zeb.* 6:2; *Mart. Pol.* 15:2; also in Lucian, *True History* 2.37; *Zeus Rants (Iuppiter Tragoedus)* 46. Fishing boats had rectangular sails, as can be seen on a first-century Magdala floor mosaic now on display at Capernaum: cf. e.g., Nun 1999: 27. This is also confirmed in a fifth-century mosaic at Beth She'an and on coins issued by Tiberius (cf. Nun 1989: 58-59).

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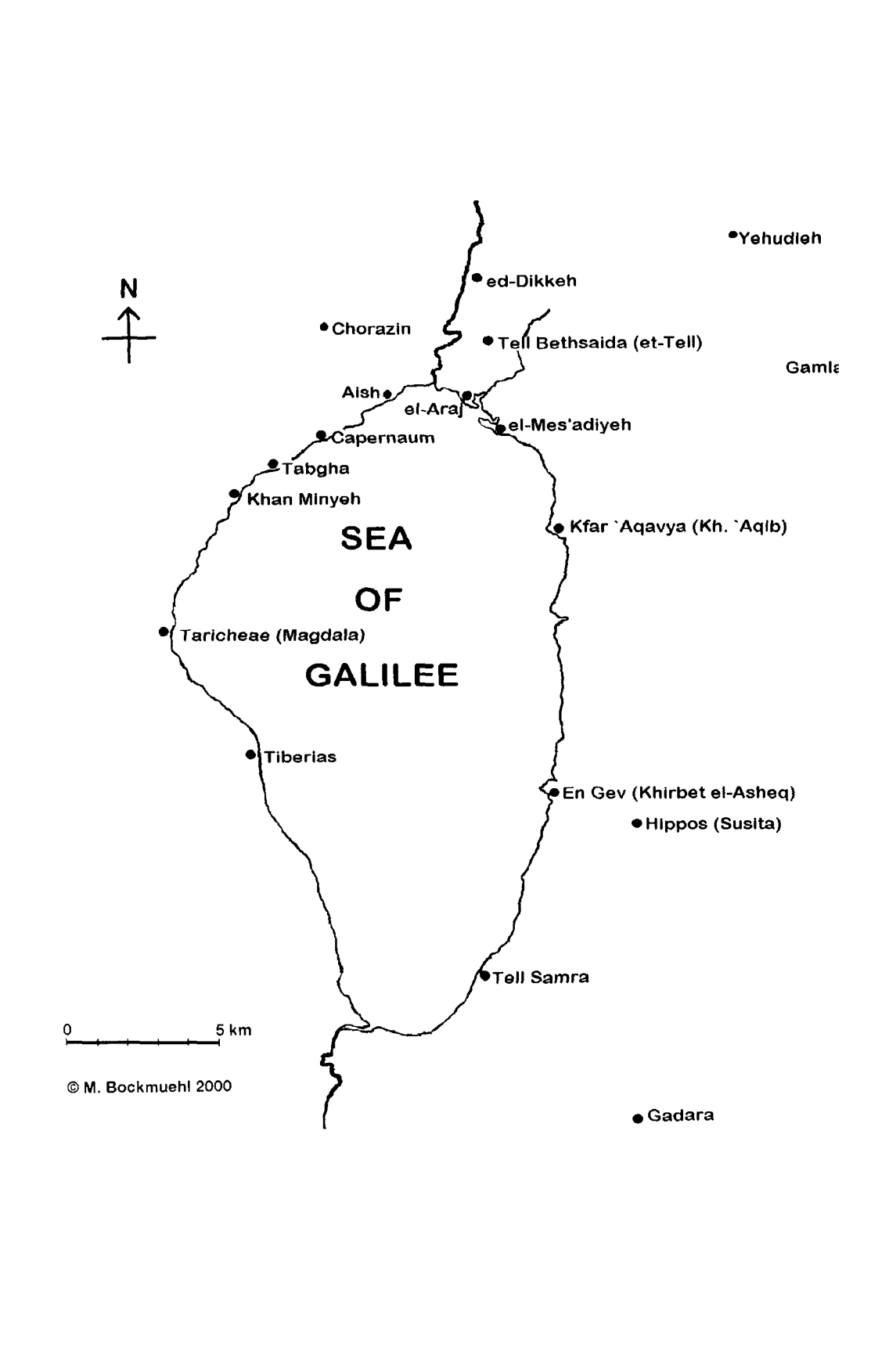
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JAMES, PETER, AND THE GENTILES

Richard Bauckham

I. INTRODUCTION

In Acts 10:28 Peter explains to the Gentiles assembled in the house of Cornelius that the reason he can, although a Jew, associate with them is that: "God has shown me that I should not call anyone profane or impure [κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον]." The implication is, of course, that Jews or many Jews did regard Gentiles as profane and impure. The starting-point for this discussion will be an examination of what it meant, in the late Second Temple period, to consider Gentiles profane or impure. This will enable us to make better sense of the accounts of the discussions and controversies over Gentile converts to Christian faith both in Acts and in Galatians 2. We shall see that despite the differences between Acts and Galatians, including the fact that Acts adopts the perspective of Peter, James and the Jerusalem church, while Galatians of course is written from Paul's perspective, the issues in debate are the same in both cases and the same throughout both accounts. This, along with some fresh observations about the number of conferences to which the sources refer, will enable us to take very seriously the evidence of both Acts and Galatians in understanding the positions of Peter and James and their contributions to the outcome of this most important of early Christian controversies.

II. GENTILES AS IMPURE AND PROFANE IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

In what sense would Gentiles have been regarded as "profane and impure" by Palestinian Jews of the late Second Temple period? The most important recent discussion of this issue is by Jonathan Klawans in a 1995 article,[1] which has not yet been given the attention it deserves. His argument is based on two distinctions, made in biblical and Second Temple Jewish literature: the distinction between ritual

[1] J. Klawans, "Notions of Gentile Impurity in Ancient Judaism," *Association of Jewish Studies Review* 20 (1995) 285-312. The argument is made more fully in his 1997 Columbia University doctoral dissertation, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, which I have not seen.

impurity and what he calls moral impurity, and the distinction between ritual impurity and profaneness. Though these distinctions have been well made by others,[2] they have been regularly neglected by New Testament scholars as well as others. On the basis of these distinctions, Klawans argues that in the Second Temple period Gentiles were not generally regarded as ritually impure, but could be seen as morally impure, and were classified as profane. He is primarily concerned to argue against the view that in the Second Temple period Gentiles were regarded as ritually impure, a view found later in the Tosefta and the Talmuds, but only rarely in the Mishnah. We shall have to give more attention than he does to the evidence that Gentiles were regarded as morally impure.

The language of impurity is used in the Bible[3] and in much Second Temple Jewish literature both for what is usually called ritual or cultic impurity and for what is more commonly called sin. The former category is the impurity contracted from corpses and animal carcasses, childbirth, menstruation, sexual intercourse, abnormal genital discharges, and scale disease (in people and houses). While some writers see the latter category of usage as a merely figurative or metaphorical use of purity language,[4] Klawans argues that serious sins—especially sexual immorality, idolatry and murder—were regarded as really defiling or polluting, since this kind of impurity is said to pollute the land and the sanctuary as well as those who commit the sins. Büchler called this kind of impurity "spiritual" or "religious" impurity,[5] contrasting it with "levitical" impurity[6] (this latter term is inappropriate because Leviticus contains some of the most important references to what Büchler calls religious impurity).

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[2] E.g., A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century* (first published 1928; reprinted New York: Ktav, 1967); S. B. Hoenig, "Oil and Pagan Defilement," *JQR* 61 (1970) 63-75; T. Frymer-Kensky, "Pollution, Purification, and Purgation in Biblical Israel," in C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (ed.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (D. N. Freedman Festschrift; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 399-414; J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991) 37-38, 44-45 (where Milgrom promises a full discussion of non-ritual impurity in vol. 2 of his commentary), 615-17; B. D. Chilton and J. Neusner, "Uncleanness: A Moral or an Ontological Category in the Early Centuries A.D.?" *BBR* 1 (1991) 63-88.

[3] Of course, this is a generalization. For example, not all strands of the Pentateuchal traditions use purity language in this way. But Jews of our period read the Torah as a unity.

[4] Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 37.

[5] Frymer-Kensky ("Pollution," 404) calls it "danger pollution."

[6] Büchler, *Studies in Sin*, chaps. 3–4.

Klawans's term "moral" impurity may not initially seem appropriate, since from a modern perspective idolatry, a prime cause of this kind of defilement, would normally be seen as religious rather than moral. But Klawans uses it because this kind of impurity, unlike ritual impurity, is sinful. In other words, those who commit morally defiling acts are culpable and liable to punishment, whereas ritual impurity is an ontological but not moral contagion. It must be cleansed, but not punished, repented or forgiven.[7] It is not usually wrong to contract ritual impurity, which is often unavoidable, but it is wrong to commit defiling sins. The other main differences between ritual and moral impurity are that the former can be passed on by physical contact, whereas the latter cannot (although it does defile the land and the sanctuary); and that ritual impurity is impermanent and usually removed by bathing in water and waiting a period (though corpse impurity also requires the ashes of the red heifer), while moral impurity is permanent until punished by the extermination of the sinners. When the purification of persons from moral impurity is envisaged, it entails repentance and sacrifice.

Use of the language of impurity, defilement and purification with respect to sin hardly needs documenting (e.g. Lev 16:30; Isa 1:16; 6:5; Jer 33:8; Ezek 36:33; Hos 5:3; 6:10; Ps 51:2, 7, 11; Prov 20:9; Eccl 7:20; Sir 21:28; 51:5; *Jub.* 22:14; 34:19; *Pss. Sol.* 9:6; 18:5; *2 Bar.* 21:19; 39:6; 50:38; 60:2; *2 Enoch* 10:4).[8] It is more important to note that the sins which are specifically treated as defiling are usually the three categories of idolatry, sexual immorality of various kinds (including incest as defined in Leviticus), and murder (shedding innocent blood). This is true in the Hebrew Bible[9] (idolatry: Lev 19:31; 20:1-3; Jer 2:23; Ezek 20:30-31; 36:18, 25; Ps 106:36-39; sexual immorality: Lev 18:20, 24; murder: Num 35:33-34; Lam 4:14-15) and in later Jewish literature (idolatry: *Jub.* 1:9; 20:7; *T. Mos.* 8:4; *2 Bar.* 60:1-2; 66:2; sexual immorality: *Jub.* 16:5; 20:3, 5;

[7] There are sins connected with impurity, such as deliberately failing to cleanse oneself of it or coming into contact with the sacred while in a state of impurity, but in these cases it is not the impurity itself that is sinful.

[8] It is generally thought that in the writings of the Qumran community moral impurity and ritual impurity are simply equated; see M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) chap. 2; F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 139-57. Since this position is exceptional, the Qumran texts are not referred to in this study.

[9] For additional references, see Frymer-Kensky, "Pollution," 407-408.

23:14, 17; 25:1; 33:10-14, 19-20; 41:25-26; murder: *Jub.* 21:19; *Sib. Or.* 1:77). Such sins defile the land (Lev 18:24-25, 27; 20:23; Ezra 9:11; Ps 106:38; Ezek 36:17-18; Jer 2:7; *Jub.* 21:19; 23:17-18; *2 Bar.* 66:2) and the sanctuary (Lev 20:3; Ezek 5:11; *Jub.* 23:21; 30:15-16). For the latter, it is not at all necessary for the sinners to come into physical proximity to the sanctuary.

Defiling the land with such impurities is what the Canaanite peoples who possessed the land before Israel did (Lev 18:24-25, 27). Ritual impurity is not attributed to them in the Bible or elsewhere. The rules of ritual purity do not apply to Gentiles. Rather it was the moral impurities of the Canaanites that polluted the land, which, in the vivid scriptural metaphor, vomited them out (Lev 18:25). If Israelites do the same, then according to the Torah, they will suffer the same fate (Lev 18:28), as they did in the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles (cf. Jer 2:7; Ezek 36:17-18). The passage which makes this point, exhorting the Israelites not to "defile yourselves in any of these ways, for by all these practices the nations I am casting out before you have defiled themselves" (Lev 18:24), concludes a list of sexual prohibitions (forbidden degrees of relationship; intercourse with a menstruating woman; adultery; male homosexual intercourse; bestiality) along with the prohibition on sacrificing children to Molech.[10] On the basis of the fact that these prohibitions are addressed not only to Israel but also to the resident alien (Lev 18:26), it might also be concluded that the prohibitions of the preceding chapter also concern sins which defile the land, for these too apply to the resident alien (Lev 17:8, 10, 13, 15). These forbid idolatrous sacrifices, eating blood and carrion (though this last is treated as a matter of ritual impurity, which must be removed by the usual ablutions and waiting).

A further reference to avoiding the practices of the Canaanites occurs in Lev 20:22-23, where it is less clear what these practices are. The following reference to distinguishing clean and unclean animals (v. 25) does not mean that eating unclean animals was one of the defiling practices of the Canaanites,[11] but that the making of such a distinction by Israel symbolizes Israel's separation from the other (implicitly unclean) peoples. But the reference to the defiling

[10] No doubt because of its placement here, *Jubilees* interprets this prohibition as forbidding intermarriage with Canaanite women (*Jub.* 30:3-17).

[11] Klawans ("Gentile Impurity," 290) is misleading on this point.

practices of the Canaanites as "all these things" in 20:23 is most naturally understood as referring back to the prohibitions of chap. 20, especially as these overlap considerably with those of chap. 18: sacrificing children to Molech, consulting mediums and wizards, cursing parents, adultery, forbidden degrees of relationship (incest), and bestiality.

In general, the polluting offences of the Canaanites, according to Leviticus, can be summed up as idolatry (including one reference to murder: sacrificing children to Molech),[12] sexual sins, and perhaps eating blood. When the Israelites defy the warning and themselves pollute the land, they repeat the same sins (Ps 106:36-38; Jer 2:7-8; Ezek 36:17-18). Sometimes this is attributed to their association with the Gentile nations remaining in the land (*2 Bar.* 60:1-2; cf. Judg 3:5), while Ezra sees the contaminating influence of the Canaanite pollutions as the reason for the Torah's prohibition of intermarriage (Ezra 9:11-12). The biblical characterization of the pollutions of idolatry, sexual immorality and murder as the sins for which the Canaanites were destroyed from the land, and as the sins which Israel repeated and for which Israel was exiled from the land evidently made a strong impression on many Jewish readers in the Second Temple period. It is then that Gentiles in general come to be characterized as impure in this sense of morally impure (*Jub.* 20:16; *2 Bar.* 82:7; *T. Mos.* 8:4).

Particularly emphatic is the book of *Jubilees*' condemnation of Gentiles in general, Gentile inhabitants of the land of Israel in particular, as defiled and defiling the land. Their impurities are characterized as idolatry and sexual sins (*Jub.* 1:9; 20:5-7; 25:1). Though this certainly applies to the Canaanites, the paradigm case in Jubilees is that of Sodom and Gomorrah, whose inhabitants were "great sinners . . . polluting themselves . . . fornicating in their flesh and . . . causing pollution upon the earth" (*Jub.* 16:5; cf. 20:5). Their judgment is paradigmatic, for God "will execute judgment like the judgment of Sodom on places where they act according to the pollution of Sodom" (16:6; cf. 20:6). Consequently the polluting influence of Gentile idolaters and fornicators on the people of God is a major concern in the book, not in the sense that their impurity is physically contagious like ritual impurity, but in the sense that close

[12] The account of the sins of the Canaanites in Wis 12:3-6 plays up this aspect, adding the crime of eating human flesh and blood in sacrificial meals.

association with Gentiles will lead Israelites astray into the same impure practices and bring down on them the same annihilating judgment as befell Sodom.

Two key passages in the book are Abraham's testament to his descendants (20:1-10) and his blessing of Jacob (22:10-24). In the former, he stresses the need to "keep ourselves from all fornication and pollution" and "to set aside from among us all fornication and pollution," commands them not to intermarry with the Canaanites (20:3-4), tells them that for such impurities Sodom perished (20:5) and warns them not to "go after their idols and after their defilements" (20:7). Addressed to his descendants through Hagar and Keturah, as well as through Sarah, this testament is less emphatic in its demand for separation from the pollutions of the Gentiles than are Abraham's later commands specifically to his grandson Jacob. He commands Jacob:

> Separate yourself from the Gentiles,
> and do not eat with them,
> and do not perform deeds like theirs.
> And do not become associates of theirs,
> because their deeds are defiled,
> and all of their ways are contaminated, and despicable, and abominable. (22:16)

These deeds and ways are then specified as a variety of idolatrous practices (22:17-18), and Jacob is forbidden to take a wife from the daughters of Canaan (22:20), again because of the danger of participating in their idolatry and the judgment which happened to Sodom and will happen to the Canaanites and all other idolaters (22:20-23). Later we learn that Esau's two Canaanite wives are the downfall of his descendants, who will be annihilated because he and his sons have "gone after his wives and after their defilement and after their errors" (34:14; cf. 25:1). In this case, though the sins of his wives include fornication (25:1), Esau and his sons seem to be condemned mainly for violence against Jacob (34:13-16, 37), foreshadowing Edom's later role in Israel's history.

It is notable that, although the attitude to Gentiles in *Jubilees* could scarcely be more negative, they are never treated as ritually impure. Klawans seems right to conclude (with A. Büchler and against G. Alon[13] and E. P. Sanders[14]) that in the Second Temple period most

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[13] G. Alon, "The Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles," in Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 146-89.

Jews did not consider Gentiles ritually impure, since the rules of purity did not apply to Gentiles. He concedes that, according to Josephus (*J.W.* 2.150), Essenes regarded Gentiles as ritually impure and so bathed after physical contact with them.[15] But the generality of Jews did not so regard them. In the case of moral impurity, however, it was easy to conclude that the Torah regards Gentiles in general as morally impure, since the defiling offences of which it accuses the Canaanites were common to Gentiles. Idolatry and sexual immorality feature prominently in Jewish condemnations of Gentiles[16] (reflected also in the New Testament[17]). Virtually all Gentiles were undeniably idolaters (the case of synagogue-attending "Godfearers" will be considered below). Idolatry permeated Gentile society and was often regarded by Jews as the root of all other immorality, thereby suggesting a moral difference in kind between idolatrous and therefore generally sinful Gentiles, on the one hand, and law-observant Jews on the other hand. From a Jewish perspective Gentile life often seemed characterized by sexual promiscuity, sometimes in the context of religious cults, and various sexual aberrations, such as homosexual practices. The common practices of abortion and exposure of newly born infants, abhorrent to Jews, could, in their eyes, make ordinary Gentiles guilty of shedding innocent blood. The common Jewish characterization of Gentiles in general as sinners was not only a matter of social boundary-drawing, in that Gentiles lived outside the bounds of the Torah,[18] but also of concrete practices which were indeed widespread in non-Jewish societies and regarded by Jews not as minor deviations but as major offences rendering Gentile society as a whole iniquitous and abhorrent to God. Such a perception, along

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[14] E. P. Sanders, "Jewish Association with Gentiles and Galatians 2:11-14," in R. T. Fortna and G. R. Gaventa (eds.), *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John* (J. L. Martyn Festschrift; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990) 172-76; idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE – 66 CE* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992) 72-76.

[15] Klawans, "Gentile Impurity," 299-300.

[16] E.g. Wis 11–15; *2 Enoch* 10:4-6; *Sib. Or.* 3:8-45; *T. Abr.* A10.

[17] P. Borgen ("Catalogues of Vices, the Apostolic Decree, and the Jerusalem Meeting," in J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, P. Borgen, and R. Horsley [eds.], *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism* [H. C. Kee Festschrift; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988] 126-41) is particularly relevant in that it relates such catalogues of vices to Jewish proselyte instruction and to the apostolic decree. See also especially Rom 1:18-32; 1 Thess 4:3-7; 1 Pet 4:3-4.

[18] Cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (London: SPCK, 1990) 74.

with the consequence that Jews should avoid compromisingly close associations with Gentiles, did not have to be expressed in the language of impurity and defilement, and often was not.[19]

This language, however, said something which other ways of describing Gentile sinfulness did not. With reference to Gentiles living in the land of Israel, it aligned them with the Canaanites whom Israel should have wholly expelled from the land, and it made their presence in the land a threat to all its inhabitants, since moral impurity defiled the land and the sanctuary. Our evidence suggests that the use of the language of moral impurity for Gentiles may have been more common in Palestinian Judaism than in the diaspora, though it is not absent from diaspora sources. An instance of the latter and an interesting piece of evidence which does not seem to have been noticed in this connection is the fifth *Sibylline Oracle*, which probably derives from the Egyptian diaspora in the late first or early second century C.E. It makes two references to the moral impurity of Gentiles. A description of the immorality of Rome refers to the city as "wholly impure" (πάντ' ἀκάθαρτε). The other reference concerns, significantly, the land of Israel (which is of central significance in the worldview of this *Sibylline Oracle*) in the context of a prophecy of the restoration of Israel:

οὐκέτι βακχεύσει περὶ σὴν χθόνα ποὺς ἀκάθαρτος
Ἑλλήνων ὁμόθεσμον ἐνι στήθεσσιν ἔξων νοῦν

No longer shall the impure foot of Greeks[20] dance in Bacchanalian revelries around your [Judea's] land,
[for the Greek] will have in his heart a mind for the same laws [as you obey].

(*Sib. Or.* 5:264-265)[21]

While the verb βακχεύσει may indicate generally pagan religious celebrations involving frenzied behaviour, translations which do not bring out its literal reference to the festivals of Bacchus or Dionysus are inadequate. These were among the religious celebrations most notorious for their debauched and sexual character, involving just the combination of idolatry and sexual license that typified Gentile

[19] For example, Pseudo-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, stresses the evils of idolatry and intermarriage with Gentiles, as *Jubilees* does, but Pseudo-Philo does not use the language of impurity.

[20] Cf. the image of Gentiles trampling (and thereby desecrating) the sanctuary or the holy city: Isa 63:18; Dan 8:13; 1 Macc 3:45; 4:60; Luke 21:24; Rev 11:2.

[21] My translation (as literal as possible).

moral impurity in Jewish eyes. The cult of Dionysus flourished in many of the Hellenistic cities of Palestine, including Caesarea Maritima[22] and Scythopolis, which claimed to be the god's birthplace and to have been founded by him.[23] He was also identified with a traditional Phoenician god of the vintage worshipped in Tyre, so that Herodotus (2.49.3) thought it was the Phoenician Cadmus who brought the cult of Dionysus to Greece.[24] Thus the Bacchanalia were a good example of the idolatrous and sexually immoral behaviour with which Gentiles polluted the holy land, and no doubt stand in this passage of the fifth Sibylline for all such impurities.

It is noteworthy that in this text the Gentile sinners inhabiting the land of Israel are not expected to be annihilated, but converted to God,[25] in accordance with the fifth Sibylline's view of Israel's vocation as for the benefit of all people (line 331). This makes it especially relevant for comparison with early Christian attitudes to the conversion of Gentiles to God. In saying that the Gentiles will acknowledge the same laws (ὁμόθεσμον) as Israel, the *Oracle* probably does not mean that they will adopt the law of Moses as a whole, but that they will embrace the prohibitions of idolatry, sexual immorality and murder (cf. 430-431) which apply to Gentiles as Gentiles. This writer can evidently envisage Gentiles inhabiting the land of Israel without becoming Jews and following the Mosaic rules of ritual purity. What is required is that they become morally pure by abandoning their idolatry and the sins to which idolatry leads.

If Gentiles can repent of their moral impurity and become pure, then, as Klawans points out, they cannot be inherently impure.[26] They are, however, inherently profane. Profaneness is another category that has to be distinguished from ritual impurity. While impure is the "ontological opposite"[27] of pure, profane (or common) is the ontological opposite of sacred (or holy) (so Lev 10:10; Ezek

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[22] A. Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel* (TSAJ 21; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1990) 203-204.

[23] The latter claim was also made by Damascus, just outside the land, according to the usual understanding of its boundaries; cf. Kasher, *Jews* , 44.

[24] M. Hengel, "The Interpretation of the Wine Miracle at Cana: John 2:1-11," in L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (ed.), *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament* (G. B. Caird memorial volume; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 108-10, following Morton Smith.

[25] Cf. the conversion of Egypt in lines 484-502.

[26] Klawans, "Gentile Impurity," 291.

[27] Klawans, "Gentile Impurity," 291.

22:26; 44:23; CD 12:19-20).[28] The sanctuary is defiled by impurity, but profaned by profaneness (Lev 21:23; Ezek 44:6-7; Acts 21:28; 24:6). The Israelite in a state of impurity may not enter the temple at all. In a state of purity he may enter the court of the Israelites (or a woman the court of the women), but not the court of the priests or the holy place. Only priests, who are holier than other Israelites, can enter the court of the priests and the holy place, which, being nearer the presence of God in the holy of holies, are holier than the court of the Israelites. A non-priest, being less holy than a priest, would profane the inner sanctuary but does not profane the court of the Israelites. But Gentiles may not enter the temple at all, not because they are impure, but because they are profane: they do not belong to the holy people Israel.[29] (In the Herodian temple, they could enter the outer court of the temple, which in modern times has been called the court of the Gentiles, but only because it was properly a court around the temple, not part of the sacred territory itself.) Thus, Gentiles could become holy only by circumcision (in the case of males) and becoming Jews.

Did Gentiles, by living in the land of Israel, profane the holy *land,* as well as the sanctuary, just as, by their moral impurity, they defiled the land, as well as the sanctuary? Scriptural prophecies about the restoration of Israel sometimes exclude Gentiles from the holy city, Jerusalem (Isa 52:1; Joel 3:17), though, Zech 14:16-21, while predicting that the whole city will become as holy as the sanctuary, nevertheless expects Gentiles to come to worship in Jerusalem. But, as for the land, Ezek 43:21-23 provides for "resident aliens" (the category of non-Israelites who in the Torah are expected to obey the prohibitions of idolatry and sexual immorality) to live side-by-side with Israelites in their tribal territories. Such Gentiles are morally pure but still profane (and so may not enter the temple: Ezek 44:6-7). The picture we have noticed in the fifth *Sibylline Oracle*, of Gentiles converted to God and living in the land, conforms to this

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[28] See Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 615-17, including the helpful diagram of the relationships of the four categories (p. 616).

[29] Did Gentiles, by living in the land of Israel, profane the holy *land*, just as, by their moral impurity, they defiled it? The extant Jewish literature of the period does not seem to think this, but it is possible that some zealous Jews did draw this conclusion. Some prophecies exclude Gentiles from the holy city, as well as the temple: Isa 52:1; Joel 3:17; but, according to Zech 14:16-21, even though in the messianic age the whole of Jerusalem will be as holy as the temple, Gentiles will come to Jerusalem to worship.

passage of Ezekiel. But the *Psalms of Solomon* apparently do not: the Messiah

> will distribute them upon the land according to their tribes; the alien (πάροικος) and the foreigner (ἀλλογενής) will no longer live near them (17:28).

(But even in this vision of the future Gentiles will *visit* Jerusalem "to see the glory of the Lord" [17:31].) It may be that such a concern for the holiness of the land, profaned by non-Jewish inhabitants, lies behind the Maccabean policy of forcible "judaizing" of the non-Jewish populations of Palestine, and that a similar concern motivated some of the activities of Jewish revolutionaries during the war of 66–73 C.E.[30] We shall return to this latter point in a moment.

Thus, for most late Second Temple period Jews, it seems that Gentiles were not ritually impure, but were morally impure and also profane. This statement leaves the possibility of Gentiles who had repented of idolatry and other immorality typical of Gentiles without becoming Jews. Logically such righteous Gentiles would be pure, both ritually and morally, but still profane. While logically possible, such a status may well have seemed anomalous. In the diaspora, where many such "Godfearers" attended synagogue, worshipped the God of Israel, and sought to follow the moral precepts of the Torah that obliged Gentiles, the anomaly would scarcely be evident. Profaneness would have no practical implication until such people went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and could not enter the temple. On the other hand, one could reasonably raise doubts as to whether such Gentiles were really morally pure. Was it possible for a Gentile, not separated, as Jews were by the more specific provisions of the Torah, from Gentile society, to avoid involvement in the idolatrous practices that permeated Gentile life? There was room for more or less sympathetic attitudes to Gentile sympathizers. In the land of Israel there may have been less willingness by many Jews to admit the category of righteous Gentiles, exceptions to the general rule of Gentile idolatry and immorality. Not only were there probably far fewer such Gentile sympathizers in Jewish Palestine than in a typical city of the diaspora. Also, in the land of Israel, the issues of Gentile pollution of the land and the sanctuary arose, as they did not in the diaspora, while, as we have seen, there was the additional possibility of thinking that even Gentile profaneness profaned the land.

Thus particularly in the land of Israel, the categories of moral

[30] M. Hengel, *The Zealots* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989) 197-99.

impurity and profaneness, while conceptually distinct, might well come together in a general conviction that non-Jews should not be living in the land. It is probable that they did in the practices of forcible conversion and circumcision mentioned above. Only a Jew (circumcised if male), obedient to the Torah, could really be trusted to be morally pure, and only a Jew could be holy (not profane). In this context, we may understand a statement by Hippolytus, who, in a passage partly dependent on various passages in Josephus, makes this claim (not drawn from Josephus) about the Zealots or Sicarii (he is confused about the Jewish parties, as many modern readers of Josephus have also been):

> When a member of the second tendency hears that someone has been speaking about God and his laws, but is not circumcised, he lies in wait for him and when he finds him alone threatens him with death if he does not let himself be circumcised. If he does not obey, he is not spared, but killed.[31]

Odd though it seems, this practice is credible on the part of those who see no mediating position between the holy and the pure on the one hand, and the profane and the impure on the other. Just as the Sicarii seem to have assassinated Jews who collaborated with Roman power rather than Romans,[32] so they (or similar groups) may have targeted a policy of forcible circumcision on Gentile sympathizers rather than thoroughly pagan Gentiles. It was the blurring of the line that would seem the greatest threat. The anomaly of the non-Jew regarded as morally pure, while it may have been quite widely acceptable in the diaspora, may have been intolerable to zealous Jews, especially in the land.[33]

III. PETER AND THE GENTILES (ACTS 10)

In Acts 10–11 Luke uses the two words ἀκάθαρτος (impure,

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[31] Quoted in Hengel, *The Zealots*, 70-71.

[32] R. A. Horsley and J. S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985) 202-207.

[33] The well-known case of king Izates of Adiabene (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.38-48) shows that this could also be the case outside the land and that Pharisees (Josephus certainly means to label Eleazar as a Pharisee in 20.43) could also see matters this way. Ananias, the first of the two Jews who visit the court, assures Izates, whose special circumstances make him unwilling to become a full proselyte through circumcision, that worship of the God of Israel mattered more than circumcision. But Eleazar, the Pharisee from Galilee, tells him that by not undergoing circumcision he is "guilty of the greatest offence against the law and thereby against God" and thus persuades him to be circumcised. For Eleazar the category of the righteous Gentile does not exist.

unclean) and κοινός (common, profane) both of animals the Torah forbids Jews to eat and of Gentiles (10:14, 28; 11:8). Although κοινός is not used in the Septuagint in the technical sense of "profane" which we have just discussed (in LXX Lev 10:10; Ezek 22:26; 44:23, חל is translated βέβηλος), it is used in this way in the *Epistle of Aristeas* (315 = Josephus, *Ant.* 12.112) and Hebrews (10:29). Its use for Gentiles is therefore readily understood, and its use for animals or food is also intelligible. Forbidden animals are impure for Jews, according to Leviticus, but they are not impure for Gentiles, who quite legitimately eat them. But since Gentiles are profane, these animals can be considered profane: the profane food of profane people. As forbidden to Jews, these animals are impure; as permitted for Gentiles, they are profane. Thus, 1 Macc 1:44-47, a passage which discriminatingly uses several words relating to impurity (μιαίνω, ἀκάθαρτος) and profaneness (βεβηλόω, βεβήλωσις), speaks of sacrificing "pigs and profane (κοινά) animals" (1:47). The point is that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which is being reported, aimed to conform Jewish religious practices to the prevailing practices among the peoples of Antiochus' realm. "Profane animals" were those commonly used for sacrifice and food among the other peoples, but forbidden to Jews by the Torah. Similarly, those who resolved not to eat "profane things" (κοινά), chose to die rather than "to be defiled (μιανθῶσι) by food and to profane (βεβηλώσωσι) the holy covenant" (1:67-68). Paul's use of κοινός for food (Rom 14:14) follows this usage, but it perhaps not surprising that κοινός and ἀκάθαρτος could also be assimilated, so that Mark uses κοινός (7:2, 5) in the sense of "impure,"[34] while Mark (7:18, 20, 23) and Hebrews (9:13) both use κοινόω in the sense of "to defile." But Luke uses κοινόω (Acts 21:29) quite properly as synonymous with βεβηλόω (Acts 24:6) with reference to profanation of the temple. (Paul is suspected of having profaned the temple by taking an uncircumcised Gentile into it. Gentiles, not being susceptible to ritual impurity, could not defile the temple, but, as profane, they would profane or desecrate it.) We may reasonably suppose therefore that, in Acts 10–11, Luke does not couple ἀκάθαρτος and κοινός as synonyms for emphasis, but as distinct, if closely associated, attributes of both impure animals and Gentiles.

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34 Cf. R. T. Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7* (JSNTSup 13; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986) 120-21.

The two concepts might seem to merge indistinguishably in Acts 10:15 and 11:9: "What God has purified (ἐκαθάρισεν), you must not consider profane (κοίνου)." But, applied to forbidden animals, this is in fact quite strictly correct: if purified by God they would be permitted for Jews and so no longer profane. This is its literal reference in the text; only by analogy (taking forbidden animals as a symbol of Gentiles) does it also apply to Gentiles, and, when Peter applies it to Gentiles, he does not repeat it in this form (10:19). As we shall see, both concepts—impurity/purity and profaneness/holiness—are relevant to the way Peter comes to see Cornelius and his household.

Both forbidden animals and Gentiles, then, are—in Peter's Jewish eyes at the beginning of the story—both impure and profane. In the case of the animals, of course, the impurity is ritual. Most commentators assume this is also true of the Gentiles, but our analysis, following Klawans, makes this questionable. Though some Jews evidently did think Gentiles ritually impure, the common opinion among Palestinian Jews is more likely to have been that they were not ritually impure, but were morally impure. Not only does what we know of the Jewish context make it more likely that this is what Luke means; we shall also see that it makes better sense of Luke's text to understand the Gentiles to be, in Jewish eyes, morally rather than ritually impure. Indeed, we could go so far as to say that, even if Jews at this period commonly regarded Gentiles as ritually impure, the concept of ritual impurity would still explain Luke's text much less satisfactorily than the concept of moral impurity. The latter would still be the relevant factor for the exegesis of Acts 10–11.

The analogy between the impurity of the animals and that of the Gentiles does not require that the impurity is ritual in both cases, since the analogy is precisely an analogy. This analogy, which was deeply rooted in Jewish tradition, derives ultimately from Leviticus 20:22-26, where the distinction between pure and impure animals is said to represent that between Israel and the Gentiles. This is also one of the two passages in Leviticus (18:24-30; 20:22-26) which, as we have seen, define the impurity of the Canaanites, with which they defiled the land, as moral impurity: the idolatry and sexual immorality prohibited in chaps. 18 and 20. Thus, just as Israelites are to avoid defilement from the ritually impure animals, so they are to remain separated from the Gentiles lest they be morally contami-

nated by the moral impurities of the Gentiles. Understanding the analogy in this sense also accords with the fact that when Peter does use the word "purify" of the Gentiles themselves, it is their hearts that God has purified by faith (15:9).

The intertextual relationship to Lev 20:22-26 is also to be observed in the notion of "making a distinction." This is undoubtedly the meaning of διακρίνω in Acts 15:9, where Peter says of God's action with respect to Cornelius and his household: "in purifying their hearts by faith, he has made no distinction (οὐθὲν διέκρινεν) between them and us." It is therefore probably also the meaning of διακρίνομενος in 10:20 and διακρινάντα in 11:12. Since in both these verses the same message of the Spirit to Peter is reported, it is clear that the meaning must be the same in both cases (contrary to several standard English translations), and that the change from middle to active mood is of no significance. Instead of the rather trivial meaning, "without hesitating," we should surely prefer, in both cases, the significant meaning (which the middle as well as the active can bear): "not making a distinction." Peter is told by the Spirit to go with the three messengers from Caesarea to the house of the Gentile Cornelius, not making the distinction he would normally have made between Jews and Gentiles. In fact, this phrase in 10:20 and 11:12 (the latter a summary version of the narrative, pruned to the essentials), understood as "not making a distinction," is a key element in the plot. Nothing in Peter's vision itself suggests that it concerns the impurity and profaneness of Gentiles. It is the words of the Spirit in 10:20 and 11:12 that draw out this implication and direct Peter to act on it in the present instance. This explains how Peter, on arriving at Cornelius' house, can cite the words of the vision as applying to relationships between Jews and Gentiles.

To "make a distinction" is precisely what the priests of Israel were told to do, distinguishing the sacred from the profane, and the impure from the pure (Lev 10:10; Ezek 22:26; בדל, LXX διαστέλλω, as in *Aristeas* 150-152; Rom 10:12). More specifically, the Israelites were to "make a distinction" between pure and impure animals (Lev 11:47: בדל, LXX διαστέλλω; Lev 20:25: בדל, LXX ἀφορίζω). It is this distinction which, in Lev 20:22-26, represents God's separation of his people Israel from the Gentiles (20:24: בדל, LXX διορίζω; 20:26: בדל, LXX ἀφορίζω).[35] In Acts 10 God

[35] The LXX's very varied renderings of בדל in these passages make it not unlikely

abolishes his separation of Israel from the Gentiles by "making no distinction" between Jew and Gentile, and therefore Peter is to make no distinction either, a point made symbolically by the reversal of the Torah's command to "make a distinction" between pure and impure animals.

A striking example of the association between forbidden animals and Gentiles is the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 85–90), where the history of the world is told in the form of an allegory in which nations and individuals are represented by animals (while angels are represented by humans). God's people are always pure animals: cattle (pre-Israelite righteous) or sheep (Israel). The Gentile nations are impure animals. The account of the multiplication of the nations after the Flood is an interesting parallel to Peter's vision of "all species of four-footed animals and reptiles and birds of the air" (Acts 10:12). The sons of Noah "began to beget beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose from them every variety of species"—a list of fourteen species of forbidden mammals and birds follows, while a single bull represents Abraham (*1 Enoch* 89:10).[36] The impure animals turn out to be all the various enemies of Israel: boar (Edomites and Amalekites), wolves (Egyptians), dogs (Philistines), foxes (Ammonites), lions (Assyrians), leopards (Babylonians), hyenas (Syrians?), eagles (Macedonian Greeks), vultures (Ptolemaic Egyptians), kites (?), ravens (Seleucid Syrians).

But the text most interesting for comparison with Acts 10 is a passage in the *Letter of Aristeas* in which the high priest Eleazar explains to the pagans the dietary and purity regulations of the Torah (139-171). After making the fundamental distinction between Jews and Gentiles—that Jews alone are not idolaters (132-138)—Eleazar explains that Moses "surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other peoples in any matter" (139).[37] The regulations which differentiate Israel from the Gentiles are intended to protect Israel from the corrupting influence

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that διακρίνω in Acts is yet another rendering, used more consistently than the terms in the Greek version of Leviticus. The biblical text in the background to Luke-Acts is frequently the Hebrew rather than the Greek, despite the fact that formal quotations are usually indebted to the Greek.

[36] Commentators often wonder why Peter does not respond to the divine command to kill and eat (Acts 10:13) by selecting permitted animals from the totality presented to him in his vision. The answer may be that forbidden species so greatly outnumber permitted ones that the latter might not even be noticeable.

[37] A similar point is made by Philo, *Mos.* 1.178.

of Gentile idolatry and immorality (142). The laws on forbidden animals, which are then discussed in some detail, both keep Israel socially separate from the Gentiles (cf. also 3 Macc 3:4) and symbolize Israel's differentiation from the idolatry and immorality (including oppression, violence, sexual aberrations and the use of the tongue to harm others) of the Gentiles. Each of the permitted and forbidden animals is understood to teach various lessons about righteousness and wickedness. The language of Leviticus 18 and 20, about separation and making distinctions, is echoed (*Aristeas* 151-152). Moreover, there is the language of moral impurity and pollution (152, 166). Thus what corresponds to the ritual impurity of the forbidden animals is not the ritual impurity of Gentiles, of which there is no hint, but the moral impurity of Gentiles. Idolatry is the fundamental feature of this moral impurity; other features seem to be its inevitable consequence. Therefore, as usually in Jewish accounts of the difference between Jews and Gentiles, a fundamental and thorough-going moral difference corresponds with the boundary laid down by the Torah.

We must now consider Peter's statement that, because Jews regard Gentiles as impure and profane, "it is unlawful (ἀθέμιτον) for a Jew to associate with (κολλᾶσθαι) or to visit a Gentile" (Acts 10:28). ἀθέμιτος is a strong word which is difficult to understand if the reference were to the risk of contracting ritual impurity. Only in special cases (such as for priests in some circumstances) was it actually forbidden to contract ritual impurity. Most of the time getting impure was unavoidable, and although there was certainly a tendency for Jews to think that it was desirable to avoid avoidable impurity—for example, by not walking over a graveyard[38]—it was not a culpable offence not to do so. It is important to notice that the parallel Acts 10 makes between eating forbidden animals and associating with Gentiles supports an emphasis on ἀθέμιτον, rather than downplaying it, as some interpreters have done.[39] While it is not usually unlawful for a Jew to contract impurity, eating forbidden

[38] Thus Herod Antipas had difficulty persuading Jews to settle in his new city of Tiberias, because it was built over a graveyard.

[39] E.g. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)* (4 vols., rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979) 1.83 ("The statement . . . does not mean that such an association was forbidden, but that each such association was a cause of defilement"), followed by C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols., ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994) 1.515.

animals is forbidden by the Torah (Leviticus 11). While ἀθέμιτος is rare in the Septuagint (3 times in 2 Maccabees, once in 3 Maccabees) and in the New Testament (Acts 10:28; 1 Pet 4:3 only),[40] it may be significant that most of these few occurrences concern ways in which Jews were distinguished from Gentiles. In 2 Maccabees it refers to sacrificing on the altar in the temple things forbidden by the laws (no doubt, forbidden animals) (6:5) and to eating pork (7:1), both key aspects of the conformity to Gentiles that Antiochus Epiphanes enforced on the Jews and that the martyrs and the Maccabees resisted. The forbidden words which Gentiles speak (2 Macc 10:34) are probably blasphemies against the God of Israel. In 1 Peter 4:3 a list of the typical practices of the Gentiles, including sexual immorality, ends with "unlawful worship of idols" (ἀθέμιτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις). We could add that in the fifth *Sibylline Oracle* the adverb ἀθέμιστως is used of the incest practised by Gentiles in Rome (390).

Considerations of ritual purity do not seem able to explain Acts 10:28. There is a passage in the Mishnah which states that the houses of Gentiles are impure, for the very specific reason that Gentiles were suspected of disposing of aborted foetuses down the drains of houses (*m. Ohol.* 17:7-8).[41] This conflicts with the Mishnah's view elsewhere that, since the laws of purity do not apply to Gentiles, Gentile corpses cannot convey impurity (*m. Nid.* 10:4). There is earlier evidence that Jews thought Gentiles buried corpses under their homes. The Temple Scroll says that "they bury their dead all over the place, they even bury them in the middle of their houses" (11Q19 48:12), but the point is to command Israelites not to do the same, rather than to warn of the impurity of Gentile houses. In any case, the Mishnah is considering houses which have been lived in and have been vacated by Gentiles, not whether Jews may visit Gentiles in their homes.[42] If Gentile corpses can defile, then living Gentiles must also be ritually impure, and the risk of contracting impurity by visiting Gentiles in their home would be primarily from contact with these Gentiles themselves, not from corpses possibly under their floors. But this brings us back to the lack of evidence that Gentiles

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[40] The older form ἀθέμιστος does not occur at all in this literature.

[41] Cf. G. G. Porton, *Goyim: Gentiles and Israelites in Mishnah-Tosefta* (BJS 155; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 274.

[42] Hence the discussion about the examination of such houses to ascertain whether they are impure (*m. Ohol.* 17.7-8).

were generally, in the late Second Temple period, considered ritually impure, as well as to the unlikelihood, even if they were, for visiting them to be considered "unlawful" for this reason.

Since, in Acts 11:3, the Jerusalem believers criticize Peter, not simply for visiting Gentiles, but for eating with them in their home, some think the unlawfulness attaches to the meal. Of course, if Peter ate forbidden animals or meat with blood in it, these would be serious transgressions of the Mosaic law, but they are also easily avoided by keeping to vegetarian fare. Gentile pots could well be impure (by the means described in Lev 11:29-36, which would operate even if Gentiles themselves cannot contract ritual impurity) and some Gentile produce could be impure (Lev 11:37-38), but these represent relatively minor risks of contracting impurity. If Gentiles could not themselves contract or convey any of the impurities Jews were constantly contracting from corpses, sex, menstruation and so on, then the risk of contracting impurity from dining with Gentiles would probably be less than the risk from dining with all but the most purity-conscious Jews. (When two or three people had recently died in a village, most of the villagers would have had corpse impurity [which is especially contagious] and could not be purified of it until their next visit to Jerusalem.) Once again, considerations of ritual purity do not explain Acts 10:28 (or Acts 11:3) satisfactorily. (Note that idolatry, not yet considered, is not a matter of ritual but of moral impurity, as we have seen.)

On the connection between Acts 10:28 and 11:3, it is probably a mistake to suppose that what, according to 10:28, is forbidden actually reduces to eating with Gentiles in their house. In 10:28 there is no necessary implication that Peter is to stay long enough to eat with his hosts. It seems that what is forbidden is the close association involved in visiting Gentiles in their homes and of which sharing a meal is the most extreme case. κολλᾶσθαι (used in Acts 10:28), when not used of physical contact, implies intimate association. Luke uses it of people joining the group of Christian believers in Jerusalem (Acts 5:13; 9:26) in terms which make it clear that this was a matter of close identification with the group. The word can also be used of sexual union (1 Esdr 4:20; Matt 19:5; 1 Cor 6:16), a usage which is relevant when we consider that Jewish "separation" from Gentiles entailed a strict ban on intermarriage. Intermarriage was forbidden because of the dangerous influence of the Gentile practices regarded as morally defiling (e.g., Ezra 9:11-12). The significance attaching

meals in the ancient world in general, as among Jews in particular, made sharing a meal the most intimate form of association between people other than sexual relations.[43] This is why *Jubilees*, which so strongly opposes intermarriage, also says:

> Separate yourself from the Gentiles,
> and do not eat with them,
> and do not perform deeds like theirs,
> because their deeds are defiled,
> and all their ways are contaminated, and despicable, and abominable.
> (*Jub.* 22:16)

This makes clear that the reason sharing meals is forbidden is because the Torah requires "separation" from the Gentiles and from their corrupting influence (Lev 20:22-26; cf. Neh 9:2; 10:28).[44] This general concern is not, as we have seen, by any means limited to *Jubilees*.[45]

As others have documented,[46] sharing a meal with Gentiles, especially if provided by Gentiles in their own home, entailed serious risks of *ipso facto* committing idolatry: the meat might well have been sacrificed to idols in the pagan temple, the wine would have been put to idolatrous use by pouring a libation from it, and oil could also be tainted with idolatry.[47] It is these dangers, as well as forbidden animals and blood, that the literary examples of Daniel (Dan 1:3-17), Judith (Jdt 12:1-4, 19) and Esther (AddEst 14:17) avoid by not taking pagan meat and wine. In the Letter of Aristeas the Jews can eat with the Egyptian king only because exceptional arrangements are made for avoiding such dangers (180-186). These specific problems involved in sharing Gentile meals were no doubt

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[43] Note the close connection, in *Joseph and Aseneth*, between Joseph's refusal to share meals, entailing idolatry, with Gentiles, and the impossibility of his marrying a Gentile until she is converted to Judaism. I do not stress the evidence of *Joseph and Aseneth* in this essay because of the serious doubt that some of the arguments of R. Shepard Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), throw on the early date that has been generally assigned to it; see my review in *JTS* 51 (2000) 226-28.

[44] This may be what Josephus means when he writes that Moses prescribed "with what persons [a Jew] should associate" (περὶ τῶν κοινωνησόντων τῆς διαίτης) (*Apion* 2.174), though, writing an apologetic for Judaism to Gentile readers, he tactfully refrains from spelling this out.

[45] Against E. P. Sanders's view of *Jubilees* as unrepresentative on this point, see P. F. Esler, *Galatians* (NT Readings; London: Routledge, 1998) 110-11.

[46] See especially Esler, *Galatians*, chap. 4; P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law* (CRINT 3.1; Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) chaps. 4 and 6.

[47] S. B. Hoenig, "Oil and Pagan Defilement," *JQR* 61 (1970) 63-75.

important, but we should not conclude that it was simply because of them that close association with Gentiles was "unlawful." As *Aristeas*, for example, makes clear (142), it is the general danger of Gentile influence that is in view.[48] Eleazar's whole account of the Mosaic laws begins with the observation:

> You observe the important matter raised by modes of life and relationships (ὁμιλίας), inasmuch as through bad relationships men become perverted, and are miserable their whole life long; if, however, they mix (συζῶσιν) with wise and prudent companions, they rise above ignorance and achieve progress in life (130).[49]

It is typical of *Aristeas* that this is expressed in terms an educated Gentile would find eminently reasonable, while at the same time its purpose is to explain the rationale for Jewish separatism. Eleazar goes on to make his fundamental distinction between Jews and the rest of humanity (134), who are idolaters, and then to justify the rules that protect Jews from the corrupting influence of Gentile idolatry and immorality. The statement of common wisdom with which he begins his speech turns out to mean that Jews do not mix with Gentiles as companions, lest they be perverted (142: note the verbal echoes of 130).[50] This is not negated by the tension in which it stands with the work's friendly portrayal of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus and its general acculturation to Hellenistic values.[51] The aim of the work seems to be less to promote Jewish appreciation of Hellenistic culture than to portray Gentile admiration of Judaism.

With the idea that close association—visiting and sharing meals—was prohibited because of the general danger of corrupting influence on Jews, the well-attested ban on Jewish intermarriage with Gentiles

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[48] This is what is missed in the various discussions of which specific halakhic rules would be broken in social intercourse of Jews with Gentiles; cf. Dunn, *Jesus*, 137-48; Sanders, "Jewish Association"; Esler, *Galatians*, chap. 4.

[49] J. M. G. Barclay (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996] 147) comments on this passage: "He is sufficiently aware of sociological realities to know that social intercourse has a profound effect on social identity."

[50] Sanders ("Jewish Association," 182) is quite mistaken when he takes §130 to mean that Jews, as "wise and prudent companions" of Gentiles, will help them "rise above ignorance and achieve progress in life." The point is that Jews should have only Jews as companions.

[51] Cf. the perceptive discussion of the two aspects of Aristeas in Barclay, *Jews*, 138-50.

is closely comparable.[52] This too was regarded as an implementation of the general principle of the "separation" of God's people from the other peoples (Lev 20:20). Thus Ezra exhorts the people: "Separate yourselves from the peoples around you, and from your foreign wives" (Ezra 10:11). The problem of intermarriage was not that there were specific acts of idolatry or immorality that marriage to a Gentile woman entailed for a Jewish man, but simply that the wife would be likely to lead the man astray into idolatry or other sins. There were famous examples—the Israelites and the Moabite women (Numbers 25); Solomon and his foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:1-8)—as well as direct warnings in the Torah (Exod 34:16; Deut 7:3-4). Similarly, eating with or even visiting Gentiles in their homes risked such polluting influence: one could get drawn into what Gentiles did. Entering a Gentile's house was to enter the Gentile's sphere of life, where Gentile ways prevail, where all of life is implicated in idolatry, where immoral practices are routine. As a matter of rational calculation of risks this may seem to us almost absurdly extreme. But precisely the language of moral impurity and defilement that we have noted appeals to irrational emotions. It suggests that contamination by proximity is likely, even inevitable, even though the contamination is not, as in the case of ritual impurity, conveyed by physical contact.

In the light of much recent discussion of this issue, especially with reference to Galatians 2,[53] this may seem an extreme view of what late Second Temple Jews thought separation from Gentiles required. It goes rather further even than Philip Esler's position.[54] I am not, of course, denying that ordinary contact in daily life in the public sphere was both permitted and normal, especially since there is no question of Gentile *ritual* impurity and so of avoiding physical contact. On the view I suggest, there is no reason why Gentiles should not be welcome in synagogues or to offer sacrifices in the temple. Intimate association, implicating the Jew in the Gentile's life, is what is said to be unlawful. Practice, naturally, may have varied

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[52] See, e.g. S. McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 22.

[53] Dunn, *Jesus*, chap. 6; Sanders, "Jewish Association."

[54] In debate with Sanders, Esler's most recent discussion (in *Galatians*, chap. 4) stresses that he is not discussing Jewish social intercourse with Gentiles in general, but table fellowship in the full sense, involving the sharing of wine from one vessel, as in the Christian eucharistic fellowship (pp. 100-102). While this may meet the case in Galatians 2, it leaves Acts 10:28 unexplained.

from what was strictly expected, but Luke takes pains to represent the Jerusalem church as exemplary in their religious observance and on that account respected in Jerusalem (Acts 2:42, 46-47). It is not surprising that the Jerusalem believers expect Peter to conform in this respect (11:3), especially as the evidence of the Gospels gives us no reason to suppose that Jesus had set any precedent for intimate contact with Gentiles. Even the centurion, the other of Luke's two, for whom the people of Capernaum have high praise (Luke 7:4-5), knows better than to ask Jesus to visit him in his home (7:6).

In addition to the danger of influence, there may also have been, though it is not explicit in the texts, the sense that associating with Gentiles in their private lives condoned the idolatrous and immoral practices of Gentiles. Such a feeling was likely especially strong in the land of Israel, where such Gentile practices defiled the land and the sanctuary. At this point, however, we must be more specific about the case of Cornelius in particular. Luke, after all, portrays him as in every respect a righteous Gentile, worshipping the God of Israel and assiduous in practices of Jewish piety (Acts 10:2), "well spoken of by the whole Jewish people" (10:22). Does such a Gentile not constitute an exception to the characterization of Gentiles as morally impure? On the other hand, Cornelius is a centurion serving in a cohort of the Roman army stationed at Caesarea, the headquarters of Roman power in Judea.[55] It would, justifiably enough, be difficult for Jews to credit that a Roman centurion could avoid being implicated in idolatry. The incident of Pilate's disastrous attempt to bring the military standards bearing the emperor's image into Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.55; *J.W.* 2.169) demonstrates local Jewish awareness of the idolatry intrinsic to service in the Roman army, an army present in Judea for the purpose of enforcing the emperor's blasphemous claim to the territory of Israel's God. Though Luke is not inclined to highlight such aspects of his narrative explicitly, the name Caesarea (Acts 10:1) is prominent enough to alert any readers with some awareness of the politico-religious situation.[56] Attentive

[55] I assume that the story is set before the reign of Agrippa I (the Herod of Acts 12), as seems to be Luke's intention, despite the general chronological vagueness of these chapters of Acts.

[56] They might also recall that the Jewish revolt started in Caesarea in 66, following long-running conflicts between the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of the city, in which the military, largely recruited from the local Gentiles of the province of Syria, supported their compatriots, the Gentile citizens of Caesarea (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.266-292). This highlights the extent to which Jewish nationalism was directed not only

readers of Luke-Acts might also make the intertextual link with the story of Legion and the pigs (Luke 8:26-33), which plays, obviously enough, on the same theme of comparison between the impurity of prohibited animals and that of Gentiles as does Acts 10, while also associating specifically the Roman occupying forces in Palestine with this impurity.[57] If the connection between Acts 10 and the story of the centurion in Luke 7:1-10 puts Cornelius individually in a good light, the connection between Acts 10 and Luke 8:26-33 highlights the religiously offensive nature of Cornelius' role in the service of Rome.

The fact that Cornelius' well-known piety does not exempt him from the ban on Jewish visiting of Gentiles, either in Peter's understanding of the ordinary application of this ban (Acts 10:28) or in the eyes of the Jerusalem church (11:2-3), suggests that in the land of Israel there was, in fact, no general recognition of a category of righteous Gentiles occupying a third position, neither law-observant Jews no morally impure Gentiles. (Attitudes in many parts of the diaspora may have been different, since this is the point on which more or less positive attitudes to Gentile sympathizers could make a difference.) In strict logic, as we have seen, Cornelius could have been seen as morally pure (unlike most Gentiles) but profane (as a Gentile, not a circumcised Jew). We have also observed that such an anomalous blurring of the boundary between Jews and Gentile sinners is likely to have been problematic for zealous Jews. We must now notice the important fact that the Cornelius episode does not lead Peter to place Cornelius and his household in this half-way category either. What Peter learns is that Gentiles who come to faith in Jesus Christ are neither impure nor profane. This is the lesson of his vision (10:15, 28) and of the Spirit's direction to him not to "make a distinction" between Jews and Gentiles (10:20; 11:12), between the holy people and the profane people.

That Gentiles could no longer be regarded as profane was also required by God's gift of the Holy Spirit to these Gentiles, the same

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against Roman rule but also against the indigenous non-Jewish population whose idolatry polluted the land and who could be easily enough identified with the Canaanites of the biblical story (cf. Matt 15:22). Whether Cornelius himself be thought a Roman or a Palestinian Gentile, like most of his troops, his presence and role in Caesarea would be equally objectionable to Jews.

[57] Cf. G. Theissen, *Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983) 255.

gift the Jews who believed in Jesus had received at Pentecost (10:44-47; 11:15-17; 15:9). This gift of the Spirit needs to be considered along with a further element in the divine act of "making no distinction": that God purified the hearts of these Gentiles by faith (15:9). In the background to these passages surely lie Ezekiel's promise of the role of the Spirit in the restoration of Israel: Ezekiel 11:17-21; 36:25-27, 29, 33; 39:29. According to the last of these passages, when the exiled Israelites are restored to the land, YHWH will pour out his Spirit on them (Ezek 39:29). For first-century readers this passage would establish that the other two passages also refer to the pouring out of God's Spirit. They have two main themes. One is that a transformation of the heart will enable God's people to keep his commandments (Ezek 11:19-20; 36:26-27; cf. also 18:31). The other is that they will be purified of the moral impurities with which they had polluted the land and for which they had been punished (36:17-19, 25, 29, 33):

> I will sprinkle pure water upon you, and you shall be pure from all your impurities, and from all your idols I will purify you. (36:25; cf. Zech 13:1)[58]

Peter's reasoning is that if this blessing of the Spirit has now been given to Gentiles as well as to Jews who believe in Christ, it must mean both that God has purified these Gentiles of their moral impurity and that he is including them in his people as it is being reconstituted by the Spirit in the last days. The "Gentile Pentecost" at the house of Cornelius means that both the distinction between pure Israel and impure Gentiles and the distinction between the holy people Israel, separated for God, and the profane peoples, separated from God, have been abolished.

For Peter, then, the significance of the gift of the Spirit to Gentiles was both a matter of social identity, shifting the boundary that had hitherto divided Jews from Gentiles, and a matter of purity of heart, in that Gentile sinners repent and are purified of their sin by God. Baptism must follow (10:47-48), both as inclusion in the messianically renewed people of God, and as the expression of repentance and forgiveness (cf. 2:38). As the Jerusalem believers say when Peter persuades them to see the events as he has done: "Then God has given even to the Gentiles the repentance that leads to life" (11:18). What was unexpected was not that Gentiles had been purified of ritual

[58] Note the allusions to these texts in 1QS 3:6-9.

impurity, nor even that they had repented and been purified of their moral impurity, but that they had been given repentance and purified hearts (15:9) *while still Gentiles,* without circumcision and submission to the yoke of the Torah.

IV. CONTROVERSY AND RESOLUTION (ACTS 11 AND 15)

In the narrative of Acts the conversion of Cornelius and his household is decisive for the subsequent Gentile mission, as it is described in chaps. 11–15. It is true that active mission to Gentiles and large-scale conversion of Gentiles are portrayed as beginning in Antioch independently of Peter's experience (Acts 11:19-21), but the Jerusalem church's sympathetic attitude to these developments and the role of Barnabas, a member of the Jerusalem church, in the development of the Antiochene church's mission to Gentiles, including Barnabas' involving of Paul (11:22-26), make sense in Luke's narrative only in consequence of Peter's experience and his success in persuading the Jerusalem church of the significance of the conversion of Cornelius and his household. Acts 11:1-18 describes a conference of the Jerusalem believers with Peter, at which he is criticized for his close association with Gentiles and explains his actions in such a way as to convince the whole church.

The phrase "those from the circumcision" (οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς) in Acts 11:2 does not, as some have argued,[59] refer to a particular faction in the Jerusalem church, those for whom their Jewish identity as circumcised men was paramount or those who insisted that Gentile converts must be circumcised, but simply to the Jewish believers in Christ. Luke has used the closely similar phrase, "the believers from the circumcision" (οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοί), only five verses earlier (10:45). In that case, it clearly refers to the Jewish Christians of the church of Joppa who had accompanied Peter on his journey to Caesarea (10:23). They are not some particular faction of Jewish Christians, but simply members of the church at Joppa, which was then, of course, entirely composed of Jews. The phrase, "those from the circumcision," only makes sense once there are Gentile as well as Jewish Christians, when it can designate those who have joined the church from the Jewish community as distinguished from Gentile

[59] E.g. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (3rd ed., Leicester: Apollos; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 267; B. Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 362.

believers. Luke first uses it at the precise point in his narrative at which there are, for the first time, Gentile believers in Christ (10:45), and then again, in 11:2, to highlight the difference between the Jerusalem believers, all Jews, and the newly converted Gentiles, to whom they refer as "uncircumcised men" (11:3), though not yet recognizing them to be believers. Outside Acts, the phrase undoubtedly has the meaning Jewish Christians in three other cases (Rom 4:12; Col 4:11; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.5.3), while the remaining New Testament instance (Gal 2:12) can be understood in this way. There is no good reason not to see all instances as consistent.[60]

Thus, in 11:1-18, we hear of no division in the Jerusalem church, only generally voiced criticisms of Peter on grounds the whole church would have shared up to that point (11:2-3), and then a general change of mind in response to Peter's speech (11:18). Division over the issue of Gentile Christians appears in Luke's narrative only in chap. 15, when a group of Jewish believers who had been Pharisees and maintain that it is necessary for Gentiles to be circumcised and observe the whole Torah stir up controversy in Antioch and then put their argument to the conference held in Jerusalem to settle the dispute (15:1, 5). This faction, like the rest of the Jerusalem church, appears to be persuaded by the authority and the argument of James to adopt a decision about Gentile believers, which is unanimously accepted (15:22). There is no particular difficulty, within Luke's narrative, in the fact that the group who urge the circumcision of Gentiles appear after the Jerusalem church had earlier decided, in the conference with Peter, on the opposite position. Though the chronology is only vaguely indicated, readers naturally suppose a considerable lapse of time between 11:18 and 15:1. The group described in 15:1 could be composed of people who had joined the church in this intervening period and had never been party to the earlier decision. Perhaps more importantly, it is the sheer success of the Gentile mission in Antioch and during the missionary journey of Barnabas and Paul (Acts 13–14) that raises the profile of the issue and arouses fresh opposition.

The controversy involves only two views: that of Peter, with which Barnabas and Paul agree, and that of the group who require the circumcision of Gentile converts. There is no indication of a middle way that might envisage two separate Christian communities.

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[60] Against J. L. Martyn, *Galatians* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 236-40.

This is because the principal issues in dispute are the boundaries of the messianic people of God—whether they are defined by the gift of the Spirit or by circumcision and Torah observance—and the way in which Gentile believers can attain moral purity—whether by faith and repentance alone or by circumcision and Torah-observance in addition. It is not matters of ritual purity that concern the group opposed to Peter, Barnabas and Paul, but the moral conversion of Gentiles. They regard circumcision and observance of the whole Torah as essential for Gentile sinners to become righteous, since it is these that separate people from the contamination of the pervasive idolatry and immorality of non-Jewish society. This group applies in their Christian context the attitude to the law of Moses that we have observed rather clearly and extensively in the *Letter of Aristeas*. That Luke associates this group with the Pharisees (15:5) gains some plausibility from comparison with Josephus' narrative (*Ant.* 20.38-48) of the conversion of king Izates of Adiabene to Judaism. Eleazar, who persuades the king that, even though being circumcised might alienate him from his subjects and threaten his position as king, nevertheless he is disobeying God by not being circumcised, is described by Josephus as having "a reputation for being extremely strict [or accurate] when it came to the ancestral laws" (πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβής) (*Ant.* 20.43). This is the way Josephus regularly describes the Pharisees (*J.W.* 1.110; 2.162; *Ant.* 13.294; 17.41; 20.201; *Vita* 191).

It is not necessary to suppose that the group which advocated Gentile circumcision denied the evidence of the gift of the Spirit to Gentiles, which was so important to Peter, Barnabas and Paul. They could have seen this as God's admission of such Gentiles into his messianic people, but thought that circumcision thereby became incumbent on such converts, along with the rest of commandments of the Torah. It is possible that some Jews at this period saw circumcision not so much as the rite of entry (for males) into Judaism, but rather as a duty of obedience to God which those who have been converted must fulfil.[61] That this was the view of Eleazar the Pharisee in Josephus' account of the conversion of Izates may be the easiest way to read that story. Because Izates had already devoted himself to the ancestral laws of the Jews, as Josephus puts it (*Ant.*

[61] McKnight, *A Light*, 79-82; P. Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) 260-61.

20.41), he was obliged to obey the commandment to be circumcised, indeed this was his foremost obligation to God (*Ant.* 20.44-45). The group to which Luke refers in Acts 15:1, 5 may have thought the same about Gentiles who had been baptized and had received the Spirit. They could have drawn this conclusion from Ezek 36:27.

I have discussed in detail elsewhere James' speech at the Jerusalem conference (Acts 15:13-21) and the provisions of the so-called apostolic decree (15:23-29).[62] I confine myself here to pointing out the two principal ways in which the speech and the decree meet precisely the requirements of the issue as we have come to understand it. (1) The quotation of Amos 9:11-12 is designed especially to make the point that it is *as Gentiles* that Gentiles belong to the messianic people of God. This is the significance of the phrase: "all the nations over whom my name has been invoked" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ' αὐτούς). This is a Hebrew idiom, frequent in the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish literature, which denotes YHWH's ownership. It is frequently used of Israel as YHWH's own people (Deut 28:10; 2 Chr 7:14; Jer 14:9; Dan 9:19; Sir 36:17; 2 Macc 8:15; Bar 2:15; *Pss. Sol.* 9:9; Ps.-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 28:4; 49:7; 4 Ezra 4:15; 10:22), distinguished from the Gentiles, who are "those over whom your name has not been invoked" (Isa 63:19). Its use in Amos 9:12 of "all the nations" is unique, and would have been read by early Christians as strong evidence that Gentiles do not have to become Jews in order to belong (or even in consequence of belonging) to the messianic people of God.

(2) The four prohibitions in the apostolic decree (Acts 15:29) correspond to the four things that are prohibited to "the alien who sojourns in your/their midst" in Leviticus 17–18 (the phrase occurs in Lev 17:10, 12, 13; 18:26) thus: (a) "things sacrificed to idols" are prohibited in Lev 17:8-9; (b) "blood" is prohibited in Lev 17:10, 12; (c) "things strangled" are prohibited in Lev 17:13; (d) "sexual immorality" refers to Lev 18:26 and covers all the prohibited forms of sexual practice in Lev 18:6-23.[63] The reason these four are selected from the commandments of the Torah as alone applicable to Gentile members of the messianic people of God is exegetical: they are

[62] R. Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles (Acts 15.13-21)," in B. Witherington III (ed.), *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 154-84.

[63] For details, see Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 172-74.

specifically designated as obliging "the alien who sojourns in your/their midst" as well as Israelites. By reference to Jer 12:16 ("in the midst of my people") and LXX Zech 2:15 ("they shall dwell in your midst") this phrase could be understood as referring to the Gentiles who will join the people of God in the messianic age.[64] The Torah itself is seen to make specific provision for these Gentile converts, who are not obliged, like Jews, by the commandments of the Torah in general, but are obliged by these specific commandments.

Earlier in this essay we have also seen that these prohibitions in Leviticus 17–18 are those to which Lev 18:24-30 could readily be understood to refer, when it exhorts the Israelites not to follow the practices of the Canaanite peoples with which they had defiled themselves and the land. In other words, the offences which are prohibited in Leviticus 17–18 and in the apostolic decree are those which were most often regarded as constituting the moral impurity of Gentiles. The fit with the situation in Acts 15 is perfect. If God has indeed, as Peter claims, "purified their [the Gentiles'] hearts by faith," these are the impurities—the typical Gentile sins—from which they are henceforth to be pure. The apostolic decree does not really add to Peter's position on the matter. It simply spells out a necessary implication of Peter's view: that Gentile members of the messianic people of God are to refrain from the moral impurities in which Gentiles typically indulged. Since they are members of the messianic people *as Gentiles*, they do not require circumcision and other requirements that the Torah makes on Israelites in order to become or to remain morally pure, but they are obliged by these specific prohibitions of the Torah against morally polluting practices.[65]

This also makes clear why, as Peter has known since his vision and its explication, close association, such as sharing meals, between Jewish and Gentile believers is not problematic. It had been prohibited in order to protect Jews from the morally polluting influence of Gentile sinners. But Gentile believers in Christ, according to

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[64] Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 175-78.

[65] The absence of the prohibition of Lev 17:15-16 from the terms of the apostolic decree is explicable both because, though applying to "aliens" (17:15), the phrase "the alien who sojourns in your/their midst" is not used, and also because failure to observe this prohibition results only in ritual impurity which can be removed in the usual way. It does not incur the punishment attaching to the other offences in Leviticus 17–18, which are regarded as morally culpable.

James and the decree, should not be suspected of idolatry and immorality. By explicitly applying the prohibitions of Leviticus 17–18 to them it is made unequivocally clear that they are expected to avoid the impurities which would otherwise impede fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in the church.

It is important to note that the reason the apostolic decree facilitates Jewish and Gentile table-fellowship is not because three of its four prohibitions concern meat. As we have observed already, it would be easy enough for Jews sharing even a meal provided by Gentiles to observe these prohibitions by simply not eating meat. The first three practices forbidden by the decree, like the fourth, are not matters of ritual but of moral impurity. The danger of table-fellowship with Gentiles was of becoming implicated in these idolatrous and immoral practices of the Gentiles. Their prohibition to Gentiles in the apostolic decree, as in Leviticus itself, has the secondary effect of making close association of Jews and Gentiles who observe the prohibition possible. But they are prohibited primarily because they are pollutions of which all the people of God, Jewish and Gentile, must be free.

V. JERUSALEM AND ANTIOCH: THE ISSUES (GALATIANS 2)

The most important task in our study of Galatians 2 must be to determine what the issues in relation to Gentile Christians are and whether they are the same as the issues in Acts 10–11 and 15. Although it might be considered methodologically suspect to move from Acts to a Pauline letter, this procedure has the advantage of a fresh angle from which to approach the much debated material in Galatians 2, especially the question of what is actually the issue between Paul, Peter and the 'certain persons from James' in the altercation at Antioch.

At the private consultation between Paul, Barnabas and the "pillars" in Jerusalem (Gal 2:1-10) the main issue—at least from Paul's perspective—seems to be in essence the one with which Paul is concerned in Galatians as a whole: whether Gentile converts need to be circumcised and obey the law of Moses. As well as the determination of two spheres of mission, Paul is insistent that the Jerusalem leaders "added nothing to me" (2:6)—meaning, probably, that there were no requirements laid on Paul's Gentile converts

beyond those of faith and repentance that he himself required.[66] In particular, of course, there was no requirement that they be circumcised. (Throughout the passage Paul seems to allow that the pillars did have the authority to pronounce on these matters.) The case of the Gentile Christian Titus was a kind of test case, but is in fact even more significant, because Titus' presence in the delegation from Antioch must have made the issue of fellowship between circumcised and uncircumcised Christians unavoidable. The "false brothers," whose viewpoint was doubtless the same as that of the believers who had been Pharisees in Acts 15:5, seem to have been those who proposed that Titus must be circumcised. What Paul calls their spying (Gal 2:4) was presumably their observation of the freedom of close association which Paul and Barnabas practised with their uncircumcised colleague. It was not the acceptance of Gentile converts without circumcision which, as such, alarmed them, so much as its observable implication: Jews risking moral pollution by association with Gentile sinners. Evidently Paul argued against the circumcision of Titus and the pillars accepted his argument, rather than that of "the false brothers." This means that the question of eating with Gentiles was not an issue which the meeting left undecided, so that it was only faced when the "certain persons from James" later came to Antioch (2:12).[67] Paul at least must have thought—and this is why he includes the detail about Titus—that the Jerusalem agreement ensured full and equal membership by Gentiles of the one messianic people of God, such that close association between such Gentiles and Jewish Christians was entailed. Of course, this might not have been everyone's impression of the upshot of the consultation. The fact that it was a private meeting could well have made the agreement vulnerable to mistaken or misleading reporting. It would not be surprising if the issue had to be raised and debated again. But we should note that, at least in Paul's impression and reporting of the Jerusalem consultation, there was no question of a middle way, according to which uncircumcised Gentiles could be Christians but still profane, excluded from the messianically renewed Israel. This possibility seems absent from the discussion, just as it is in Acts. The only options are that either Titus must be circumcised

[66] J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993) 103-104.

[67] On this point I agree with Esler, *Galatians*, 130.

and become a Jew or else he must be granted full fellowship with Jewish Christians.

The issue in the controversy at Antioch (Gal 2:11-21) has often been seen as a lesser one than or a subsequent one to that which was apparently resolved at the Jerusalem consultation (2:1-10). But our study of Acts in the light of contemporary Jewish views of Gentiles would suggest that in fact the two issues are simply two sides of the same coin. Dominant at the Jerusalem consultation is the question of what should be required of Gentile converts, while the controversy at Antioch seems rather to focus on how Jewish believers should behave in relation to Gentile converts. The latter is the same question as the Jerusalem church in Acts raised in its criticism of Peter for eating with Gentiles (Acts 11:2-3), while the former is the dominant issue at the Jerusalem conference in Acts 15. In Acts they are correlative. Because Gentiles must be expected to be morally impure, must not Jews avoid close association even with Gentiles who profess faith in Jesus Christ? Conversely, can Gentiles be rid of their moral impurity otherwise than by being circumcised and observing the Torah? If the latter question is answered in the negative, as by the believers from the Pharisees (Acts 15:1, 5) and by the "false brothers" (Gal 2:4), then the first question must also be answered in the negative. But if the second question is answered with the claim that uncircumcised Gentiles have been purified of the impurity of their hearts by faith and the gift of the Spirit (as Peter argues in Acts, and Paul, in somewhat different terminology, urges so forcefully and extensively in Galatians), then the first question, robbed of its presupposition in the subordinate clause, is no longer relevant.

What objection did the "men from James" have to the Jewish Christians of Antioch eating with their Gentile fellow-believers? The issue has recently been much debated,[68] so that it will certainly no longer do to refer to "Jewish food laws," without further explanation, as Martyn still does.[69] We have discussed above, in relation to

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[68] See especially Dunn, *Jesus*, 137-58; E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM Press, 1990) 258-308; P. F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 73-89; Tomson, *Paul*, 228-36; C. C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 126-42; Dunn, *The Epistle*, 117-22; Sanders, "Jewish Association"; Esler, *Galatians*, chap. 4.

[69] Martyn, *Galatians*, 232, cf. 242-43.

Acts 10:28 and 11:3, what legal barriers there might be to Jews eating with Gentiles. As we saw, considerations of ritual impurity would be trivial, probably no greater than in many meals of Jews with Jews. Jews could avoid meat with blood in it and meat which might have been sacrificed to pagan gods in a temple before reaching the table by keeping to vegetarian fare, which in any case was normal at most ordinary families' meals. Esler rightly makes the point that sharing a common cup of wine was essential to real table-fellowship (as distinct from eating separately in the same room) and, among Christians, presumably indispensable to eucharistic fellowship,[70] so that the association of Gentile wine with idolatry is relevant. But this problem could be avoided if the wine were provided by the Jews.[71] We should certainly not assume that Paul would object to such practical means of accommodating Jewish difficulties, since he explicitly advocates them himself, giving his own Christian reasons for doing so, in Rom 14:13-15. The problem at Antioch seems to be not with the manner in which the meals are conducted or what was served at them, but rather the fact of Jews sharing table-fellowship with Gentiles at all.[72] The problem is much easier to understand if we abandon the attempt to identify specific aspects of the meal which would require a Jew to transgress food laws or commit idolatry, and instead rely on the evidence presented above for supposing that close association between Jews and Gentiles, of which sharing a meal is the most intimate form (apart from intermarriage), was considered prohibited because of the moral impurity of Gentiles and the risk of thereby becoming implicated and involved in their idolatrous and immoral lifestyles. The practice of Peter and other Jewish Christians had not been a matter of breaking or relaxing specific laws or rules, but of not keeping themselves

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[70] Esler, *Galatians*, 101-104.

[71] Esler (*Galatians*, 105-108) relies on the evidence of the Mishna (*'Abod. Zar.* 5:2-7) to argue that this would not in fact suffice, because there was always the risk that a Gentile might surreptitiously have offered a libation from it. This really moves the question from the wine itself to the moral character of the Gentile with whom the Jew would be sharing the meal, and so supports our contention that the objection to table-fellowship is really to close association with morally corrupt and corrupting people, as Gentiles are assumed to be.

[72] Cf. M. Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just," in B. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 181: "The decision [to withdraw] appears to be to reject not certain kinds of food but any and all commensality *per se*. The problem, in other words, was not the food but the company."

separate from Gentile sinners, no doubt because they thought these Gentiles had been purified by God of their moral impurity.

Several features of Paul's account of the Antioch incident, even though it is written very much from Paul's perspective, support this reading of the issue at stake. (1) When Peter ceased to eat with Gentiles, Paul says that "he withdrew and kept himself separate" (ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν) (Gal 2:12). The emphasis on separation surely reflects the general ideology of the separation of Jews from Gentiles (Lev 20:24-26; Ezra 10:11; Neh 9:2; 10:28; 13:3; *Jub.* 22:16; *Aristeas* 151-152; *2 Bar.* 42:5[73]), and perhaps even the language of the key passage in Leviticus which includes both YHWH's statement that he has separated Israel from the Gentiles (Lev 20:26 LXX: ἀπορίσας) and also the command to "make a distinction" between pure and impure (Lev 20:25 LXX: ἀποριεῖτε). We are clearly in the same conceptual world as in Acts 10 (cf. also Gal 4:17).

(2) Paul's sarcastic claim that Peter lives "like a Gentile, and not like a Jew" (ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς) (2:14) makes most sense on the assumption that Peter's offence in the eyes of the men from James was that he associated closely with Gentiles, rather than that he ignored food laws or some such specific offence. Peter has ignored the boundary that should separate Jew from Gentile. By identifying himself socially with Gentiles, he may be said to live like one. (3) When Paul continues by saying to Peter, "We ourselves are Jews by birth (φύσει) and not Gentile sinners (ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί)" (2:15), he surely echoes the distinction made by the men from James between Jews and Gentiles. It is because Gentiles are sinners that Jews should keep separate from them. (4) The same language continues in v. 17, where Paul echoes the view of the men from James that Jews, like himself and Peter, who associate with Gentiles, must be regarded as "sinners," like the Gentiles with whom they associate. This should not be read in a purely formal sense: that they are considered sinners because they have set aside the defining

[73] This passage interestingly combines the language of separation with a very positive attitude to proselytes, "those who first did not know life and who later knew it exactly and who mingled with the seed of the people who have separated themselves" (42:5: note the word "exactly," perhaps indicating Pharisaic precision in observing the law), whereas Jewish apostates, "those who have first subjected themselves and have withdrawn later and who mingled themselves with the seed of the mingled nations" (42:4), might just as well never have been Jews. This attitude may well be closely parallel to that of Paul's opponents in Galatians.

boundary placed by the Torah between Jews and Gentiles. This boundary is of paramount importance for the men from James, but it is important because it was thought to protect Jews from the contaminating influence of the idolatry and immorality thought to pervade Gentile society. Ignoring the boundary is likely to lead into actual sin.

Did the men from James address only the question of the behavior of Jewish Christians in relation to Gentile converts, or did they also address the question which we have seen to be a correlative: what should be required of Gentile converts? Whether or not they did, Paul regards Peter's withdrawal from association with Gentiles as entailing the logical consequence that the latter must become Jews (2:14). Ἰουδαΐζειν means "to follow Jewish practices" (Ignatius, *Magn.* 10:3; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.18.2 §463) or "to adopt Jewish practices" (LXX Esth 8:17; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.17.10 §454). The latter, which must be the meaning in Gal 2:14, need not mean going as far as circumcision (LXX Esth 8:17; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.17.10 §454 mention circumcision explicitly in order to make clear that full conversion to Judaism is meant), but on the other hand it need not exclude it. To refer explicitly to circumcision would spoil Paul's contrast between Peter and the Gentiles. But it is hard to see that anything short of full conversion to Judaism would serve Paul's argument here. If it is because the Gentile Christians are *Gentiles* that the men from James have persuaded Peter not to eat with them, then eating with them would only be possible if they became Jews. This is surely what Paul sees as the logical implication of Peter's behavior, even though Peter himself may not have wished to draw this implication. To Paul it seems, not unreasonably, that, by reinstating the social boundary between Jews and Gentiles, Peter is treating the latter as, after all, morally impure ("sinners"). They have not, after all, been purified by faith and the Spirit, but need circumcision and Torah-observance to become morally pure.

This interpretation has the considerable advantage that it makes the Antioch incident not marginally but directly relevant to Paul's churches in Galatia, where the issue is certainly that of circumcision and Torah-observance by Gentile Christians. The question of Jewish Christian behavior at Antioch is the other side of the coin to that of Gentile Christian obligation to the Torah. There is no difficulty in supposing that throughout Galatians, including chap. 2, Paul is dealing with the same two, closely correlative issues that Acts 10–11

and 15 discuss. It is also worth noting that Paul is concerned, in addressing his Galatian churches, with essentially the same issue that the apostolic decree in Acts 15 is designed to meet. If circumcision and observance of the whole Torah are not required of Gentile converts, it must nevertheless be clear that they abstain from the idolatry and immorality typical of Gentile life. So Paul's list of "works of the flesh," indulgence in which will prevent his readers' inheriting the kingdom of God (Gal 5:21), are his more generalized equivalent to the abominations prohibited in Leviticus 17-18.[74] Now that we have recognized that the prohibitions of the apostolic decree are directed at the moral pollutions of Gentile life, which Paul also insisted his Gentile converts renounce, it becomes less implausible that Paul should have agreed to the settlement of the Gentile issue which Luke describes in Acts 15, even if he were not entirely happy with the way the decree defined the prohibited practices.

Understanding Peter's behavior in Antioch in Galatians 2 has always been a challenge to readers of the letter. As we have seen, fellowship between Jewish Christians and uncircumcised Gentile Christians had been approved in the Jerusalem agreement, to which Peter was party. In eating with Gentiles in Antioch before the men from James arrived he was implementing this agreement. It is understandable that Paul accuses him, along with the other Jewish Christians of Antioch, of behaving inconsistently with the convictions about the truth of the Gospel which their previous actions had expressed (2:13-14; note the recurrence of the phrase "the truth of the Gospel" in vv. 5 and 14, showing clearly that for Paul the issue here is the same as it had been when it had been proposed that Titus be circumcised).[75] The difference between Peter and Paul might be, however, that for Peter "the truth of the Gospel" (as to the full inclusion of uncircumcised Gentiles in the messianic people of God) meant that fellowship between Jewish Christians and uncircumcised Gentile Christians was permissible, whereas for Paul it meant that it was mandatory. Peter may have considered that for pragmatic reasons it was wise to withdraw from fellowship for the time being, but Paul saw this very action as saying to the Gentile Christians that

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[74] Borgen ("Catalogues") usefully relates the apostolic decree to the function of catalogues of vices in Jewish proselyte instruction and in the continuation of this in Christian instruction to Gentile converts, but I do not think the apostolic decree is simply one example of such catalogues.

[75] See Esler, *Galatians*, 139.

they are still Gentile sinners with whom Jews may not associate. If the latter was actually the view of the men from James, which Peter did not believe, though he judged it politic to go along with their requirements, then he was certainly giving countenance to a view of the status of Gentile Christians quite contrary to his own. In that sense Paul's charge that he was acting inconsistently with his own convictions is not unfair.[76]

Paul says that Peter acted "fearing those from the circumcision" (φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς) (2:12). As we have seen, this phrase has a consistent meaning—"Jewish Christians" (Acts 10:45; 11:2; Rom 4:12; Col 4:11; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.5.3)—to which there is no reason to suppose this occurrence is an exception. Paul uses the phrase here for the sake of the contrast with "the Gentiles" (meaning Gentile Christians) earlier in the verse. (A contrast of this kind also characterizes several other of the occurrences of this phrase.) Since v. 13 makes clear that the Jewish Christians of Antioch are not included, the phrase presumably refers to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, as reported by the men from James, or perhaps only to the men from James themselves. Perhaps Paul means that Peter was overawed by the authority they claimed, but if so this is the only indication we get from the passage of the reason why Peter thought it politic to go along with their demands.

Another possibility of interpreting Peter's fear suggests itself when we consider the word "compel" (ἀναγκάζειν) that Paul uses in v. 14, when he claims that Peter is compelling the Gentiles to adopt Jewish practices (ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν). This is reminiscent of his statement that, at the Jerusalem consultation, Titus was not compelled to be circumcised (ἠναγκάσθει περιτμηθῆναι), as, presumably, the "false brothers" wished (2:3), and also of his statement that his opponents in Galatia are compelling his readers to be circumcised (ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι) (6:12). Since ἀναγκάζειν need not refer to physical compulsion,[77] these references would be less significant were it not that forcible circumcision was a well-known practice. Early in the Maccabean revolt, Mattathias and his followers "forcibly (ἐν ἰσχύϊ) circumcised all the uncircumcised boys that they found within the borders of Israel" (1 Macc 2:46).

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[76] On this as the meaning of συνυποκρίνομαι (Gal 2:13), see Esler, *Galatians*, 139.

[77] Though Josephus does not use it in *Ant.* 20.43, it could appropriately describe the moral intimidation by which Eleazar persuaded king Izates to be circumcised.

John Hyrcanus required the conquered Idumeans to be circumcised and adopt Jewish practices, if they wished to remain in the land (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257-258), and Aristobulus did the same to the Itureans (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.318). Probably in all these cases the holiness of the land of Israel was the justification: the profane (uncircumcised) may not live in the holy land and so the Jew zealous for the law must oblige them to be circumcised. The same policy was attributed to king Josiah: "he was zealous with the zeal of the mighty One with his whole soul, and he alone was strong in the law at that time so that he left no one uncircumcised" (*2 Bar.* 66:5).

Josephus also records an interesting incident during the Jewish revolt: when he was in command of the city of Sepphoris, two Gentile officers of Agrippa II from Trachonitis came to Josephus seeking protection. "The Jews," writes Josephus, using the term to contrast the residents of the city with these two Gentiles, "would have compelled them to be circumcised, if they wished to reside among them" (*Vita* 113; cf. 149). This looks rather like the attitude of the men from James to association between Jews and uncircumcised Gentiles. It seems that, because Josephus resisted this demand that the men be circumcised, he was accused of transgressing the law of Moses (135).

In two of these passages (*Ant.* 13.318; *Vita* 113) Josephus uses the verb ἀναγκάζειν with περιτέμνεσθαι, as Paul does. Remarkably, the phrase is also used of the Jews' forcible circumcision of the Idumeans by the non-Jewish historian Ptolemaeus in a surviving fragment (ἀναγκασθέντες περιτέμνεσθαι).[78] This is probably insufficient evidence to establish a standard usage, but it does suggest that Paul's language could easily evoke the known practice of forcible conversion of Gentiles by Jews. There is one other testimony to this practice, the statement by Hippolytus (said by him to be about the Zealots or Sicarii), which we have already quoted:

> When a member of the second tendency hears that someone has been speaking about God and his laws, but is not circumcised, he lies in wait for him and when he finds him alone threatens him with death if he does not let himself be circumcised. If he does not obey, he is not spared, but killed.[79]

We should also remember that in this period Jews zealous for the

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[78] Text in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 1:27-28, where the identity of Ptolemaeus is also discussed.

[79] Quoted in Hengel, *The Zealots*, 70-71.

law, following the example of the prototypical zealots Phinehas and Elijah, thought themselves justified in executing God's judgment on Jews guilty of flagrant violations of the purity of Israel or the holiness of the sanctuary.[80] The attempt to lynch Paul when he was thought to have desecrated the temple by taking an uncircumcised Gentile Christian into it (Acts 21:27-30) and the subsequent plot to kill Paul (Acts 23:12-15) are good examples, which illustrate how this tendency could affect the Christian movement.

It may be that Paul in Galatians deliberately associates his opponents in Galatia and even Peter in Antioch with such zealous Jewish violence, as a form of polemical hyperbole. But it is also possible that there were Jewish Christians who shared this attitude. The association of leaders of their movement with uncircumcised Gentiles, together with the audacious claim that these latter were members of the messianic people of God, could be seen as flagrant violation of the purity and holiness of that people. Perhaps therefore Peter was threatened with actual violence by the men from James or by some who came with them. Alternatively, perhaps the Christian movement was earning the hatred and horror of zealous Palestinian Jews, because of the abandonment of the separation of Jews from Gentiles in Christian communities in Antioch and elsewhere, and the Jerusalem leaders, represented by the men from James, thought it politic to insist that the barriers between Jew and Gentile be re-erected.[81] We do not have the information to be sure, but Paul's language about compelling Gentiles to be circumcised strongly suggests that zeal for the law and the violence it authorized lurks somewhere in the background to the situations in Antioch and Galatia.

VI. PETER AND PAUL

We have established that the issues in debate about Gentile converts to Christian faith are the same in Galatians 2 as in Acts 10–11 and 15. We must now observe a significant correspondence in the way the issues were dealt with according to our two sources. It is obvious and not surprising that in Galatians the story is told very much from

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[80] This was an established meaning of the term "zealot" before it became the name of a specific party during the Jewish revolt. Cf. Hengel, *The Zealots*, 149-83; D. Rhoads, "Zealots," in D. N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols., New York: Doubleday, 1992) 6:1044-45.

[81] For the possible political background, see Bockmuehl, "Antioch," 183-85.

Paul's perspective. Somewhat more surprising is the fact that Luke tells the story of the debate over Gentile converts from the perspective of Peter, the Jerusalem church and (finally) James. Despite the role of Paul as *the* apostle to the Gentiles in Acts, despite the fact that the missionary journey of Barnabas and Paul (Acts 13–14) is recounted at length between the two parts of the debate and functions as the occasion for the renewed debate at the beginning of Acts 15, the contribution of the two to the discussion is not quoted in direct speech like those of Peter and James and consists only of a report of "all the signs and wonders that God had done through them among the Gentiles" (15:12; cf. 14:27; 15:3). They are not said to have drawn any conclusion from these events, and their report functions as part of the argument at the conference only because it constitutes supporting evidence for Peter's preceding argument. From the circumstances of the conversion of Cornelius and his household Peter has argued a case that Gentile converts should not be required to be circumcised and to become Torah-observant (15:7-11). (This is a restatement of Peter's argument in 11:4-17, but whereas that statement was occasioned by the question of his eating with the Gentiles, this restatement focuses more fully on the implications for what should be required of Gentile converts.) The evidence of Barnabas and Paul (15:12) contributes to the discussion only because we are to understand that they report many more instances comparable to that of Cornelius. But the argument is Peter's, just as the argument which then clinches the matter is James'.

The best explanation for Luke's perspective on the debate is that he is following the traditions of the Jerusalem church (which much other evidence in Luke-Acts also suggests). But a further remarkable feature of Luke's presentation of Peter's contribution to the discussion is how closely it parallels Paul's arguments in Galatians.[82] The following table sets out the main points of correspondence (italics represent exact quotations):

Peter in Acts 15	*Paul in Galatians*
The Gentiles received the Spirit by hearing and believing the Gospel (vv. 7-8)	The Galatians received the Spirit *by the hearing of faith* (3:2, 5)
God *purified their hearts by faith*	See the contrast of works of the flesh

[82] See P. Borgen, "Jesus Christ, the Reception of the Spirit and a Cross-National Community," in Borgen, *Early Christianity*, 253-72.

(v. 9)	and fruit of the Spirit (5:16-25)
God treated them just as he did us (v. 8) and we will be saved in the same way as they (v. 11)	We have been justified in the same way as they have (2:15-16)
God *made no distinction between them and us* (v. 9)	*There is no longer Jew or Greek ... for all of you are one in Christ Jesus* (3:28)
	Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything (5:6)
The law is *a yoke*	*Do not submit again to a yoke of slavery* (5:1)
which Jews themselves *have not been able to bear* (v. 10)	*Even the circumcised do not themselves obey the law (6:13)*
[Implicit is the argument that the law is not the means to moral purity, which rather requires God's purification of the heart.]	If there had been *a law which could make alive, then righteousness would come through the law* (3:12) *No one will be justified through the works of the law* (2:16)
saved through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ (v. 11)	*the grace of Christ* (1:6, cf. 6:18) Cf. Jesus Christ in relation to justification in 2:16-21

Several aspects of this pattern of parallels are especially significant. One is that in Gal 3:1-5 Paul uses the case of the Galatian Christians in just the same way that Peter in Acts 15 uses the case of Cornelius and his household. In both cases the fact that God gave these uncircumcised Gentiles the Spirit, when they did no more than hear the Gospel and respond in faith, is used to argue that there is no need for them to be circumcised or to submit to the law of Moses. Secondly, both Paul, addressing Peter and perhaps other Jewish Christians, in Gal 2:15-16, and Peter in Acts 15, make the point that salvation has come to both circumcised Jewish believers and uncircumcised Gentile believers in the same way—in neither case by means of the law. Thirdly, both insist that there is no longer any significance in the distinctions between Jew and Greek, sacred and profane, circumcised and uncircumcised. Finally, both are concerned, though each expresses it differently, that God's saving activity in Christ achieves the moral purity of the heart that the law has not been able to achieve for Jews and cannot achieve for Gentile Christians.

Of course, there is also much in Galatians that is distinctively

Pauline, but it is very significant that essentially Peter's argument in Acts 15 can also be found in Galatians. Has Luke simply put a Pauline argument on Peter's lips? If so, he has put Paul's argument into some rather un-Pauline language ("purifying their hearts by faith," "no distinction"), while avoiding the language of justification which Paul uses frequently in Galatians, and which Luke does attribute to Paul, even if not in a very Pauline way (Acts 13:38-39). In fact, there is a strong indication in Galatians that Paul expected Peter to be acquainted with and to accept the basic argument that is common to Galatians and Peter's speech in Acts 15. In Gal 2:15-17 Paul speaks in the first person plural to Peter, perhaps also including the other Jewish Christians (2:14) on this occasion when Paul confronted Peter. The "we" of 2:15-17 certainly cannot be Paul and his Gentile readers in Galatia. Paul never uses the authorial "we" in Galatians, nor does he include his missionary colleagues with himself in a first person plural, as he does in some other letters. There should be no doubt that 2:15-17 continues the address to Peter which begins in 2:14. No change of address is indicated until 3:1 ("You foolish Galatians . . ."). (Of course, 2:15-21 is meant to be relevant to the Galatians, as is the whole account of the Antioch incident, but it is not formally addressed to them.)

So Paul addresses Peter:

> We ourselves are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners; yet we know that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ. And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by doing the works of the law, because no one will be justified by the works of the law. But if, in our effort to be justified in Christ, we ourselves have been found to be sinners, is Christ then a servant of sin? Certainly not! (Gal 2:15-16)

Paul and Peter both "know" that even they themselves, Jewish Christians, are not saved by their circumcision or other "works of the law," but through faith in Jesus Christ. If this does not make them "sinners," then nor does it leave the Gentiles the "sinners" they were before believing. This is the understanding Paul thinks Peter was acting on consistently when he ate with Gentile Christians, but which his actions in separating himself now contradict.

Had Peter already learned this view of the Gentile issue from

Paul?[83] Or had Paul learned it from Peter? If the conversion of Cornelius and his household really was the catalyst for Peter's view that Gentile converts need not be circumcised,[84] then it is plausible that Paul first learned this from Peter, subsequently saw it confirmed in many other conversions of Gentiles who believed and received the Spirit, and, of course, developed it in his own creatively theological way. It is not likely to have been at the Jerusalem consultation of Gal 2:1-10 that Paul learned from Peter the position on the status of Gentile converts which he defends so passionately in Galatians. Paul's view of that meeting is that he was already sure of the truth of the Gospel, which the pillars did no more than confirm (Gal 2:2, 5). But he had had an earlier opportunity, at the time when his understanding of his own call to evangelize the Gentiles must still have been developing: the fortnight he spent with Peter in Jerusalem, about two years[85] after his conversion and call (Gal 1:18-19). Although in the narrative of Acts the Cornelius story (Acts 10) follows that of Paul's conversion and call and the account of his first visit to Jerusalem (Acts 9), Luke's arrangement of his material at this point need not be strictly chronological. In 10:1–11:18 he is recounting essential background for the way he then continues the story of Gentile conversions in 11:19–15:30. He wants Peter's experience with Cornelius, an event of huge significance for this story, to connect immediately with the continuation from 11:19 onwards. There is no reason why Cornelius' conversion could not have happened before Paul's first visit to Jerusalem. Of course,

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[83] So M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* (London: SCM Press, 1997) 149. They do not explain how this coheres with Hengel's view, expressed elsewhere, of the basic historicity of the Cornelius story (viz. M. Hengel, *Earliest Christianity* [London: SCM Press, 1986] 97; M. Hengel, "The Geography of Palestine in Acts," in R. Bauckham [ed.], *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* [Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995] 63 n. 111).

[84] P. F. Esler ("Glossolalia and the Admission of Gentiles into the Early Christian Community," *BTB* 22 [1992] 136-42) argues that "Acts 10:44-48 is historically accurate in revealing a fact of fundamental importance for the beginnings of Christianity—that the admission of Gentiles into the early communities was the result of their manifesting glossolalia and other gifts of the Holy Spirit" (p. 142), but also that "the difficulties in the way of defending the historicity of the narrative as related by Luke are so great and . . . that the persistence into the present of a belief in its historicity is a cause for wonder" (p. 137). His reasons for the latter statement are countered elsewhere in this essay.

[85] A reckoning of "three years" (Gal 1:18) might well be more like two years or even less in our reckoning, because three could mean: the last part of a year, the whole of the subsequent year, and the first part of a third year.

throughout Gal 1:11-24, Paul is arguing that the Gospel he preached did not come to him from a human source. He was not instructed by humans, but received it by revelation (1:11-12; cf. 16-17). But, given this rhetorical aim, it need not follow that Paul did not clarify his Gospel in consultation with Peter at that time.

VII. HOW MANY CONFERENCES?

We have seen that Paul's and Luke's accounts of the debates over Gentile converts largely agree about the issues at stake and the arguments used. Particularly when we recognize that Gentile moral impurity was the impediment to close association between Jews and Gentiles, both narratives offer historically plausible accounts of the controversy and its course, allowing, of course, for each writer's particular *Tendenz*. But is it possible to correlate the two series of events in these two sources, or must we, with many scholars, conclude that Luke's narrative is historically inaccurate in many significant respects because it diverges from Paul's?[86]

In my view the most probable view is that which distinguishes the Jerusalem consultation between Paul and Barnabas and the pillars (Gal 2:1-10) from the Jerusalem conference described in Acts 15. This view has been ably defended at length by others,[87] and a full defence will not be mounted here. The four chief components of this view (all of which are probably necessary for the view to be plausible), are these: (1) The consultation described by Paul in Gal

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[86] For recent discussions of this complex issue, see D. Wenham, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus II. The Evidence of Parallels," in B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993) 226-43; R. H. Stein, "Jerusalem," in G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin (eds.), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove; Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 465-71; L. A. Alexander, "Chronology of Paul," in Hawthorne and Martin (eds.), *Dictionary*, 115-23; G. W. Hansen, "Galatians, Letter to the," in Hawthorne and Martin (eds.), *Dictionary*, 327-29; C. C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 107-22.

[87] F. F. Bruce, "Galatian Problems 1. Autobiographical Data," *BJRL* 51 (1968-69) 292-309; idem, "Galatian Problems 4. The Date of the Epistle," *BJRL* 54 (1971-72) 250-67; idem, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 43-56; R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990) lxiii-lxxxviii; C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1989) chaps. 6–7; B. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 13-20; idem, *Acts*, 86-97. Earlier advocates include my St Andrews predecessor: G. S. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934) xxi-xxxi.

2:1-10 (his second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, according to Galatians) took place at the time of the visit of Barnabas and Paul with famine relief for the Jerusalem church, as described in Acts 11:29-30; 12:25 (Paul's second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, according to Acts). (2) The Antioch incident (Gal 2:11-21) is the same event as the controversy which Acts 15:1-2a recounts as the occasion for the calling of the Jerusalem conference of Acts 15. (3) Galatians was written to "south Galatia," i.e. to the churches of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which Barnabas and Paul founded on the missionary journey described in Acts 13–14. (4) Galatians was written immediately after the Antioch incident (Gal 2:11-14 = Acts 15:1-2a), when the controversy had spread to the churches of south Galatia, but before Paul traveled to Jerusalem for the council (Acts 15:2b-4).

When all four components of this view are recognized, it is not difficult to answer two critical questions: (1) Why does Luke's account of the visit of Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem (Acts 11:29-30; 12:25) not mention their consultation with the pillars and the important agreement reached on the subject of the Gentile mission? The reason is that in the event this proved a very transient solution to the problem. The agreement soon broke down and was superseded by the more authoritative and permanent decision of the Jerusalem council (Acts 15). Luke may not even have known of the earlier agreement, or if he did it would not seem important enough to include in his narrative. (2) Why does Paul not refer to the conference of Acts 15, along with the apostolic decree which it issued? The reason is that Paul wrote Galatians before the council met. At the point when he wrote, the agreement reached with the pillars (Gal 2:1-10), later reduced to historical insignificance by the Jerusalem council of Acts 15, was crucially important.

Many who reject this view, in favor of the view that Acts 15 provides a rather historically inaccurate account of the same event that Paul recounts in Gal 2:1-10, think it fundamentally implausible that an agreement reached so definitively by the main players (Gal 2:1-10) should need to be superseded by a further decision of another conference. This is naive. Agreements reached on such controversial issues—in many spheres of life—frequently have to be negotiated again and again. It is not difficult to think of reasons why the agreement reached in a private meeting by the group of five leaders should later have been contested, so that the matter had to be

discussed and resolved in a plenary session of the Jerusalem church, involving all the Christian leaders who could attend, and resulting in the promulgation of an authoritative ruling to all the churches. Paul makes clear that the earlier agreement was contested even at the time by those (probably members of the Jerusalem church) he calls "false brothers," and it is perfectly plausible that these should go on pressing their case against the agreement. The decisions of this essentially private meeting were not made public in any definitive form, but served merely for the guidance of the five leaders who were party to them. They could therefore be misreported or misunderstood in any continuing controversy about the issue. An authoritative ruling addressed to the churches in general was still required. But the conclusive argument against the view that there could not have been two meetings and two agreements is that Galatians 2, as we have seen, itself shows that the meeting of Paul and Barnabas with the pillars did not in fact settle the matter for long. The controversy at Antioch was not about subsidiary matters which the agreement had not covered. It represented a renewed discussion of the basic issue of the status of Gentile converts.

As a matter of fact, Acts itself records two conferences and two agreements. The term "first Jerusalem conference" is probably most apt for the meeting of Peter with the Jerusalem church in Acts 11:1-18, which evidently reached the unanimous decision that Gentiles could be Christian believers and attain salvation as Gentiles without becoming Jews (11:18). As we have seen, Luke gives no indication of any division in the church or any dissent from this conclusion, but nevertheless a significant group within the Jerusalem church later stir up the controversy which leads to the debate in which Peter has to restate his argument (15:7-11) and in which a conclusion is now reached only through the intervention of James. To find this sequence of events implausible is to ignore the complexity of real history, which is always more complicated than any literary narrative of events. It is inherently very likely that such a crucially important and unavoidably controversial issue as the status of Gentile believers and their relationship with Jewish believers should have sparked recurrent controversy over many years and have been discussed on various occasions. There are probably parts of the story of which our sources give us no inkling. But it may well be that our two sources in fact indicate that at least five conferences (using that term to cover both private consultations between leaders and public

meetings in the presence of the whole Jerusalem church) took place:

(1) The first may have been the meeting of the Jerusalem church following Peter's experience with Cornelius (Acts 11:1-18). (2) On his first visit to Jerusalem Paul had an extensive private consultation with Peter lasting two weeks, and also met James (Gal 1:18-19). We have suggested that Peter may have shared with Paul his understanding of the implications of the conversion of Cornelius and his household. In any case, it is impossible to imagine these intensive conversations with Peter not involving discussion of the Gentile mission on which Paul had already embarked in Nabatea.[88] (3) Barnabas and Paul, representing the church of Antioch, where they had been involved in the mission to the Gentiles of the city (Acts 11:22-26), visited Jerusalem and negotiated privately an agreement with James, Peter and John (Gal 2:1-10), in view of the new phase of mission on which the church of Antioch was about to embark (Acts 13:1-3). A group in the Jerusalem church unsuccessfully opposed the terms of the agreement (Gal 2:4-5). (4) After a highly successful missionary visit to south Galatia, Barnabas and Paul returned to Antioch and found that this success provoked a major controversy stirred up by members of the group in the Jerusalem church who had already opposed their missionary practice (Acts 15:1-2a). Farmer has argued persuasively that what Paul reports in Gal 2:11-21 is a major conference convened in Antioch to settle the controversy.[89] It may have been for this purpose that Peter came to Antioch (2:11), arriving some time before the delegation from Jerusalem (2:12). It was in this context of a gathering of Christian leaders, perhaps in an assembly of the whole church of Antioch, that Paul confronted Peter "before them all" (2:14). He gives the Galatians a version of the speech he made (2:14-21). This conference may have broken up without agreement. (5) Finally, a summit meeting was held in Jerusalem (Acts 15:6-29), and by a masterly argument from Scripture, as well as his own authority, James secured agreement on terms which were formulated in an official encyclical sent out to the churches. I have argued elsewhere that the evidence we have suggests

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[88] For the view that Paul went to Arabia (Gal 1:17) in order to begin his mission to preach the Gospel to Gentiles, see R. Bauckham, "What if Paul had Travelled East rather than West?," *Biblical Interpretation* 8 (2000) 175-76; also in J. C. Exum (ed.), *Virtual History and the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 175-76.

[89] W. R. Farmer, "James the Lord's Brother, according to Paul," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *James*, 146-49.

that this resolution of the issue was remarkably successful: observance of the four prohibitions in the apostolic decree was widespread for a long period,[90] and there is virtually no evidence after this date of Jewish Christians who thought Gentile Christians should be circumcised and obey the whole law of Moses.[91] No further conferences were needed.

A reconstruction of this kind can only be tentative. There is too much that we do not know. But such a reconstruction is useful in showing that it is not difficult to account for our evidence without discounting any of it. That there is so much that we do not know should also make us cautious about too easily treating any of the evidence as implausible or improbable.

VIII. PETER AND JAMES

It was Peter who successfully pioneered the view that Gentile Christians did not need to be circumcised and to observe the whole Torah, and it was James who finally secured a permanent agreement to this effect. That is how Acts portrays the history, and a careful reading of Galatians shows that Paul says nothing to contradict it. Paul did not have the standing, in Jerusalem or even in Antioch (as Gal 2:11-14 shows), to carry the most influential parts of the early Christian movement with him. Peter and James did, and, contrary to the many scholars still influenced ultimately by F. C. Baur, they did not use their authority to fight a conservative Jewish rearguard action against Paul's Gentile mission.[92] They agreed with Paul that the moral impurity which many Jews of the period regarded as characterizing Gentile society in general, and therefore as defiling all individual Gentiles to some degree, could be removed without circumcision and Torah-observance. Faith and the Spirit purified Gentile hearts. Peter argued that God had himself demonstrated this initially by giving the Spirit to Cornelius and his household, a divine act repeated again and again in Paul's missionary experience in

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[90] R. Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts*, 464-67.

[91] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 471-75.

[92] The notion of a "conservative" Jewish position on this issue is in any case misleading. There is no reason why the view of James in Acts 15, founded as it is on Scripture read in a thoroughly Jewish way, should be regarded as less "conservative" than the view of those others in the Jerusalem church who, according to Acts 15, insisted that Gentile Christians must be circumcised.

Galatia. James added a careful scriptural proof that it was as Gentiles that Gentiles were to be included in the messianic people of God, and drew from the Torah itself four prohibitions that Gentile Christians must observe for it to be clear that they had indeed renounced the idolatry and immorality characteristic of Gentile life.

At no stage in the controversy was ritual impurity an issue, and the not uncommon image of James as a stickler for purity rules is without foundation in the evidence. It was not the risk of breaking food laws or contracting ritual impurity that made Jewish Christian table-fellowship with Gentiles problematic for some. The risk was of being influenced by the idolatry and immorality which it was assumed that Gentiles could not avoid without the Torah to protect them. Both those who urged the circumcision of Gentiles and those who argued it was not necessary were concerned that Gentile Christians attain moral purity. The former group thought they could do so only by observing the law, since this was what had always distinguished pure Jews from impure Gentiles. Peter argued that the coming of messianic salvation changed that. God now made no distinction between pure and impure, purified the hearts of Jews and Gentiles alike, and gave his Spirit, the transformative power of new life, to both alike. James agreed, but argued also that the law was not thereby invalidated. The law itself provided for the case of Gentile Christians four prohibitions which marked the difference between their old life of Gentile impurity and the life they were now to lead by faith in Christ.

The role which Peter plays in Acts 10–11 and the roles which Peter and James play in Acts 15 are entirely consistent with their roles in Gal 2:1-10. Peter's role in Gal 2:11-14 is consistent neither with his role in Gal 2:1-10 nor with his role in Acts, but this in itself does not constitute a problem of historicity, since it is precisely this inconsistency that Paul himself is pointing out in Gal 2:11-14. We have suggested that Peter's inconsistency can be understood in terms of a tactical or pragmatic concession to the men from James. He may really have feared zealous Jewish assassins threatening either himself or Gentile Christians, or he may have yielded to persuasive pressure from Jerusalem. From Peter's perspective he was not breaking the Jerusalem agreement, since he understood fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians to be permissible but not mandatory. Paul saw it differently because the public effect of Peter's withdrawal from fellowship would be to lend weighty credibility to the case of those

who argued for Gentile Christians to be circumcised. Probably it not only appeared like that in Antioch, but was being represented in that way in the churches of Galatia.

Luke passes over Peter's lapse, whether by ignorance or design, but the problem of the roles of James in Acts 15 and Galatians 2 is more obscure. Acts 15 describes the Jewish Christians from Jerusalem who went to Antioch, teaching that Gentile Christians must be circumcised (Acts 15:1), as "certain persons who have gone out from us (τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐξελθόντες), though with no instructions from us" (15:24). Are these the same as those Paul calls "certain persons from James" (τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) (Gal 2:12), who were responsible for persuading Peter to separate himself? Paul's phrase probably implies that they came as official delegates from the Jerusalem church to the Antioch conference, but, writing immediately after that conference, he would have no way of judging whether their views had the authority of James behind them. We could easily envisage a somewhat complex situation in which some members of the delegation from Jerusalem, like the "false brothers" of Gal 2:4-5, strongly advocated the circumcision of Gentile converts, while others, intimidated like Peter, went along with this line at least to the extent of advising withdrawal from fellowship as politic.

James' own position remains obscure. We have seen that neither Acts nor Galatians seems to envisage a position which held that Gentile Christians, purified by faith, did not need to be circumcised, but also held that they remained profane and should not associate with Jewish Christians. Since the real barrier to Jewish and Gentile table-fellowship was Gentile impurity, it seems very unlikely, even if logically possible, that someone should hold that Gentile Christians are pure but remain profane and therefore to be kept separate from Jewish Christians. Two separate messianic peoples was hardly a viable option. Did James for a while waver between the views of Peter and those who advocated circumcision of Gentiles? Was he influenced by circumstances in Jerusalem and Judea, where Jewish Christians were vulnerable to attacks from the zealous who were horrified by the mixing of Jews and Gentiles in Christian circles? But whatever James actually had to do with the events in Antioch, it must be stressed that, whereas the evidence of Galatians 2:12 is tenuous and obscure, the evidence of Gal 2:1-10 and of Acts 15 is consistent and clear. Certainly a decision such as that reached by the

Jerusalem conference in Acts 15 is inconceivable without the support of James, and the wide currency and observance which the apostolic decree in fact achieved is inconceivable unless it did come from Jerusalem with the authority of James. That Gentiles could be Christians without becoming Jews was James' achievement as much as it was Peter's and Paul's.

JAMES AND PETER
MODELS OF LEADERSHIP AND MISSION

John Painter

Thesis

James was the first leader of the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:9) and thus of earliest "Christianity." Peter was the pioneer missionary of the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:7-8); at first in Jerusalem and then in regions beyond. Thus James provides the Christian Jewish leadership model and Peter the model for mission. Differences between James and Peter are intelligible on the basis of tensions within the traditions concerning Jesus which have their roots in the models for Israel found in Jewish Scripture. There is the ideal of the holy people for which sanctification is the appropriate goal (Lev 11:44; 19:2; Deut 7:6). There is also the ideal of service or mission which has as its goal the salvation of the world (Isa 41:8-9; 42:1-4, 6-7; 43:10; 44:1-5, 21, 26; 45:20-25; 49:1-6).

JAMES AND THE FAMILY OF JESUS IN THE GOSPELS

An understanding of James' relationship to Peter is decisively shaped by conclusions drawn about the response of James and "the family" during Jesus' ministry. Generally speaking these conclusions are drawn on the basis of a tradition of reading that does not necessarily flow from self evident conclusions from the text of the Gospels. Nor are they based on critical readings which take account of the distinction between tradition and redaction.

1. Criticism of the family. Of the Gospels, Mark (3:13-35) and John (7:5) are the most critical of the family of Jesus. But they are no more critical of them than of the disciples and there is evidence in both of these Gospels that the family were followers of Jesus (Mark 3:31-35; John 2:1-11, 12). There is also reason to question the traditional negative reading of these passages.

Recent translations support the trend of commentators in interpreting Mark 3:20-21 as a reference to an attempt by Jesus' family to restrain him. In 1994 Raymond E. Brown, referring to the family seeking Jesus in Mark 3:31, which Matthew and Luke also report,

wrote "Only Mark (3:21) associates this seeking at Capernaum with the fact that 'his own' (= family at Nazareth) think that he is beside himself and set out to seize him."[1] His identification of the family signals no possible alternatives. Such an action is taken to be a clear indication of the unbelief of the family and of their opposition to Jesus. For a number of reasons this conclusion needs to be questioned. First, the report of this incident is exclusive to Mark and contains linguistic and contextual evidence suggesting that it is Markan redaction.[2] Thus, even if 3:20-21 refers to the family the Markan criticism might not be based on historical tradition. Second, there is good reason to question the identification of those who sought to restrain Jesus with his family.

It is generally recognised that reference to the group as οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ is not an explicit reference to the family. Indeed it is more naturally translated as "associates," "adherents," "friends," or "followers." Nevertheless a clear consensus agrees that the family of Jesus is in view. The clinching argument, according to R. A. Guelich, is the sandwich structure formed by 3:20-21 and 3:31-35.[3] The family goes out in 3:21 and arrives only in 3:31 sandwiching the charges against Jesus and his answers to them in 3:22-30. On this reading the family is portrayed as unsympathetic and hostile to Jesus, asserting that he is beside himself, out of control and in need of

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[1] R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1994) 1025 n. 99. See also C. E. B. Cranfield (*The Gospel according to Saint Mark* [CGTC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959] 133) who says, "Here in Mk 3:21 it [οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ] must mean 'his family'; not 'his disciples'—described as οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν in 4:10 . . . ." Cranfield overcomes the logistic difficulty of movements between Capernaum and Nazareth, assumed by Brown, by suggesting that some of the family were already in the house in Capernaum when Jesus arrived. This is made more plausible if the house he enters in 3:20 is his own home in Capernaum. But translating ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον as "he went home" without any prior indication that Jesus had a home in Capernaum is as problematic as identifying the family with οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. See my "When is a house not a home? Disciples and family in Mark 3:13-35," *NTS* 45 (1999) 498-513.

[2] According to L. Oberlinner (*Historische Überlieferung und christologische Aussage: Zur Frage der "Bruder Jesu" in der Synopse* [FZB 19; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975] 174-75), there is linguistic and contextual evidence suggesting that 3:21 is Markan redaction. Markan redaction is often introduced by participles (ἀκούσαντες). Further, ἐξέρχεσθαι and κρατεῖν are characteristic Markan terms. In Mark the verb translated "to take" has a hostile sense, meaning to restrain or arrest. For the use of κρατῆσαι, see Mark 3:21; 12:12; 14:1, 44, 46, 49, 51. It is similar in use to the hostile use of πιάσαι in John 7:30, 32, 44.

[3] R. A. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas: Word, 1989) 171-72.

forcible constraint.

Against this reading we note that the family has not yet been mentioned in Mark and that οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ is hardly a clear reference to them. The argument that 3:20-21 and 3:31-35 form a sandwich depends on the recognition of οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ as a reference to the family. But 3:20-21 is a bridge passage linking 3:22-35 which what comes before this passage. In 3:13-19 Jesus calls and appoints the twelve to be with him (μετ' αὐτοῦ) and to send them out, extending his mission. It thus makes better sense if the disciples, chosen to be with Jesus are referred to as οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ in 3:21. Otherwise the disciples, chosen to be with Jesus, are absent from the following narrative.

In Matt 10:1-15 the calling and sending out of the twelve are narrated as a single incident though Mark describes the calling of the twelve to be with Jesus in 3:13-19 and arrives at the mission of the twelve only in 6:6b-13. In between it is implied that the disciples are "with Jesus." It would thus be strange if immediately after choosing them to be with him they were absent from the next stage of the narrative (3:20-21) and the family of Jesus, who have not yet been mentioned, are to be recognised as οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. Rather, this phrase refers to the disciples.

On this reading Mark 3:13-35 forms an important subsection of 3:13–6:13, a section bounded by the calling of the disciples to be with Jesus and to be sent out by him and the actual sending out of the disciples to extend the mission of Jesus. In between the disciples are with Jesus, learning from Jesus how to go about their mission. According to Mark the disciples are slow learners. At the conclusion of the call narrative (3:19) we are told that one of the twelve was Judas Iscariot, "who betrayed him." This is but the first of a number of passages in which Mark is critical of the twelve.[4] From this perspective, in 3:13-35 four groups successively fall under Mark's critique: first the disciples (3:19, 21); then the crowd (3:20-21); then the scribes from Jerusalem (3:22-30); and finally the family (3:31-35). Recognising that the criticism of the twelve is more serious than the criticism of the natural family sets the critique in context. Both

[4] Important critiques of the twelve follow each of the passion predictions (see 8:29-30, 33; 9:19, 34; 10:37). There is also the flight of the twelve at Jesus' arrest and Peter's denial of Jesus, all predicted (see 14:27-31). Mark also leaves the final response of the disciples open. Did they follow Jesus into Galilee (16:7-8)?

are compared less than favourably with those who do the will of God and who constitute the eschatological family of Jesus. But neither the disciples nor the natural family fall under the fatal critique that Jesus directs against the scribes from Jerusalem (3:28-30).[5]

Matthew and Luke each soften Mark's criticisms of the disciples and the family of Jesus by omitting Mark 3:20-21 altogether. Thus no conclusions should be drawn about the family as opposed to Jesus during his ministry. The presence of the family amongst believers at the beginning of Acts and the early emergence of James as the leader of the Jerusalem church is inexplicable if James and the brothers were unbelievers during Jesus' ministry.[6]

John 7:5 seems to be more damaging for the brothers of Jesus. When they urge Jesus to go to Jerusalem so that his disciples may see his signs, the narrator adds "for his brothers did not believe in him." Their suggestion is taken to be evidence of unbelief. But in John (unlike Mark) there is a tendency to idealize the mother of Jesus. In John 19:25-27 she appears, along with the beloved disciple, as an ideal disciple at the crucifixion. The brothers and the twelve are missing from this scene.

The mother of Jesus appears for the first time in 2:1-11. There she is instrumental in shaping the situation in which Jesus performed the first Cana sign resulting in the belief of the disciples. Immediately following this (2:12) a summary passage indicates that Jesus with his mother, brothers and disciples went to Capernaum and stayed there not many days. The brothers were not mentioned in the previous scene and they do not appear again until John 7. By then the Gospel has led the reader to expect to find the family of Jesus (mother and brothers) amongst the followers of Jesus. As we have seen, the narrative of 19:25-27 confirms this impression of Jesus' mother. But what of the brothers?

John 7 opens with the brothers in the company of Jesus, confirming the impression that they are followers. Is this impression made implausible by 7:1-9? Are we not told that they did not believe? But

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[5] For more detailed discussions, see my discussion in *Mark's Gospel* (London: Routledge, 1997) 69-71; idem, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997) 21-28; idem, "When is a house not a home?"

[6] See Painter, *Just James*, 11-41, for a more detailed treatment of the evidence concerning James in the Gospels.

this is not so straightforward. In John, at the end of the Farewell discourses the disciples affirm that "now we know . . . in this we believe . . ." (16:30). To this Jesus responds, "Do you now believe? Behold the hour comes and it has come when you will all be scattered each one to his own place and you will leave me alone . . ." (16:31-32). The scattering of the disciples is taken as evidence that falsified their claim to believe. From the Johannine perspective neither the disciples nor the brothers achieved "authentic" or ideal belief until after the resurrection and the coming of the Paraclete. Yet this does not mean that they were not believers and followers of Jesus in some significant sense prior to this (see 2:11 concerning the disciples).

Literary and thematic and narrative parallels with the details of 7:1-9 suggest that it is an error to read it as evidence that the brothers were not followers of Jesus. In John 2:1-11 the sign was initiated by the mother of Jesus whose report to Jesus was an implied request. But Jesus rebuffs his mother (2:4): "Woman, what is there between us? My hour is not yet come." The rebuff or objection is an essential aspect of a quest story.[7] In a successful quest story the object must be overcome. Thus the mother of Jesus persisted and Jesus acted to supply the need with the consequence that the disciples believed on him.

In a similar way the suggestion of his brothers forms a request that Jesus go up to Jerusalem. This meets with a similar rebuff from Jesus (7:8): "My time is not yet present, but your time is always ready." The family of Jesus (mother and brothers) is involved in each of these stories. In each a request is made to Jesus which he apparently rejects. The words of each rejection assert that the time/hour has not yet come, confirming the connection between the two stories. In each case Jesus apparently rejects the request only to comply with it *in his own time*. The same pattern of request, apparent refusal but persistence leading to the fulfillment of the request is to be seen in other Johannine narratives, for example, the healing of the nobleman's son (4:46-54), reveals the same pattern. There Jesus objects to the nobleman's request, "Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe." Despite this objection the nobleman persisted and his son

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[7] See my *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993) 177.

was healed. Thus we see a pattern in the narrative which suggests that the point is not the unbelief of the brothers. John 7:3-5 does not undermine the impression shaped by 2:1-12 that the family, including the brothers, formed part of the following of Jesus. The impression is confirmed by John 7:1-9 even though 7:5 says they did not believe in Jesus. It is significant that John 4:44 (contrast Mark 6:4) makes no mention of the family of Jesus when describing the contexts in which Jesus was accorded no honour. Thus the family, including the brothers, are portrayed in a positive, if paradoxical fashion.[8]

2. *The strange silence about James in Luke–Acts.* Unlike Mark, Luke does not name the brothers of Jesus in the Gospel or in reference to the family of Jesus in Acts 1:14. Thus James has not been identified as the brother of Jesus when he is first mentioned by name in Acts 12:17. Because the death of James the brother of John has been mentioned (Acts 12:2) it may have seemed that no further identification was necessary. But this does not explain why Luke does not name the brothers in the Gospel and nowhere identifies James as the brother of Jesus in Acts. The impression given is that the leading role of the family of Jesus has been suppressed.[9]

JAMES, JESUS AND LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION IN EARLY TRADITION

Fragment 7 of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, known to Origen and preserved by Jerome,[10] indicates that James was present at the last supper and makes him the first witness of the risen Jesus.[11] Jerome introduces the quotation.

> The Gospel called according to the Hebrews which was recently translated by me into Greek and Latin, which Origen frequently uses, records after the resurrection of the Saviour:
>
> And when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the servant of the priest, he went to James and appeared to him. For James had sworn that he would not

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[8] For a more detailed discussion, see Painter, *Just James*, 14-20.

[9] See Painter, *Just James*, 42-57, for a more detailed treatment of the evidence concerning James in Acts.

[10] *Vir. Inlus.* 2, which appears in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha. Volume One: Gospels and Related Writings* (rev. ed., Cambridge: James Clarke; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991) 142.

[11] For a fuller discussion of James in relation to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, see my *Just James*, 183-86.

> eat bread from the hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he should see him risen from among them that sleep. And shortly thereafter the Lord said: Bring a table and bread! And immediately it is added: He took the bread, blessed it and brake it and gave it to James the Just and said to him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep.

This tradition shows no awareness of the modern view that James and the brothers were unbelievers at this time. It also provides evidence for the view that James was the first witness of the risen Jesus. Jesus sought out James because James had vowed not to eat until he had seen the Lord risen from the dead. Jesus addresses him, "My brother,[12] eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep." "My brother," leaves no doubt as to which James is in view. The narrator makes this doubly clear by identifying him as *James the Just.*

This scene authorises the leadership of James on the basis of the foundational resurrection appearance. It also goes beyond an authorising and commissioning appearance by narrating the foundational post resurrection Lord's supper at which Jesus presided, *took*, *blessed*, *broke* the bread and *gave* it to James the Just. The words and their order resonate with the actions described at the last supper. Jesus himself does these things and gives the bread to James the Just.

In the Nag Hammadi library four tractates feature the role of James and provide evidence of important traditions about him: The *Gospel of Thomas*; the *Apocryphon of James* and the *First* and *Second Apocalypses of James.* Of these works only the two Apocalypses may exhibit some literary dependence and there is no reason to think that any of these works was actually composed at Nag Hammadi.

The Gospel of Thomas surprisingly makes Jesus the initiator of the leadership *of James.*[13] Given that Thomas is given an intimate relationship to Jesus in this work, the leadership of James indicated in log. §12 is the more impressive.

> The disciples said to Jesus, "We know that you will depart from us. Who is to be our leader?"

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[12] James is addressed by Jesus as "My brother" only here and in *The Second Apocalypse of James* 50.13.

[13] For a fuller discussion of James in relation to the *Gospel of Thomas*, see my *Just James*, 160-63.

> Jesus said to them, "Wherever you are, you are to go to James the righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."

James is again referred to as James the Just (righteous), this time by Jesus directly. Jesus explicitly directs the disciples to recognise James as their leader, in direct succession to Jesus. There is no room for an intermediate leadership of any other. The tradition associates the leadership of James with "the disciples," presumably "the twelve." But it is Jesus who directs them to make James the Just their leader. This tradition, like the one from Clement of Alexandria recorded by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3-5) has the appearance of seeking to harness the independent authority of James to that of the disciples. In both Clement and the *Gospel of Thomas* reference is made to James the Just. Clement makes the appointment of James the decision of Peter, James and John.

In the *Apocryphon of James* higher knowledge is revealed to James and Peter but not to the rest of the disciples.[14] In this, James is more important than Peter because he is the one who writes down the secret revelation for children yet unborn. James is also portrayed as the leader in Jerusalem sending out the disciples on missions to various places.

In the *First Apocalypse of James* Jesus refers to him as "my brother" and he is called James the Just.[15] The relationship between James and Jesus is the basis for the revelation of secret knowledge to him (29:4-13, 20; 32:27–33:1). The first two sections (22:10–42:19) make clear that James was with Jesus before and after his passion. Thus, like the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, it provides support for the view that James was a follower of Jesus during his ministry. As in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, Jesus addresses James as "My brother." He is given secret knowledge both before the crucifixion and between the resurrection and ascension. That it is secret is confirmed by the secret dialogues between Jesus and James. In particular the period between the resurrection and ascension is the time of the disclosure of the true gnosis.

In the *Second Apocalypse of James*, the figure of James has been developed beyond the stereotype suggested by the epithet "the Just"

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[14] For a fuller discussion of James in relation to the *Apocryphon of James*, see my *Just James*, 163-68.

[15] For a fuller discussion of James in relation to the *First Apocalypse of James*, see my *Just James*, 168-73.

(44:13-14; 49:9; 59:22; 60:12-13; 61:14) and the recognition of his leadership of the Jerusalem church.[16] James is the heavenly guide of those who pass through the heavenly "door" and are his (and the Lord's). He is the "illuminator and redeemer" (55:17-18) and of him it is said:

> You are he whom the heavens bless (55:24-25);
> For your sake they will be told [these things], and will come to *rest.*
> For your sake they will reign [and will] become kings.
> For [your] sake they will have pity on whomever they pity. (56:2-6)

These sayings are reminiscent of logion §12 of the *Gospel of Thomas* where Jesus speaks of James as the one for whom heaven and earth were made. It goes further by assimilating the role of James to that of Jesus as redeemer.

As in the *First Apocalypse,* the interpretation of James as brother is made the basis of the teaching of the intimacy between James and the Lord. Whereas, in the *First Apocalypse,* James takes the initiative by embracing and kissing the Lord when he revealed himself to James after the resurrection (31:4-5; 32:7-8), in the *Second Apocalypse* it is Jesus who embraces James and kisses his mouth. This intimacy is made the basis of the revelation the Lord makes to James.

> And he kissed my mouth. He took hold of me saying, "My beloved! Behold, I shall reveal to you those (things) that (neither) [the] heavens nor their archons have known. . . . Behold I shall reveal to you everything, my beloved." (56:14–57.5)

The intimacy of the appearance of the Lord to James is made the basis of a commissioning. In this respect the *Second Apocalypse* like the *First,* as well as the *Ascents of James* (*Rec.* 1.43.3)[17] and the *Kerygma Petrou* (*Cont.* 5.4), affirms a direct revelation to James, not shared with any apostles, as claimed by Clement (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3). This claim to a direct and exclusive revelation is also the basis of a claim to the leadership succession of authority from Jesus to James

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[16] For a fuller discussion of James in relation to the *Second Apocalypse of James,* see my *Just James,* 174-77.

[17] With *Recognitions* 1 the *Second Apocalypse* shares the motifs of the prediction of the destruction of the Temple (R 64.2 and A 60.13-22); James' secret ally in the Council (R 65.2; 66.4 and A 61.9-11); the speech of James (R 68.3; 69 and A 46.6–60.24); given on the steps of the Temple (R 70.8 and A 45.24); James' fall (R 70.8 and A 61.25-26); and the tumult (R 70.4-8; 71.1 and A 61.1-5).

(47:23ff.; 49:9-11; 55:6-14, 17-22).

James is characteristically "the Just One" (44:13; 49:9; 59:22; 60:12-13; 61:14. Here (60:12-23) James predicts the destruction of the temple because the jurors (priests) intend to kill him and there is a case for understanding the use of this epithet (the Just) of James in relation to the fall of Jerusalem as a result of his death as a righteous martyr.

These four Nag Hammadi tractates name James as the successor to Jesus and the first leader of the Jerusalem church. He is also named as the primary recipient of the esoteric revelation from the risen Lord. In as much as Peter is also named in the *Apocryphon of James*, it is to assert the superiority of James and the revelation made to him.[18] James' leadership role is based on two factors, his special relationship to Jesus as his brother, and the primacy of the appearance of the risen Jesus to him. These two factors are the basis of the leadership of James and also of the revelation of esoteric knowledge to him.

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3-5) includes two quotations from Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposes* books 6 and 7) concerning the position of James in the Jerusalem church.[19] In the first he tells:

> After the ascension of the savior, Peter, James, and John, did not claim pre-eminence because the savior had specially honoured them, but *chose* (ἐλέσθαι) James the Just as Bishop of Jerusalem.

"After the ascension" is somewhat imprecise and may imply a period of leadership by the triumvirate led by Peter. The reference certainly makes the leadership of James subject to an appointment by them. But any leadership by the triumvirate of Peter and the two sons of Zebedee is put in question by the quotation from Clement which Eusebius puts along side it.

James the Just, John, and Peter were entrusted by the Lord after his resurrection with the higher knowledge. They imparted it to the other apostles, and the other apostles to the Seventy, one of whom was Barnabas. There were two Jameses, one the Just, who was

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[18] We are reminded of the subservient role played by Peter in relation to the Beloved Disciple in the Fourth Gospel. Many scholars see in that account a struggle between the Johannine community, for whom the Beloved Disciple was the ideal leader, and emerging "Catholic" Christianity represented by Peter.

[19] For a fuller discussion of traditions concerning James in Eusebius, see my *Just James*, 105-58.

thrown down from the parapet and beaten to death with a fuller's club, the other the James who was beheaded.

Naming James the Just clearly identifies the brother of the Lord. Naming him first asserts his leadership. That the risen Jesus entrusted higher knowledge to these three implies the leadership of James prior to the ascension, and probably makes it dependent on an appointment by Jesus. The earlier quotation does not dispute the leadership of James but makes it dependent on the appointment by Peter James and John subsequent to the ascension. This tradition looks suspiciously like an attempt to subject James to *apostolic* authority. A variety of summary statements made by Eusebius suggests the tendency to somehow subordinate the leadership role of James to the authority of the apostles.

In introducing the quotations from Clement he wrote (2.1.2), "This James . . . was the first, as the record tells us, to be elected (ἐγχειρισθῆναι) to the episcopal throne of the Jerusalem church." Then in 2.23.1 he refers to "James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted (ἐγκεχείριστο) by the apostles." In 7.19.1 he writes that "James . . . was the first to receive from the savior and the apostles the episcopate of the church in Jerusalem . . . ."

There is evidence, in the tradition from Clement transmitted by Eusebius, of an attempt to subordinate the authority of James to the emerging Catholic Church by rooting his authority in that of the apostles and by making him a co-recipient of the revelation with Peter and John. The probability is that the latter tradition has grown out of Paul's reference to the Jerusalem pillars in his letter to the Galatians. That letter, however, does not *clearly* resolve the question of whether one of the three pillars was perceived to exercise leadership. Naming James first of the three pillars (Gal 2.9) and the reference to Peter's submission to the authority of James in Gal 2.12 imply the leadership of James.

A comparison of traditions concerning the chain transmitting the revelation by the risen Lord in Clement of Alexandria (Eusebius, *HE* 2.1.4) the *Apocryphon of James* and *The First Apocalypse of James* is worthy of reflection. In *Clement* there is a transmission through four levels: (1) James the Just, John and Peter; (2) Other apostles; (3) The seventy (naming Barnabas); (4) The Church. In the *Apocryphon* the transmission is through three levels: (1) James and Peter, though

mainly James; (2) The recipient of the *Apocryphon,* perhaps Cerinthos. (3) The "beloved ones" who are yet to be manifest. This is an altogether more esoteric chain of transmission than the one manifest in Clement. The naming of Peter with James at the beginning is a bit of a puzzle. Very likely the text implies the inferiority of Peter in this relationship. The attribution of the work to James signals this perspective as does the reference within the text to an earlier secret book from James alone.

In the *First Apocalypse* the revelation is made to James alone and he is given precise instructions about the chain of transmission by the Lord. This includes: (1) Transmission to Addai, who is instructed under what conditions the book is to be written down; (2) Oral transmission by Addai to his younger son. In this text there is no mention of the disciples/apostles as part of the chain of transmission though it is possible that Addai is to be identified with Thaddaeus who is named as one of the seventy. This identification is probably coincidental and not intended within the text.

From this comparison we can probably chart a trajectory in the development and use of the image of James. The historical James "the Just" epitomized conservative Jewish Christian values. Even though James, John and Peter were pillars of the "circumcision mission" there are reasons why the name of James became synonymous with it. One reason for this was his leadership role in the Jerusalem church and his martyrdom in Jerusalem. Then, as a traditional recipient of a post-resurrection revelation James was a ready made revealer figure in a Gnosticizing situation. The Gnosticizing tendency can be seen at various levels, some of which identify the tradition with more or less "heretical" figures such as Cerinthos and Addai. Finally, James, as a colleague of the apostles (as in Clement), becomes a bastion of "orthodoxy" in a catholicizing milieu.

Eusebius shows great interest in James, preserving traditions and providing summary statement about him in 1.12.4-5; 2.1.2-5; 2.23.1-25; 3.5.2-3; 3.7.7-9; 3.11.1; 3.12.1; 3.19.1–3.20.7; 3.32.1-6; 4.5.1-4; 4.22.4; 7.19.1. Much in these sections deals with the leadership of James and the succession of leadership within the family of Jesus. Nowhere does Eusebius suggest that Peter was the first leader of the Jerusalem church. Indeed, in spite of the modern fashion of reading the initial Petrine leadership of the Jerusalem church out of Acts,

support for this view is lacking in the early church. This should warn modern readers to look again at Acts to see if the conclusion of Petrine leadership is not a misreading of Acts.

JAMES IN ACTS: CONVERT OR FOUNDATION LEADER?

Theses:

1. Acts *names* no single leader but where leadership is clearly described James is so described. See Acts 15; 21.[20]
2. Acts 12.17 implies the leadership of James rather than of Peter
3. In Acts Peter is portrayed in mission to the community outside rather than in leadership of the believing community in Jerusalem.

In Acts the family of Jesus appears amongst his followers and James is portrayed as the leader of the Jerusalem Church. There is nothing to suggest that this represents a radical change within the Jesus movement. There is no evidence of a "conversion" of James from unbeliever to follower, nor is it clear that Peter was first the leader of the Jerusalem Church, giving way to James only after a decade or so of leadership.

1. Acts 1:14: The Role of the Family in the Earliest Church. The conclusion to Luke's presentation of the family is found in Acts 1.14. Subsequently only James is mentioned, and without identifying him as the brother of Jesus. Following the ascension of Jesus, Luke portrays the return from the mount of Olives to an upper room in Jerusalem where the disciples gathered for prayer with women, including Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brothers. Luke portrays the mother and brothers of Jesus as "believers" and faithful followers of Jesus. There is no indication of recent radical "conversion" subsequent to his death, for example through some resurrection appearance. They are mentioned as a group. The brothers are not named. The omission of the names from Luke 4:16-30, which is dependent on Mark 6:1-6a, where the brothers are named, means that the reader is not prepared for the appearance of James in Acts 12:17. This is in contrast to the introduction of Barnabas and Mark prior to their important roles in the narrative.

2. Acts 12:17: The Leadership of James. Although the James here mentioned is not called the brother of Jesus he cannot be the brother

[20] Galatians 2:9 names James first amongst the pillar apostles.

of John and son of Zebedee whose execution by Herod was described in Acts 12.2. Mention of his execution makes clear the identity of the James mentioned in Acts 12:17. Peter, who had been imprisoned at the time of that James' execution, was miraculously released and came to the house of the mother of John who is called Mark.[21] Peter's message was: Announce these things to James and the brothers (12:17). Paul identifies James the brother of the Lord as one of the apostles and the first of the three pillars of the Jerusalem Church (Gal. 1:18-19; 2:9). Later tradition also names this James as the first bishop of the Jerusalem Church. This information cannot be gleaned from Luke–Acts. The reader may well ask whether Luke intends to obscure this or expects his readers to be aware of the connection.

The singling out of this James by name in 12:17 is a signal of his prominence in the Jerusalem Church. The "brothers" mentioned here are widely assumed to be the disciples and believers generally. Association with James suggests that "the brothers" might be the other brothers of Jesus who also, at this time, had leading roles in the Church.[22] Reference to "the brothers" rather than the more specific "his brothers" or "brothers of Jesus" or "of the Lord" makes this unlikely. The latter terms are used only of actual relatives whereas all believers can be spoken of as brothers.

The transition of authority from Peter to James is often taken to be *implied* by Acts 12:17. It is understood as a message to James telling him to take over the leadership. Yet if James were already the leader, nothing would be more natural than for Peter to report back to him. This reading is at least as plausible as the one that takes Peter's message to be a passing on of the authority of leadership. If this is what Luke meant to convey, why does Peter not resume leadership on his return to Jerusalem? In Acts 15 James is portrayed as the leader of the Jerusalem Church even though Peter was then present again.

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[21] The introduction of Mark is reminiscent of that of Joseph, called Barnabas *by the apostles* (Acts 4:36-37). Mark is mentioned because of the role he is to play with Barnabas and Saul, just as Barnabas was singled out from amongst those who sold land because of the role he was to play with Paul. The introduction of John, called Mark, also signals that another John is in view for the first time, not John the Baptist (Acts 1:5 etc.) or John the brother of James (Acts 1:13 etc.).

[22] See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.19.1–20.7; 3.32.1-6; and compare Acts 21:17.

It seems that the *prominence* of Peter in Acts has been interpreted as an indication of his leadership. But that prominence is described more in terms of his activity in relation to those outside the believing community than in terms of the leadership of the community. Peter, like Paul, is portrayed as a "missionary" rather than the leader of a settled community. Compare Gal 2:7-9.

Acts *explicitly* names no single leader of the Jerusalem church. The conclusion that Peter was the leader at first is the consequence of the influence of an interpretative tradition which has no support in relation to Jerusalem. Nor does anything in Acts support this view. Peter's prominence is in terms of his missionary activity in relation to the community at large rather than as leader of the church community. Tradition names James as the first leader ("bishop"). The nomenclature is probably anachronistic,[23] but the leadership of James is supported by the way James is portrayed in Acts 15 and 21 as well as Paul's letter to the Galatians. Even here the sole leadership of James is not explicit. More likely James was one of a group of leaders amongst whom, from the beginning, he stood out as the leading figure and dominant influence. That he was the known brother of Jesus bolstered his natural leadership gifts. Upon this basis the tradition that he was the first bishop of Jerusalem may have developed.

3. Acts 15: James and the "Council of Jerusalem." The account in *Acts* has obscured the conflict between the Hebrews and the Hellenists and leaves no trace of tensions between Paul and Barnabas or Peter and James. Such tensions are apparent in Gal 2:1-14, not to mention the greater tensions between Paul and Peter and Paul and James.[24] According to Acts, the "Council" was a consequence of some people from Judaea asserting to the believers in Antioch that "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses you are not able to be saved" (15:1).

Paul and Barnabas and certain others went up to the *apostles and elders* in Jerusalem (15:2). Although the apostles are clearly present,

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[23] In the light of the role of the *Mebaqqer* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, even this is uncertain.

[24] Tensions between Paul and Barnabas (Gal 2:11-14) lead to the breaking of their partnership rather than a quarrel over John Mark (Acts 15:36-41). There are grounds for doubting other aspects of the relationship between Paul and Barnabas as depicted in Acts.

Acts portrays James as presiding over the events that take place there (15:13-21). James remains in leadership when Paul returns again according to Acts 21:18-26. But there is no mention of the apostles in this instance. Nevertheless Acts portrays the dominating presence of James even when Peter and "the twelve" are present.

In Jerusalem Paul and his party encountered a group described as "certain of the believers from the sect of the Pharisees" (15:5). Acts does not say so, but it seems that these people belonged to the same group as those who arrived in Antioch expressing the demand of circumcision of those who would be saved (15:1). That demand is now further elaborated: "It is necessary to circumcise them and to charge them to keep the law of Moses" (15:5).

Two matters have been clarified. The demand of circumcision in 15:1 implied, as we might have guessed, the keeping of the law of Moses (15:5). The demand concerned a condition for the salvation of Gentile believers. The demand does not concern conditions to make possible full fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers. Those making the demand were believers belonging to the sect of the Pharisees. In Acts there is no indication that James himself was identified with this group. But the tradition that named James "the Just" or "Righteous" implies that James was faithful to the law and the (Pharisaic?) response to his execution/murder suggests that even unbelieving Pharisees might have been sympathetic to James. Thus, James may have been sympathetic to this group but does not seem to have supported their demand.

According to 15:6-7 the assembly involved a gathering of the apostles and elders. After much inconclusive debate, Peter gave a personal account of his dealing with Gentiles (15:7-11).[25] He reminded the assembly of the way God had used him to bring the gospel to the Gentiles and had given the Holy Spirit to those who believed, confirming that he worked the same way with believers, Jew or Gentile. His argument continues in Pauline terms, arguing that neither Jew nor Gentile could keep the law, making the imposition of it on the Gentiles futile. Further, he argued that salvation for all was through the grace of God (15:10-11). His words gained a hearing for Barnabas and Paul (15:12). Like Peter, they recounted what God had done through them.

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[25] See Acts 10:1–11:18.

James supported Peter's argument in favor of Paul and Barnabas in their law-free mission to the Gentiles (15:13-21). He did so in ways that subtly modify Peter's position. Where Peter was introduced by that name, James now refers to him as Symeon. This is the Semitic form of his Jewish name (Simon being the Hellenized form). He does not use the new name given by Jesus in either its Hellenized (Peter) or Semitic forms (Cephas). Peter's Jewishness is thus emphasized. James goes beyond Peter's appeal to the contemporary workings of God (15:14) to appeal to Scripture (15:15-18). Scriptural confirmation comes from Amos 9:11-12 though the wording may be influenced by Isa 45:21 and Jer 12:15. James' argument is dependent on the wording of the LXX. It makes the validity of the Gentile mission dependent on the success of the mission to Israel. This already foreshadows tensions amongst those who seem to agree.

James then summed up, giving his judgement. The terms in which this is reported are notable (15:19-21). *Therefore I judge* (διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω). What is here expressed is a definitive judgement. There is no further debate. The apostles, elders and the whole church simply assent to what James has decided (15:22). What begins as an assembly of the apostles and elders concludes with the assent and approval of the apostles and elders and the whole church. What they assent to is what James decided, and that without further discussion.

J. B. Adamson goes so far as to suggest James' speech and the substance of the "decree" were James' formulation communicated to Gentile Christians in a letter.[26] James' decision was that circumcision was not to be required of Gentile believers but they were to abstain from the pollution of idols, immorality, things strangled, and from blood (15:20, 29; and see 21:25). Even in Acts, which appears to give a picture of accord between the Jerusalem Church and Paul and Barnabas, the demands of the Jerusalem Church (James) are not conveyed by Paul and Barnabas but by Judas Barsabbas and Silas, leading men of good standing with the Jerusalem Church. The episode closes with the Church at Antioch rejoicing in the message

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[26] J. B. Adamson, *James: The Man and his Message* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 22-23. This position is now supported in more general terms by Richard Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in idem (ed.), *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 4; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 462-67.

brought by the two envoys from Jerusalem, who then leave while Paul and Barnabas remain in Antioch, teaching and preaching (15:30-35).

According to Acts, what was debated in Jerusalem was whether circumcision and keeping of the Mosaic law was necessary if Gentile believers were to be saved. The clear decision was that no such requirements were to be made. Instead salvation was assured if the requirements of the decree were kept. Nowhere in Acts 15 is it implied that keeping these requirements placed Jewish and Gentile believers on an equal footing so that Jewish believers could ignore purity requirements in relation to Gentile believers. Problems of this sort seem to have been unforeseen (see Gal 2:11-14). Rather the requirements are asserted in the context of a debate about what is necessary for salvation, as is confirmed by 21:25.

The evidence suggests that apparent unanimity between Paul and the Jerusalem Church on the question of his mission to the nations papered over underlying deep rifts. In Acts three different views can be discerned within the Jerusalem church.

First, there were those who insisted that Gentile converts keep all the demands of the Jewish law. This could be understood as a rejection of any Gentile mission as such because Gentiles were required to convert to Judaism. While they may have been silenced by the authority of James, it is difficult to believe that they were satisfied by the outcome of the Assembly.

Second, Peter affirmed the validity of the Gentile mission. In his *apologia* for the position he commended there are no indications of any specific conditions arising from distinctive elements of the Jewish law. His appeal to the incident with Cornelius (Acts 10) seems to imply a complete removal of those requirements of the Jewish law that separate Jew from Gentile. A close look at Acts 10 raises questions about the conclusion. First, the vision seen by Peter about clean and unclean animals is an allegory about people not about food. Then, Cornelius is described as a "God-fearer." That being the case, many of the purity issues of Jewish law would not have been a problem in this instance. Judaism had already worked out a *modus vivendi* with such people. With the acceptance of Cornelius by Peter, the Jerusalem church followed down a path already established. But did this make Cornelius equal to Jewish believers in the mind of the Jerusalem church? Acts 15 makes a positive answer unlikely.

Third, James, who, with Peter, appears to support Paul and Barnabas, adopts a mediating position between the first two positions. He did this by calling on Gentile converts to observe certain practices that were especially sensitive for Jews. These requirements were set out in a letter addressed to the Gentile converts of the "Pauline (with Barnabas) mission."

The differences between Paul and the Jerusalem pillars are cloaked by the suggestion that a compromise was accepted by each side, a compromise expressed by the demands of the so called "Jerusalem decree." The letter embodying these demands was not entrusted to Paul (and Barnabas) but his tacit approval is implied by naming Silas, who was to be Paul's new partner, as one of the two messengers. See Acts 16:4.

The four demands of the Jerusalem decree arising from Leviticus 17–18 were known and observed as late as the third century.[27] But this does not show that Luke's account of the promulgation of the decree is accurate. Once Luke's account was written it could have become the basis of later practice. Further, the situation in Antioch (Gal 2:11-14) raises a host of problems not covered by the decree. There is, first, the situation of circumcised and uncircumcised eating together and the question of food purity laws. These problems would not have been overcome even if Gentile believers had observed the requirements of the decree. Indeed there is no indication that the decree was formulated to deal with the problems hindering the relationship between Jewish and Gentile believers. The decree is an expression of a reading of the Mosaic law (Leviticus 17–18) as relevant to the situation of Gentiles living in the midst of Jews, the situation of resident aliens. In Acts the demands of the decree represent James' judgement, assented to by the Assembly, concerning the minimal requirements to be fulfilled if Gentile believers were to be "saved" (see Acts 15:1, 5).

4. Acts 21.17-26: James as Leader of the Jerusalem Church. At the conclusion of the so called third and final missionary journey, Paul returned to Jerusalem via Miletus and Caesarea where he was warned that imprisonment and death await him in Jerusalem. From Romans we know that preoccupation with the necessity of bringing to a conclusion the collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem drove Paul

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[27] See Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 464-66.

to continue in spite of forebodings (Rom 15:25-33; cf. 1 Cor 16:3; 2 Corinthians 8–9). The question of whether the collection would be accepted was prominent because acceptance was a symbol of the acceptance of the Pauline mission by the Jerusalem church. All of this is absent from the account in Acts which does not make explicit either acceptance or rejection of the collection. Only in Acts 24:17, in his defense before the Governor Felix, does the Lukan Paul mention that he had come to Jerusalem, "to bring to my nation alms and offerings." J. D. G. Dunn[28] argues that there is no certainty that the Jerusalem church received the collection/gift, while M. I. Webber[29] suggests that the collection was rejected.

The narrative in Acts 21 assumes the leadership of James. There is no mention of Peter or other apostles in conjunction with the elders as there was in Acts 15. As far as Paul's party is concerned his leadership is clear in the narrative. Paul greeted James and the elders and reported what God had done among the Gentiles/nations (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) through his ministry (21:19). Their response was to rejoice and praise God. At the same time they drew attention to "how many thousands of Jews had believed and all of them zealous for the law" (21:20). This piece of information is used as a basis for a call on Paul to manifest his true Jewish credentials because all have been told that Paul teaches all Jews everywhere who live among nations (in the *diaspora*) to forsake circumcision, the law of Moses and Jewish customs (21:21). This "rumor," *which Acts assumes to be false*, is to be proved false by the behavior recommended to Paul. The evidence from Paul's letters suggests that the rumor was justified. At the same time, for the sake of accord in Jerusalem Paul might well have been willing to follow the recommended course of action (1 Cor 9:20). Apparent agreement covers up what was a serious point of conflict.

Luke's account in Acts 21:19 portrays Paul as the successful missionary to the Gentiles,[30] reporting back to the Jerusalem Church

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[28] J. D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1977) 257.

[29] M. I. Webber, *ΙΑΚΟΒΟΣ Ο ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ: Origins, Literary Expression and Development of Traditions about the Brother of the Lord in Early Christianity* (doctoral dissertation; Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985) 117-19.

[30] Acts understands ἔθνεσιν as "Gentiles" but Paul understood his mission to be to the nations, including the Jews.

which is described in terms of successful mission to the Jews, a mission based on the acceptance of the demands of the Jewish law (Acts 21:20). The assumption in Acts is that two independent missions existed, the one wholly restricted to Gentiles and the other wholly restricted to Jews. In the middle of this is Paul, a Jew and the leading figure in the mission to the Gentiles. At the same time the requirements of the Jerusalem accord for Gentiles are *restated,* but in a way that suggests Paul is hearing them for the first time (21:22-25).[31]

In all of this it is clear that James was the leading figure in the Jerusalem Church. In spite of this Luke mentions him on only three occasions (Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18). This is puzzling. Martin Hengel has described the treatment of James in the New Testament as one sided and tendentious.[32] Luke may have known of the martyrdom of James in the year 62 C.E. but chose not to mention the event because of the prestige attached to James as a martyr. It could be that the title "the Just" or "the Righteous" was attached to James in this context. If so this was also ignored by Luke. Luke has pushed James into the background but, because of his prominence, was unable to obscure totally his leading role. He sought to minimize the role of James because he was aware that James represented a hard line position on the continuing place of circumcision and the keeping of the law, a position that Luke himself did not wish to maintain. On the other hand Paul had adopted a law free policy in relation to his mission and, while Luke might have been more in sympathy with this, he harbored reservations and modified Paul's mission to the *nations* into a mission to the Gentiles which did not take in Jews. He has done this inconsistently thus aiding the recovery of Paul's mission to the nations and the historical position of James. Where Peter stands in this situation is less clear.

5. Acts 21:27-36; 23:12-22: James and the Arrest of Paul. The course of action recommended by James and the Jerusalem elders led to Paul's arrest and there is no evidence that James or members of the Jerusalem church came to the aid of Paul after his arrest. There

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[31] Thus M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Early Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1979) 117.

[32] M. Hengel, "Jacobus der Herrenbruder—der erste 'Papst'?" in E. Grässer and O. Merk (eds.), *Glaube und Eschatologie* (W. G. Kümmel Festschrift; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1985) 72.

is no suggestion of any concern for Paul. In the narration of the plot to kill Paul (Acts 23:12-22) it was not the intervention of the Jerusalem church that saves Paul but the action of the son of his sister (Acts 23:16).

The narrative of Acts suggests that James and the Jerusalem elders foresaw that Paul's presence in the temple in Jerusalem was likely to precipitate a riot and nevertheless urged this course of action on him (see 21:20-22). When Paul was arrested, James and the elders made no representations on his behalf. Paul's hope of a successful completion of his work in bringing the gifts of the largely Gentile churches was sadly disappointed and his relationship with James and the elders was less than cordial.

In Acts there is no explicit indication of the leadership structure of the Jerusalem church. That the apostles and elders play a leading role is clear but a singular role of leadership is described in relation to James. Just when this singular leadership emerged is less than fully clear but there is no evidence that it was not from the earliest period in the life of the church. Acts, like Galatians, depicts Peter as the model exponent of the circumcision mission.

THE LETTERS OF PAUL
JAMES, PETER AND THE CIRCUMCISION PARTY

A careful examination of the letters of Paul confirms that the role of James the brother of Jesus has been obscured in the Gospels and Acts. Because Acts has influenced all subsequent sources any independent early evidence is invaluable. The earliest evidence comes from Galatians and 1 Corinthians.

1. Galatians: The Two Missions in Antioch and Jerusalem. Galatians describes two visits by Paul to Jerusalem. In each he sees both Peter and James. Both accounts are difficult to reconcile with Acts.

Significant differences between the accounts in Gal 2:1-10 and Acts 15 put in question whether Galatians refers to the Jerusalem assembly described in Acts 15. Differences between the two accounts are far reaching.[33] In the light of these, the second visit (Gal 2:1-10)

[33] The reasons for the visits to Jerusalem differ in the two accounts; Paul and Barnabas meet with a restricted group in Galatians but with the apostles and elders (15:6) and, it seems, the whole church (15:22) in Acts; the mission is accepted without conditions in Galatians but the demands of the decree are specified in Acts.

is sometimes identified with the so called "famine relief visit" (Acts 11:27-30),[34] which might mean that the Jerusalem assembly had not yet taken place at the time of the writing of Galatians. In this case both visits (Gal 2:1 and Acts 11:27) are described as second visits and are said to be based on some revelation.[35] But there are problems with this view also.

The account in Acts 11:27-30 does not indicate any discussion of the Gentile mission, which is so fundamental to Gal 2:1-10. To overcome this, D. R. Catchpole ingeniously suggests that the accounts of Acts 11 and 15 are a consequence of Luke's use of duplicate accounts of the same visit.[36] Practically this could lead to the same position as ignoring the visit of Acts 11 unless it is argued that, chronologically, Acts 11 is the correct point in the narrative for the visit. The Jerusalem assembly would then occur simply as a result of events in Antioch and before the beginning of the distinctive Pauline mission. If that were the case we might wonder why the issue looks so urgent and recent in Galatians, which must have been written after the founding of the Galatian churches. According to Acts, 11:27-30 describes a famine relief visit to the poor believers in Jerusalem. Galatians 2:10 records a request to remember the poor in a way that is strange if that was precisely what the visit in question had done. Paul responded to the request with great seriousness and his later letters are preoccupied with "the collection" as a sign of the unity of the two missions (see 1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Corinthians 8—9; Rom 15:22-33). But the purpose of the visit of Gal 2:1-10 was to deal with the validity of the gospel Paul preached ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (2:2). This presupposes at least Paul's first mission from Antioch.

Differences between the accounts of Paul's first visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1:18-20 and Acts 9:26-30) are more far reaching than the

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[34] See F. F. Bruce, *Acts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954, 1988); R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990); D. Wenham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), chap. 9; Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting*, chap. 15; B. Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

[35] In support of this view, see now D. Wenham, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus II. Evidence of Parallels," in idem (ed.), *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, 215-58, esp. 226-43.

[36] D. R. Catchpole, "Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree," *NTS* 23 (1977) 428-44.

second. According to Acts, Paul first visited Jerusalem a matter of days after his conversion. It is implied that he went to join the "disciples" there. Because of his past record this was not possible until Barnabas introduced him to the apostles. A Hellenist plot to kill him led to the "brothers" bringing Paul to Caesarea and then sending him to Tarsus. According to Gal 1:18-20, Paul went to Jerusalem three years after his conversion; he went to see Cephas and saw, of the other apostles, only James; he was present only fifteen days. It is difficult to find much correspondence at all between these two accounts. Paul's subsequent movement to Syria and Cilicia (Galatians) very roughly corresponds to Caesarea and Tarsus (Acts), though Caesarea is not in Syria. Thus there is reason to question the accuracy of the narrative sequence in Acts so that the recognition of strong connections between Gal 2:1-10 and Acts 15 should not be overridden because Acts 11 provides an earlier second visit to Jerusalem. Luke's account is so driven by his tendency to remove tensions between Paul and the Jerusalem Church that the actual historical sequence is no longer recoverable in Acts.

(a) Galatians 1:17-19: Leadership in Jerusalem

Galatians makes clear that James was known to Paul by reputation and in person. Here Paul attempts to establish his independence of the authority of the Jerusalem Church and its leaders whom he describes as "apostles before me" (1:17). Thus when Paul calls himself an apostle he asserts of himself equal status to the original Jerusalem apostles. He argues (1:18-19) that, after his "conversion"[37] from the role of a persecutor of the followers of Jesus to become a proponent of the new movement, he did not go up to Jerusalem for a period of three years. When he did go up to Jerusalem he went with a limited and specific agenda (to see Cephas) and stayed only fifteen days. This visit took place sometime before 36 C.E.[38] The visit, with the expressed purpose of seeing Cephas (Peter), is commonly taken to indicate that, at this time, Peter was the leader of the Jerusalem Church (1:18).

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[37] On the appropriateness of the use of this term in relation to Paul, see A. F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990) 1-183.

[38] See G. Luedemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 262.

Coincidentally Paul acknowledges that, of the other apostles, he saw only "James, the brother of the Lord" (1:19).[39] Walter Schmithals argues that Paul did not wish to call James an apostle but has achieved a studied ambiguity "leaving room for the possibility that one could, if need be, count James among the apostles—something he himself was not accustomed to doing."[40] This is an extraordinary reading of Gal 1:19. One reason for this seems to be the problem of resolving the status of the twelve in relation to Paul and apostleship as such. Was Paul's claim to apostleship a claim to be one of the twelve? This is most unlikely. Rather Paul claimed apostleship of equal status with the twelve. The evidence of 1 Cor 15:5-7 implies that he recognized that James shared the same status as "all of the apostles." Thus the apostolic band includes Cephas and the twelve, James and all the apostles, and last of all Paul himself (15:5-8).

Cephas might have been chosen as the person to be seen because he was perceived to be more sympathetic to his cause and Paul considered him to be the leading exponent of the Jerusalem "mission." James, as the leader, was too important to be missed[41] and Cephas may have effected an introduction for Paul.[42] If, in Paul's terms, James was the only other apostle seen by him in addition to Peter, it is clear that he is not using the term apostle in the restricted sense of "the twelve." This is confirmed by his own claim to be an apostle, which he defends at length (1:1, 11-17). Paul did not claim to be one of "the twelve," a group which he elsewhere recognized by that name (1 Cor 15:5). While there appear to be those who wished to restrict the status of apostle to "the twelve" (perhaps the author of Acts), Paul shows no inclination to accept this view. Of course he was aware that those who did this were prepared to recognize (as he himself also did) those who were apostles of churches (Rom 16:7; 2

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[39] Paul uses the expression "brother(s) of the Lord" elsewhere only in 1 Cor 9:5.

[40] W. Schmithals, *The Office of an Apostle* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1960) 65.

[41] See S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1967) 163.

[42] Acts 9:27 says that Barnabas introduced Saul "to the apostles"! The natural reading implies a group larger than two even if two justifies the use of the plural. Barnabas is not mentioned at this point in Galatians. In Acts this narrative provides the link between Barnabas and Paul that leads to Barnabas seeking out Paul to assist him in Antioch (11:19-26). Not only does Paul not mention Barnabas in Gal 1:18-19, he nowhere implies that he came to Antioch at the invitation of Barnabas.

Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25) and not on the same level as the apostles of Jesus. It may be in the sense of apostles of the church at Antioch that Acts 14:14 refers to Paul and Barnabas. That was certainly not the status that he claimed for himself or recognized in James. Galatians 1:17 shows that Paul placed his apostleship on the same level as those who "were apostles before me." This includes James.[43]

(b) Galatians 2:1-10: The Pillars and the Leadership of the Two Missions

Scholars generally identify the visit described in Gal 2:1-10 with the Jerusalem assembly of Acts 15. While there may be difficulties with this, difficulties with any alternative seem to me to be far greater.

Fourteen years later, counting either from his conversion or from the time of the first visit, Paul made a second visit to Jerusalem (46–50 C.E.), this time with Barnabas and Titus (Gal 2:1-10). The purpose of this visit was to place Paul's mission to the nations/ Gentiles with its gospel on a firm basis (2:2)[44] because it was

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[43] The basis of Paul's claim to apostleship is set out in 1:1, 11, where he claimed to have seen the risen Lord and to have been commissioned by him. The same basis is apparently assumed for the apostleship of James (see 1 Cor 15:5-11 and the discussion of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*; the *Apocryphon of James* and the two *Apocalypses of James*).

[44] To read ἔθνη as if it were a technical term for "Gentiles" overlooks the complexity of the evidence. A person can use the same word with varying shades of meaning. If ἔθνη can mean "Gentiles" it does so from the perspective of the one who views the nations. The same person can include his own people amongst the nations. The inclusive sense is found in the expressions "every nation" (Acts 10:35; 17:26); "all the nations" (Mark 11:17 = Isa 56:7; Mark 13:10; Luke 12:30; 21:24; 24:47; Acts 2:5; 14:16; Rom 1:5; 4:17-18; 15:11; Rev 14:8; 15:4; 18:3) which would not need "every" or "all" if ἔθνη meant "Gentiles." Inclusiveness is clear in the lists of Rev 5:9; 7:9; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:15. Ἔθνος is not used of an individual Gentile because it signifies a single nation. Thus, on two occasions, Paul contrasts "Jews" and "Gentiles" (Rom 3:29; 9:24) using ἔθνη exclusively of Gentiles, but when speaking of the individual "Jew" Paul must use "the Greek" as the corresponding term (Rom 1:16; 2:9,10; 3:9; 10:12). Here Paul deals with the priority of "to the Jew first" in the economy of God's salvation. The linguistic contrasts show that Jews and Gentiles, or the Jew and the Greek, are included in the salvation of God. The distinction between Jews and Greeks is also used in Acts 14:1; 16:1, 3 though reference to devout Greeks in the synagogue at Thessalonica (18:4) is probably a reference to "God fearers." Compare the reference to the Hellenists (the Ἑλληνισταί are contrasted with the Ἑβραῖοι) in Acts 6:1; 9:29; 11:20. Here Jews who have adopted Greek culture (language) are contrasted with Hebrew/Aramaic speaking Jews. Jewish members of the Pauline churches in the *diaspora* are included in "all the churches of the ἐθνῶν" (Rom 16:4) just as there were Jewish members of the church at Antioch and Acts 2:5 implies that Jews of the *diaspora* came to Jerusalem from "every nation under

threatened by "false brethren" (2:4). The term translated "Gentiles" or "nations" is ambiguous and can be used by the same person with more than one meaning. Thus ἔθνη is not used exclusively of "Gentiles" with "people" reserved to describe the Jewish people.[45] In John 11:50 Caiaphas refers to Jews as both "people" and "nation"[46] and in Rom 4:17-18 Paul speaks of Abraham as the father of many nations, a description that includes Israel amongst the nations.

Paul's mission was directed to the nations (Rom 1:5), and his *modus operandi* was determined by this orientation. Luke might have understood Paul's "to the Jew first" to mean that he systematically began his mission in the synagogues (Acts 13:14; 14:1; 16:13; 17:1-2, 10; 18:4), asserting that this was his custom. While Paul's letters do not confirm this, it is clear that the churches founded by him were mixed, including both Jews and Gentiles. It is also clear that the presence of Jews did not determine the mode of Paul's mission. Rather they were expected to modify their behavior to the practice of the mission to the nations. This was the cause of the problem in the mixed church at Antioch. It is also the basis of the complaint of the Jews from Asia, according to Acts 21:21, 27-28.

The false brethren of 2:4 are not specifically identified but are said to have crept in under false pretences. They should be associated with *a faction of* the circumcision party (2:7, 9). Apparently they

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heaven." When Paul asserts "I am under obligation to Greeks and Barbarians . . . " (Rom 1:14), he is using the nomenclature of the Greeks to affirm his universal obligation. Here "Greeks" signifies all who were shaped by the Greek paideia, including Hellenized Jews. The rest were Barbarians, including Aramaic/Hebrew speaking Jews. The complexity of this language use is often obscured in discussions of the New Testament.

[45] In the LXX, ἔθνος and its plural are used to translate fifteen Hebrew terms/expressions, the most frequent of which are *goy(im)* and *am(iym)*. In spite of this, following K. L. Schmidt's article on ἔθνος (*TDNT* 2:364-72) most scholars assume that ἔθνη must mean "Gentiles" in Paul and the New Testament generally. But this ignores the fundamental meaning of the term in Greek generally and in the LXX. In the Psalms ἔθνη and λαοί are used 35 times in synonymous parallelism (*TDNT* 2:365-66). Further, ἔθνος is repeatedly used to translate *goy* in the promise to Abraham that God would make him "a great nation" (Gen 12:2; 46:3; Exod 32:10; Num 14:12; Deut 9:14). Further, Abraham is described as "the father of many nations," which surely includes Israel (Gen 17:4, 5, 16; cf. Rom 4:17-18) and it is said that two nations were in the womb of Rebekah, Israel (Jacob) and the nation(s) coming from Esau.

[46] See John 11:48-52 and the references to the Jewish nation in Luke 7:5; 23:2; John 18:35; Acts 10:22; 24:2, 10, 17; 26:4; 28:19. See my "The Church and Israel in the Gospel of John," *NTS* 25 (1978) 525-43.

tried to compel Titus, a Greek, to be circumcised (Gal 2:3). The *narrative order* of Gal 2:4 seems to locate their activity in Jerusalem. Alternatively, 2:4 can be understood as giving the reason why Paul felt the need to lay the gospel he preached before those of repute in Jerusalem (2:2).[47] With Acts in mind it could be argued that the problem first appeared in Antioch, with the Judeans of 15:1. This motivated the journey to Jerusalem where the Pharisaic believers of 15:5 again expressed their views. Paul's account assumes that the problem emerged in Antioch but specifically mentions the false brethren at a point which implies their presence in Jerusalem.

On the assumption that the challenge came in Antioch, the response came through a revelation that Paul and his party should go up to Jerusalem to lay the matter before those of repute who are eventually named as James, Cephas and John, the reputed pillars (2:2, 6^{2x}, 9). Paul's elaboration in 2:6 shows that he set no store by their reputation.[48]

> And from those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)—those, I say, who were of repute added nothing to me

The stress on those of repute (2:2, 6^{2x}, 9) reflects tension between Paul and the reputed "pillars" which is especially clear in 2:6. There Paul questions what the pillars actually were, setting aside their reputations as irrelevant to God. Whatever Paul thought of the pillars, he acknowledges their reputation in the Jerusalem church. That James is mentioned as the first of three reputed "pillars" signals his leadership in exalted company. Those who regarded them as "pillars" probably had in mind the image of the church as a building, possibly an image of the Jerusalem church, though perhaps as the pillars of the church wherever it may spread. The image implies a territorial claim that constituted a problem for the Pauline mission.[49]

This private meeting with the reputed pillars concluded with the

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[47] G. Luedemann (*Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989] 35) draws this conclusion.

[48] See J. D. G. Dunn, "Echoes of the Intra-Jewish Polemics in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *JBL* 112 (1993) 459-77.

[49] The Qumran texts (see especially $4QpIsa^{d}$) portray leaders and members of the community in terms of parts of the temple. See B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament: A Comparative Study of the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

recognition of a policy of two missions, based on the success of Paul's mission to "the nations" which was comparable to Peter's success amongst "the circumcision" (2:7-9).[50] The precise terminology used in 2:7-9 is important as is the recognition of the chiastic parallelism of the statements in Gal 2:7-8. My reading of this chiastic statement finds support in the precise language in which Paul describes the purpose of his journey to Jerusalem (2:2) and the final statement of the agreement (2:9).

In 2:2, the purpose of the private meeting with those of repute was "to lay before them the gospel which I preach among the nations [ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]." His gospel was directed to the nations and it is clear that it could not be shaped by concerns specifically related to Jewish identity. This becomes clear in the chiastic comparison of the two missions in 2:7-8. The first part of the comparison deals with the recognition, by those of repute, of the two gospels, the one entrusted to Paul and the other to Peter. The reason for this recognition is then given. Just as God worked with Peter, so he also worked with Paul. This much is clear from the chiastic parallelism. But within this carefully constructed passage there is a change of language in 2:8 which stands out, especially when it is noted that the change brings the language of 2:8 into line with 2:2 and 2:9. The change is hardly accidental or inconsequential. Having denied that those of repute laid any conditions on him and his preaching of the gospel, he continues:

(a1) but on the contrary they, seeing that I had been entrusted with the *gospel of the uncircumcision*
(a2) as Peter [had been entrusted with the *gospel*] *of the circumcision*
(b2) for the one who worked with Peter for an *apostleship of the circumcision*
(b1) worked also with me [for an *apostleship*] *to the nations* . . .

The use of "the gospel of the uncircumcision" with an implied *gospel* "of the circumcision" in 2:7 finds a chiastic parallel in "apostleship of the circumcision" with an implied *apostleship* "to the nations" in 2:8. Reference to the gospel is explicit only in relation to Paul just as reference to apostleship is explicit only in relation to Peter. In each case specific mention is made only concerning the first person named and implied in relation to the second.

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[50] Compare the indirect reference to the two missions and their modes of operation in Acts 21:19-20 and the discussion above.

Throughout this passage Peter's gospel, and mission (apostleship) are said to be of and to the *circumcision*, respectively. The parallel statements concerning Paul speak of his gospel of the *uncircumcision* but mission to the *nations*. This change is confirmed in relation to Paul's mission to the *nations* in 2:2, 9. This change of idiom, when speaking of the orientation of Paul's mission, breaks the linguistic parallelism between circumcision and uncircumcision. The introduction of εἰς τὰ ἔθνη in the place of τῆς ἀκροβυστίας signals a crucial aspect of Paul's point of view. This is confirmed by the use of ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν to describe the audience of his gospel in 2:2, and the destination of their mission (Paul and Barnabas) as "that we should go εἰς τὰ ἔθνη" (2:9).

The expressions "gospel of the circumcision" and "uncircumcision" signify the demands made as a precondition of the gospel. Paul's gospel repudiated the demand for circumcision. Paul asserts that those of repute "added nothing to me" (2:6). Nevertheless, in the accord, he acknowledged the gospel of the Jerusalem pillars that demanded circumcision in exchange for their recognition of his gospel which did not demand circumcision.[51] Reference to audience comes in the last two statements concerning apostleship (mission). Paul characterized Peter's mission as to the circumcision. Thus the gospel demanding circumcision was to be restricted to those already circumcised. On the other hand Paul characterized his own mission, not as to the uncircumcision, but *to the nations*. That this included Jews is clear and it was for this reason that wherever the audience of his gospel is indicated, or the orientation of his mission expressed, the word used is ἔθνη.

An amicable agreement appears to be described between the "pillars" and Paul and Barnabas. In 2:7-9 Paul claims that the reputed pillars acknowledged his gospel and mission alongside the gospel and mission of Peter. There was, however, a great deal of room here for misunderstanding between the two parties. The "accord," even as described by Paul, does not easily provide a single,

[51] The description of the gospel of the uncircumcision, implying also a gospel of the circumcision (2:7), is somewhat perplexing in the light of Paul's insistence that there is no other gospel (1:6-9). What is envisaged in 2:7-9 is not the absolute *demand* for circumcision because a gospel of the uncircumcision is acknowledged. In spite of the *agreement* there is a sense in which the *gospels* of the two missions are irreconcilable. Paul wished to obscure this point to his own advantage.

unequivocal (or univocal) solution. It is not surprising that the various parties to the accord appear to have understood it differently and it was not long before accord gave way to discord.

There are two missions, but how were they distinguished? In *geographic terms:* the one mission restricted to "Palestine" and the other aimed at the Roman world beyond Palestine? Or are we to think of an *ethnic distinction:* one mission restricted to Jews only and the other to Gentiles? Or again, is the difference *ideological:* the differing demands made by the two missions, the one mission demanding circumcision and all that this entails and the other mission free of those demands? The likelihood is that the accord was understood in all of these ways by various participants.

Paul's characteristic description of his mission was, "to the nations," not to the uncircumcised. The Jews, as a nation, were one of the nations. The conditions each demanded of converts distinguished the two missions. The one required circumcision and law observance while the other did not. Naturally the latter was characterized by converts from many nations, including some Jews, while the former remained dominantly Jewish and required Gentiles to convert to Judaism. Paul expected the circumcision mission to be restricted to Jews and that mission expected Paul to restrict his mission to Gentiles. The outworking of the accord was much more complex.

From the point of view of the circumcision mission, those who did not keep the law were thought to be inferior to those who did. This position was prepared for by the inferior place of Godfearers in Jewish synagogues, as was argued long ago by Sir William Ramsay.[52] Paul later responded with his own evaluative distinction between the strong and the weak (1 Cor 7:1-13). At the time of writing Galatians, the issue was the recognition of the equality of the mission to the nations. When this was challenged Paul responded by questioning the consistency of those who belonged to the circumcision mission (Gal 2:11-14).

The strategy of two distinct missions with independent ground rules may have looked to be a diplomatic solution to a difficult problem. It allowed the Jerusalem pillars to acknowledge the legitimacy of a circumcision free mission to the Gentiles without

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[52] W. Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895) 4.

giving up their own position of demanding circumcision and law observance. Had it been possible for the two missions to remain separate and distinct, the one to the Jews and the other to the Gentiles, the solution might have worked. The result would have been two quite distinct missions as James, and perhaps Peter, envisaged. But this was not a real possibility. Conflicting understandings of the accord made actual conflict inevitable. The complexity and impracticality of the solution became apparent when Cephas came to Antioch (2:11). Perhaps this was already foreshadowed when, as Paul notes, the pillars extended the right hand of fellowship to himself and Barnabas (2:9), Titus, who had accompanied Paul with Barnabas, is not included. He is not mentioned again after the note that, although *he was a Greek,* he was not compelled to be circumcised (2:3).

(c) Galatians 2:11-14: James and the Dispute at Antioch

Some commentators think that the incident described in 2:11-14, though narrated after the agreement between Paul, Barnabas and the Jerusalem pillars, must have occurred prior to it.[53] It is argued that, whereas a sequence of events might be indicated (in 1:18 and 2:1) by the use of "then" or "next" (ἔπειτα), no time sequence is indicated by the use of "when" (ὅτε). While no time sequence is *necessarily* indicated by *that expression*, the event could just as well be in sequence as out of sequence and the order of narration would need to be put in question if it is to be rejected. Only the conviction that Peter would not have gone back on the "accord" favors the reversal of the sequence. But it is not inconceivable that Peter might have been inconsistent. The inconsistency of Peter was precisely the point of Paul's criticism although these events are described to his own advantage. Consequently it may be that Peter's action was not inconsistent from Peter's point of view.[54] Nothing in the text indicates that 2:11-14 is out of narrative sequence.[55]

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[53] Thus both H. Zahn and J. Munck. See G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (SNTSMS 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 22; and Luedemann, *Paul*, 75-77, who is followed by R. B. Ward, "James of Jerusalem in the First Two Centuries," *ANRW* II.26.1 (1992) 779-812, here 783-84.

[54] See H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 106.

[55] See Betz, *Galatians*, 105 n. 436.

Paul may have expected the ground rules of the "home side" to apply when the two missions intersected. The account of his relationship with the Jerusalem church in Acts 21 suggests that Paul complied with the Jewish law when in Jerusalem. While this could be Lukan apologetic, it could be a point of detail that Luke has got right (see 1 Cor 9:19-23). Thus, when Cephas came to Antioch he at first complied with Paul's expectation of the outworking of the accord. Reference to him as Cephas rather than Peter signals that, in Antioch, he represents the Jerusalem community.[56] The church in Antioch was dominantly a manifestation of Pauline Gentile Christianity. Cephas and the other Jewish Christians at first ignored the Jewish purity laws and ate with Gentile Christians.

According to Paul the situation exploded when representatives from James[57] appeared on the scene and Cephas and the other Jewish Christians, including Barnabas, withdrew from table fellowship. Paul says specifically of Cephas, "he separated himself fearing those of the circumcision (party)" as did the other Jewish Christians (2:12-13). The circumcision party is to be identified with James and those who had come representing him to Antioch.[58] How to interpret the position of Cephas is more difficult. He may have wavered from the Jerusalem position under the dominant influence of Paul until the messengers arrived from James. R. E. Brown thinks that Acts 15:20 and Gal 2:12 suggest that the enforcement of the food laws associated with the name of James was not Peter's idea and that he acquiesced only under pressure.[59] Strangely, Meier argued that, in this incident,

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[56] See Betz, *Galatians*, 106.

[57] There is a widespread tendency to distance James from the circumcision party that exerted pressure on Cephas at Antioch. See B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924) 232; idem, *The Primitive Church: Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (London: Macmillan, 1929) 55; J. P. Meier, in R. E. Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (New York: Paulist, 1983) 42; H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1949) 261. This is done because there is an inclination to minimize any conflict between Paul and James and it is thought that the conflict depicted in Gal 2:11-14 could not have involved James after the accord depicted in Acts 15 and Gal 2:1-10. But there was a conflict between Cephas and Paul that even drew in Barnabas, with serious consequences. Conflict with James should not be ruled out.

[58] This is denied by Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte*, 261; and W. Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jacobus und die Jacobustradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987).

[59] Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 4. Catchpole ("Paul, James and the

Barnabas sided with Peter against Paul because Peter's influence was so strong.[60] But, in this, Meier leaves out of account the authority of James which, once it was asserted by the delegation, caused Peter, Barnabas and other Jewish Christians to defect also. Further, there is no indication that what was at stake here was restricted to the requirements of the Jerusalem decree. Rather Paul speaks of the pressure to make Gentiles live as Jews, implying that full table fellowship presupposed circumcision and law observance.

The situation in Antioch provided the first test of the accord for representatives from Jerusalem and it was James who gave the definitive Jerusalem position and Peter bowed to his leadership. It is rather dramatic to say that he withdrew "fearing those of the circumcision party." A precise translation is, "fearing the circumcision" and some scholars have argued that unbelieving Jews in Antioch were the source of Cephas' fears.[61] But why should this fear emerge only after the appearance of the messengers from James? Fear of the circumcision *party* is implied by comparison with the use of the term in 2:1-10 where James is portrayed as its leading representative. Given the status and standing of Cephas some great authority must be behind the circumcision party and be the source of his fear. This can only be James. That Barnabas and the other Christian Jews also withdrew is significant, suggesting that Barnabas might not have been in full agreement with Paul's circumcision and law free mission to the nations. This interpretation is supported by a critical reading of Acts 15:36–41.

According to Acts, Paul's initiative to follow up on their mission is met by the suggestion from Barnabas that they again take with them John Mark. Paul rejects this suggestion because Mark had abandoned the first mission. This occurred at a point in the narrative where the names had changed from Barnabas and Saul to Paul and Barnabas, a change that suggests a change of the leadership and orientation of the mission. Thus Acts subtly implies that Mark left the mission because he would not submit to Paul's leadership of a mission that turned out to be different from the one he had originally joined. That Barnabas

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Apostolic Decree") argues that the decree was communicated for the first time by the messengers from James who caused the problem in Antioch (Gal 2:12). But the problem was the reassertion of the demand for circumcision (2:14).

[60] Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 24.

[61] See Ward, "James," 784.

again turns to Mark (his cousin, according to Col 4:10) implies the reassertion of his leadership and his terms for the conduct of the mission. Acts describes a sharp dispute (ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμὸς) which ended in a division of areas for their separate missions. Understood in this way the defection of Barnabas in 2:11-14 makes better sense. The dispute was not only over Mark, but concerned the conditions under which the mission to the nations was to be conducted.[62]

That Paul does not harken back to the accord in the debate with Cephas indicates that he knew there was more than one way to read the accord.[63] Following the break down of the accord Paul accused Cephas of hypocrisy because he had not lived consistently as a Jew himself and yet was attempting to compel Gentiles to live as Jews (2:11-14). Paula Fredrikson argues that the attempt to compel Gentiles to live as Jews was an innovation, not only in the early Church, but also in Judaism.[64] This is an overstatement because it fails to take account of synagogue practice in relation to Gentiles. Uncircumcised Gentiles were not treated as equals by Jews even if they kept those aspects of the law directed specifically to Gentiles, such as we find in the Jerusalem decree. Paul's criticism was aimed at the Jerusalem position of demanding circumcision and law observance if there was to be full fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers. That is the point of the withdrawal of table fellowship. It is different from an absolute demand that Gentiles live as Jews and does not imply that circumcision and law observance were necessary for the salvation of believing Gentiles, a position rejected at the Jerusalem assembly. The compulsion related to what was necessary for a full and equal fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers. The same situation applied to uncircumcised Gentiles in the synagogue.

The position of Cephas outlined here goes beyond the maintenance of a circumcision mission *to the Jews.* A mission to Gentiles involving the demand of circumcision is indicated by the reference to compelling Gentiles to live as Jews (2:14).[65] The issue that gave rise

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[62] See Painter, *Just James*, 50-52.

[63] See Betz, *Galatians*, 106.

[64] P. Fredrikson, "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another look at Galatians 1 and 2," *JTS* 42 (1991) 532-64.

[65] The use of ζῇς in the first half of the verse makes clear that what is in view is the

to this criticism was the demand that Gentile members of Paul's mission should be circumcised if they were to share in table fellowship with Jewish believers.

Galatians 2:11-14 narrates a conflict, not only between Paul and Cephas but also with Barnabas. This conflict was one reason why Paul next teamed with Silas rather than Barnabas. Galatians does not indicate this because it was written after the breach with Barnabas but before Paul teamed with Silas. The Silas named in Acts 15:22, 40; 16:19; 17:14; 18:5 is probably named Silvanus by Paul in 2 Cor 1:19; 1 Thess 1:1 (cf. 1 Pet 5:12). Because Paul's letters confirm this teaming we must question whether Silas was entrusted with the "Jerusalem decree."[66]

After the conflict, whose views prevailed at Antioch? Did the views of Paul and or Barnabas, or the views of James and or Peter prevail there? It is often assumed that Paul lost the struggle for the church at Antioch here. Streeter asserts, "If we are to associate the outlook of Antioch—the first capital of Gentile Christianity—with the name of any Apostle it will be with that of Peter."[67] Meier asserts, in common with Streeter, "But Peter, having won out over Paul at Antioch, may have remained the dominant figure there for some time. This may be the historical basis of the later, anachronistic tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch. . . . Downey thinks that Matt 16:18 represents the tradition of Antioch concerning the foundation of the church there."[68] Why Meier appeals to Downey at this point is inexplicable as Streeter had propounded this view in 1924. Michael Goulder makes the point that the *Petrines* won the round at Antioch (Gal 2:11-14) but that in the long run (in the second century) the Pauline party won, as is shown by Christian non-observance of circumcision and Jewish purity laws, and the Aramaic churches split away and became heretical sects.[69] R. P. Martin argues that the emissaries from James "were in a measure successful (Gal

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attempt to compel Gentiles to live as Jews (τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν).

[66] In Acts Paul's three mission partners Barnabas, John Mark, and Silas, are first shown to be in good standing with the Jerusalem church before they are joined with Paul in his mission. Indeed, according to Acts, Barnabas is responsible for introducing Paul to the apostles and for drawing him into the mission of the Antioch church. This picture of Paul's overall dependence on Jerusalem is not corroborated by his letters.

[67] Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, 45, and see 58.

[68] Meier, in Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, viii, 24, 39, 46.

[69] M. Goulder, *A Tale of Two Missions* (London: SCM Press, 1994) 3, 108.

2:13)" and that "Paul moved away from this base in Antioch, having suffered a defeat there."[70]

There is nothing in the letters of Paul or Acts to suggest that the Church at Antioch, as a whole, rejected Paul's understanding of the gospel and mission. The suggestion that Acts portrays a break of relationship because Paul hardly visits Antioch after this, is not persuasive. Acts 15:30-35 narrates the return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, where they remained teaching and preaching the word of the Lord. Following this the disagreement between Paul and Barnabas is described (15:36-41). But there it concerns whether or not John Mark should accompany them. This is as close as Acts comes to acknowledging the conflict that emerged in Antioch. There is no mention of the issues that divided not only Paul and Peter, but also between Paul and Barnabas (Gal 2:11-14). There is no hint of which side the church at Antioch might have taken in this disagreement.

While James may have prevailed with the Jewish believers at Antioch, no hint is given of the response of the Gentile believers there. Certainly Paul gives no indication of a wholesale acceptance of circumcision by Gentile believers at Antioch. It is possible that they were incensed and angered over the incident as much as Paul evidently was. While we do not know, it seems likely that the Antioch church was dominantly Gentile in make up. That being the case, if James carried the day with Jewish believers and Paul with Gentile believers, who won the day?

The narrative of Acts portrays Paul's continuing relationship with Antioch. At the conclusion to the next phase of his mission, Paul returned to the church at Antioch and, "After spending some time there he departed and went from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples" (Acts 18:22-23). To suggest that Paul did not stay long on the basis of the brevity of the reference is hardly convincing. Brevity is a consequence of the perspective of Acts which is concerned to portray Paul's continuing mission. For this purpose Paul needs to move on. Acts 18:23 tells us that he stayed there "some time," which implies a significant stay.

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[70] R. P. Martin, *James* (WBC 48; Waco: Word, 1988) xxxvi-xxxvii. See also J. D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch," *JSNT* 18 (1982) 3-57; and P. J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 230.

That Paul did not visit Antioch at the conclusion of his "third" missionary journey is explicable in the light of his letters, especially Rom 15:25-33. Paul was preoccupied with the difficult situation awaiting him in Jerusalem where he was to deliver "the collection" for the poor saints. Acts makes no mention of this in its account of Paul's meeting with James and the elders. Paul mentions the collection to Felix (Acts 24:17) to explain his presence in Jerusalem. Had Paul not been arrested we may reasonably suppose that, having fulfilled his obligations in Jerusalem, he would have made his way to Antioch. His failure to do so should not be construed as evidence of a rift between Paul and the church at Antioch.

2. Two Missions, Many Factions. There is some virtue in maintaining a simple vision of a conflict between *two* missions. But it is no virtue if it obscures a more complex situation. Our approach attempts to do justice to clarity and complexity. The evidence of Galatians indicates two missions. A critical reading provides evidence of a more complex situation which finds support from a critical reading of Acts. From this we suggest that there were as many as six factions within the two missions. Our analysis is clearer than it was for those who participated in the events because it has the benefit of hindsight. Yet there are many dark spots hidden from our knowledge.

Each of the two missions can be analysed in terms of three factions. Some of the factions overlapped while others were more or less totally opposed.

(a) The Circumcision Mission

The first three factions were intent on maintaining Jewish identity and an ongoing mission to "the Jewish people."

The *First Faction* is evident in Acts 15:1, 5 and Gal 2:4, where Pharisaic believers insisted that all believers (Jews and Gentiles) should be circumcised and keep the Mosaic law, that there was no salvation without full law observance. This faction was not party to the accord. For them messianic faith was an expression of the life of the people of God (Israel) who were sanctified (made a holy people) by the presence of the law and by full observance of it. We have no knowledge of its leading personalities but James and Peter were not

part of it. If F. C. Baur oversimplified the actual situation,[71] he was not wrong, in his later work, in seeing James and Peter as part of the opposition to Paul.[72] But they were not his most extreme opponents.

The *Second Faction* recognised the validity of the two missions but was committed to the mission of and to the circumcision (Gal 2:7-9). For this group the *uncircumcision* mission was meant to be a mission exclusively to the Gentiles and the mission to the Jews was focused on "Palestine," perhaps even primarily on Judaea. The missions were understood in both ethnic (understood in cultural rather than genetic racial terms) and geographic terms. The leading exponent of this faction was James the brother of Jesus. While the other mission was acknowledged, it assumed the total independence of the two missions or the acceptance of the rules of the circumcision mission if the two intersected. Thus when members of this faction went outside Palestine they were required to be law observant. This is how we are to understand the role of the messengers from James in Gal 2:12. Further, Jewish members of the uncircumcision mission were also expected to keep the law. Hence not only Cephas (Peter) but also Barnabas and other Jews in Antioch came under pressure to comply with the demands of James. This faction allowed that the uncircumcision mission could operate on a law free basis only in relation to Gentiles. If the "Jerusalem decree" is not a fiction, Gentile believers were required to abstain from certain practices particularly offensive to Jews, though nothing in Acts suggests that observance of the Jerusalem decree provided a basis for full table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers. Rather these were the requirements laid on Gentiles living in Jewish territory. They constitute the law's requirements for Gentiles and, in Acts 15, are imposed as what is necessary if Gentile believers are to be saved.

Gentile converts were not actively sought by this faction but proselytes were permitted to convert by submitting to the demands of the law. Converts who did not comply with the law were not sought by this faction and when they were encountered they were not accorded table fellowship. This is a natural extension into Christian Judaism of the Jewish practice of distinguishing Godfearers from full

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[71] F. C. Baur, "Christuspartei," *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* (1831) 61-206.

[72] F. C. Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ* (2 vols., London: Williams & Norgate, 1873–75; repr. in one vol., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003) 1:109-51. The first German edition appeared in 1845.

converts into Judaism.[73] The incident with Cornelius confirms this (Acts 10:1–11:18). The primary objective of the mission was to maintain the messianic proclamation of Jesus to the Jews and nothing that might compromise this objective was allowed to stand in its way. Indeed, James' appeal to Amos 9:11-12 (LXX) in Acts 15:16-17 makes the success of the Jewish mission the basis for the success of the Gentile mission. The restoration of the people through the messianic rebuilding of the house of David has as its purpose "that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles [nations] who are called by my name . . . ."

Walter Schmithals says:

> Therefore, for the Jewish Christians in Palestine the question of their attitude to the Law was not only, perhaps not even principally, a theological problem, but a question of their existence as a Church in the Jewish land.[74]

This insight into the strategic aspect of James' policy should not obscure the importance of a theological defence of the law for this faction. In the Gospels the M tradition, now embodied in Matthew, best represents the position of this faction.[75] It affirms an understanding of the nature of the people of God in terms of sanctification, the separation from all that is unclean, not pure, and what separated Israel from the nations was the law.[76] While it allowed for a mission to the nations which demanded observance of only those elements of the law which were specifically required of Gentiles, its own strategy was first to complete the mission to Israel. The tradition of first Israel, then the nations is supported by James' reading of Amos 9:11-12 (LXX) in Acts 15:16-17. Because of this there was no active Gentile mission and there is little trace of this

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[73] The inferior place of Gentile God fearers in Jewish synagogues was recognised long ago by Sir William Ramsay (*St Paul the Traveller*, 4). See also J. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers in Aphrodisias: Greek Inscriptions with Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[74] W. Schmithals, *Paul and James* (SBT 46; London: SCM Press, 1965) 39.

[75] See Painter, *Just James*, 85-102.

[76] Here I am indebted to the analysis of Jacob Neusner whose insight on this matter gives depth to my identification of the theological base of this position ("What, Exactly, Is Israel's Gentile problem? Rabbinic Perspectives on Galatians 2"). I have outlined this on the basis of a Jamesian tradition in Matthew. But there is also evidence of the strategic motivation for a policy which made strict law observance essential for an effective mission to the Jewish people. Only a law-observant mission could succeed here, see Acts 21:17-26.

faction after the Jewish war.

The *Third Faction* acknowledged the validity of the two missions but understood the differences between them *more* in terms of the ground rules by which the two missions operated than the groups targeted. This faction was committed to a mission based on circumcision and law-keeping. It was oriented primarily to all Jews, including those in the *diaspora*, and overflowed in a mission to Gentiles. An alternative mission, exclusively to the Gentiles and free from the demand of circumcision and law observance, was recognized. Peter was the most notable representative of this faction and, in later times, the Gospel of Matthew gave expression to its views and supported the leadership of Peter. Evidence suggests that Peter traveled widely in his mission which extended beyond Palestine to Corinth and Rome. Later evidence (e.g., from Nag Hammadi and the Pseudo-Clementines) portrays James in Jerusalem while Peter was occupied in a widespread mission. This picture may be based on tradition in Acts but seems to reflect a fair view of the situation.

The incident at Antioch suggests that this faction supported the view that the rules of the home mission applied when the two missions intersected though members of this faction were subject to pressure from the second faction, especially from James. Members of the third faction chose the "superior way" of circumcision and law-keeping for their own mission to both Jews and the nations. Matthew 5:19 implies that circumcision and law-keeping were not necessary to enter the kingdom of heaven but those who did not keep these conditions and taught others to follow their example would be least in the kingdom of heaven. Very likely this was intended as a critique and evaluation of the Pauline mission to the nations and may have been common to the second and third factions.

These three factions broadly fit the description of the first of two types of Jewish believers distinguished by Justin (*Dial.* 47).

(i) Those who insisted that Gentile converts keep all aspects of the Mosaic law;

(ii) Those who kept the law themselves but did not insist that Gentile converts should do so.

(b) The Uncircumcision Mission

Only the first of these reveals a concern to maintain Jewish identity and it fits the second type of Jewish believer mentioned by Justin.

The *Fourth Faction* largely overlapped the third except that members of it were involved in mission to the Gentiles on a law-free basis. The third and fourth factions each recognized the validity of the other. The main difference between them being that the one had chosen to maintain a dominant mission to the Jews while the other was confined to a mission to Gentiles. There was a policy that home rules applied when the missions intersected but also with the tendency to be influenced by James and the policy of the second faction on this issue as illustrated in Gal 2:12. Jewish members of this faction were law observant, Barnabas being the outstanding representative of this faction which might have been more ambivalent than the third on the question of the superiority of the circumcision mission and its gospel for Gentiles.

The *Fifth Faction* affirmed a mission to all the *nations* including the Jews, a mission free from circumcision and the ritual elements of the Mosaic law. Paul was the leading exponent of this faction. While it acknowledged the expediency of a mission restricted to the Jews based on circumcision and the Mosaic law, the law-free mission to the nations was affirmed as the true expression of the gospel (Gal 2:15-21). Because the circumcision mission was viewed as an expediency, this faction adopted the view that home rules should apply and that there was a special case for adopting the rules of the circumcision mission in Jerusalem.[77]

Paul acknowledged the principle of "to the Jew first . . ." (Rom 1:16; 2:9, 10). The gospel was to the Jew first. That was a fact of history and Paul's policy gave recognition to the Jerusalem church as the source of the whole Christian mission. He recognized the debt owed by the Gentile churches as a basis for his collection for the poor saints of Jerusalem (Rom 15:25-27). But Acts suggests another construction of that priority. According to the narrative, Paul programmatically offered the gospel first to the Jews and only when it was rejected by them did he turn to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46). Yet this appears to be an oversimplification because, even in Acts, it is clear that the initial offer of the gospel in the synagogue was not restricted to Jews (Acts 13:44). Indeed it was the reception by this broader audience that caused the Jews to reject the gospel (Acts

[77] See 1 Cor 9:19-23 and Acts 21:17-36 where Paul, on the recommendation of James, submitted to Jewish practice on return to Jerusalem.

13:45). To the Jew first, as a principle, shows that Paul did not exclude the Jews from his mission to the nations. They were given some priority, recognizing their foundational role. But Paul was not ready to constrain the gospel by restricting its scope to Jews or by subjecting to the demands of the Mosaic law those who responded. Nor was Paul willing, not even for a moment, to constrain the gospel to allow his own people opportunity to respond. Rather he argued that their present rejection of the gospel was the opportunity for the nations (Rom 11:11-12).

Given that Paul was himself a Jew and, at the same time, he understood himself to be the apostle to the nations, the place of the Jews in the purposes of God was a thorny problem for him. It is not that his mission to the nations excluded the Jews. But his argument in Romans 9–11 suggests that he knew in his heart that his approach to mission jeopardized the success of the mission to the Jews. Had he not known, his opponents would certainly have made the point in no uncertain terms. But Paul was the prisoner of a vision, impelled by the conviction that the mission to the nations could not wait, nor could it be constrained by the demands of the Jewish law. Here the two missions were in serious theological tension, as Gal 2:11-21 shows.

James was not prepared to compromise the demands of the law *(Torah)* because it was torah that separated Israel from the idolatry that defiled the nations. The presence of *Torah* and its observance in Israel sanctified the nation setting them apart as the people of God. Absence of the law defined the Gentiles as idolaters.[78] For Paul what now transformed both Jew and Gentile into the people of God was the presence of God in Jesus, mediated through a believing response to the gospel. For Paul, *in Christ* there is no longer a significant distinction between Jew and Greek (Gentile) for believers are now part of the new creation (Gal 3:26-29). Paul's gospel seems to be related to the exceptional practice of Jesus who, when the occasion demanded, disregarded purity laws, mixing with publicans and sinners and making physical contact with those who were unclean in order to make them whole. Rather than needing to protect what was holy from defilement, the holy one of God (Mark 1:24) made the

[78] Here again I am drawing on Neusner, "Israel's Gentile Problem."

unclean whole (Mark 1:25-26).[79]

The *Sixth Faction* is not evident in Galatians. There is, in 1 Corinthians, evidence of a faction that advocated an absolutely law-free mission recognizing no constraints whatsoever, ritual or moral. No names can be put to this faction but it was seriously opposed by Paul although his name was sometimes associated with it (Rom 3:8). It is unlikely that this faction acknowledged the validity of the circumcision mission at all.

(c) The use of the typology of two missions in six factions

R. E. Brown outlines a typology of four kinds of Christianity which overlaps the typology provided here.[80] In the fourth group, more radical in its rejection of Jewish festivals and worship than Paul, Brown identified the Hellenists of Acts 6:1-6 and the Beloved Disciple of the Fourth Gospel. This group, as understood by Brown, lies somewhere between the fifth and sixth factions in our analysis. It seems over simple to place the Hellenists all in one group (faction). Rather they appear to have been spread across what has been described as the fifth and sixth factions, recognizing a spectrum of different positions across the two factions. While the first three factions were intent on maintaining a Jewish identity, factions four to six, especially five and six, threatened to destroy the Jewish identity of the Christian movement. If James the brother of Jesus is the most notable representative of the first three groups then Paul held that position for groups four to six. In the middle Peter and Barnabas appear to hold mediating positions but from either side of the division of the two missions.

The typology of two missions recognized in six factions is obviously a simplification of what was a highly complex historical situation. It gathers nuanced shades of difference into six factions. This inevitably hides overlapping agreements. Where possible we have sought to identify these. The typology is put forward as an advance on the assumed agreement between all parties or the simple polarization of two opposed parties. Aided by the recognition of the tendentious nature of the sources, the evidence of Acts alone alerts us to the more complex situation and the letters of Paul help us to see something of the different positions. Although we are dependent on

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[79] See Painter, *Just James*, 98-102.

[80] Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 1–9.

sources dominated by the Pauline perspective, the role and influence of James emerge as a dominating factor

3. 1 Corinthians: Rivalry between James, Peter and Paul. There are two important references relevant to James in 1 Corinthians. The first is in 9:5 while the second concerns the resurrection appearances in 15:5-8.

(a) 1 Corinthians 9:5: The Role of Wives and Work in the Two Missions

Paul sets up a contrast between himself and Barnabas, on the one hand and the rest of the apostles, the brothers of the Lord and Cephas on the other. Given that Cephas is separated from the reference to the rest of the apostles we should not conclude that the brothers of the Lord are not viewed as apostles. Two things distinguish Barnabas and Paul from the others. The others traveled about with their wives and apparently did not need to work to support themselves but were supported in their mission (see also 1 Cor 9:14). This says nothing explicitly about whether Paul was married or not, though the idiom is strange if he were not. By implication he says that his wife did not travel with him and that it was necessary for him to work to support himself and his mission and the same was true for Barnabas. Perhaps we should say of Paul that he chose to work so that the gospel could be offered free of charge.

Practice was divided on party lines. Those of the circumcision mission traveled with their wives while those of the uncircumcision mission did not. This mention of travel opens up the possibility of the activity of James in the *diaspora.* There is no evidence to confirm this possibility. At Corinth, where Paul comments on the travel practices of the apostles, the Lord's brothers and Cephas, it is important to notice the evidence concerning party strife (1 Cor 1:10-12; 3:3–4:21). There is no mention of James or a James party here but the Cephas party is prominent. Perhaps that is why, of the brothers of the Lord and the apostles mentioned in 1 Cor 9:5, only Cephas is named. This tends to confirm the view suggested by the evidence of Galatians that when Paul encountered opposition from the circumcision mission in the *diaspora* it was associated with Peter although the influence of James might be in the background.

(b) 1 Corinthians 15:5-8: Rival Appearance Traditions

That the James mentioned in 15:7 is the brother of the Lord is readily recognized by commentators. This was already accepted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.12), glossing his reference to 1 Cor 15:7, "He was seen by James—one of the reputed brothers of the Lord . . . ." Given that the appearance of the risen Jesus to Cephas and the twelve is mentioned in that order (15:5), the only James notable enough to be mentioned simply by name is James the brother of the Lord who was the pre-eminent figure in the Jerusalem church in Paul's time. The sequence of appearances is important and there is little doubt that Paul meant this to be understood as a temporal sequence. First to Peter, then to the twelve, then to five hundred brethren at once, then to James, then to all the apostles and last of all to Paul (15:5-8).[81] Many questions remain concerning the list of witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus. Is the list traditional, apart from the reference to Paul? Is the tradition all of a piece or are there layers of tradition?

15:3b-7 is bounded by Paul's formula introduction in 3a and his account of the appearance to himself which is given in the first person and is obviously not traditional. That 15:3b-7 is traditional is supported by:

(a) Similar formulations found in non-Pauline works (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:32ff; Acts 10:42; 2 Tim 2:8; 1 Peter 2:21ff.; 3:18ff.).

(b) The concentration of non-Pauline language and stylistic features in the section.

(c) The section is self-contained.

There are, however, difficult questions to be answered concerning how the tradition in 15:3b-7 came to be in its present form.

(d) Conzelmann argues, however, that the linguistic evidence supports the view that the tradition includes only the appearance to Cephas (consistent with Luke 24:34) and then to the twelve (see Acts 1:22) in verse 5.[82]

(e) Others consider that the earliest tradition includes 15:6a (15:6b is Pauline commentary). Against this Conzelmann argues that 15:6 is a

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[81] The apparent temporal sequence has been questioned but the sequence of first to Peter and last of all to Paul makes unlikely the attempt to read the εἶτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . εἶτα . . . ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων without reference to temporal sequence.

[82] H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Hermeneia: Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 251. Each of the assertions in 15:3b-5 begins with a ὅτι-clause.

new grammatical construction.

(f) 15:7 commences in the same way as 15:6 (ἔπειτα ὤφθη). If the evidence suggests that 15:3b-7 (apart from 6b) is pre-Pauline then it would seem that either 15:6a and 7 belong to the same stratum of the tradition or that 15:7 was modelled on 15:6a. Indeed the appearance to James and all the apostles is part of a sequence beginning with 15:5.

and he appeared (ὤφθη) to Cephas then (εἶτα) to the twelve (15:5);
next (ἔπειτα) he appeared (ὤφθη) to over five hundred brethren at once (15:6a);
next (ἔπειτα) he appeared (ὤφθη) to James then (εἶτα) to all the apostles (15:7).

In each verse (15:5, 6, 7) there is a single use of "he appeared." Like 15:6, 15:7 connects the sequence by the use of "next" which is absent from 15:5 because it comes first in the sequence. But 15:7, like 15:5, describes two appearances although the verb "he appeared" is used only once in each case.

According to Harnack the tradition assumes a first appearance to Cephas in Galilee before appearing to James in Jerusalem subsequent to the appearance to the five hundred brethren at Pentecost.[83] Harnack argued that 15:5 and 15:7 reflect a shift from the leadership of Peter and the twelve in Jerusalem to the leadership of James. Wilhelm Pratscher, building on the work of Harnack, argues that 15:7 is based on 15:5 and is a *Rivalitätsformel* reflecting the rivalry between the followers of James and the followers of Peter/Cephas.[84] Gerd Luedemann develops a similar position but refers to a "legitimization formulae."[85] A complementary position is expressed by Streeter[86] concerning Matt 16:18, "You are Peter . . . ," where it is argued that this formula was not opposed to the authority of Pauline leadership but to the leadership of James and the extreme Judaisers.

In these formulae (1 Cor 15:5, 7) the followers of Cephas and James each asserted that the risen Lord had first appeared their leader. If the original leadership of Cephas is accepted the *Rivalitäts-formel* reflects a change of leadership in the Jerusalem Church. Luedemann fixes the time of this shift between Paul's first and

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[83] A. Harnack, "Die Verklärungsgeschichte Jesus, der Bericht des Paulus [1 Kor 15:3ff.] und die beiden Christusvisionen des Petrus," *SPAW. PH* (1922) 62-80, esp. 62-68.

[84] See Pratscher, *Herrenbruder*, 35-46.

[85] Luedemann, *Opposition to Paul*, 46-52, esp. 51-52.

[86] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 258.

second visits to Jerusalem and appeal has been made to Gal 1:18-19; 2:9 and Acts 12:17 to support this view. Alternatively we have argued that James was leader from the beginning and there was continuing tension between James and Cephas (Gal 2:11-14).

Paul's use of composite tradition does not suggest rivalry *between Cephas and James*. Rivalry is evident, but in its present form it is the distinctive appearance to Paul that is controversial. *In Paul's use* of the tradition, Cephas and James *stand together against* him. The appearances of the risen "Christ" to them were part of the regular order while Paul was forced to argue for the validity of the irregular appearance to himself. This is reflected in the formula introduction ("last of all") and the extended explanation (15:8-10). Luedemann correctly argues, however, that the use made of the tradition by Paul does not preclude another context and use of the tradition at its source.[87]

Understood as an alternative tradition, 15:7 asserts that the foundational appearance was to James. This is supported by the quotation from the Gospel to the Hebrews translated by Jerome, *De Vir. Inlus.* 2: "But the Lord, after he had given his grave clothes to the servant of the priest, appeared to James . . . ." In the place of the twelve, 1 Cor 15:7 mentions "all of the apostles" who (contrary to the view of Harnack) are to be understood as more inclusive than the twelve though still a restricted group which does not include Paul. His exceptional commissioning is yet to be narrated. When Paul does narrate it he claims the title of apostle, noting the exceptional circumstances (15:8-10), which is the reason why his apostleship was not universally recognised.

The formulation of neither 15:5 nor that of 15:7 specifically says "first to Cephas," "first to James." Had this been the case in the tradition, Paul would need to have assimilated the two confessions into a comprehensive list including both Cephas and James because there cannot be two firsts in the same series. The argument assumes that in each case a first appearance is claimed, on the one hand to Cephas and on the other to James and that the claims were made by rival groups claiming priority for their own leader. While an *underlying* tension between James and Cephas is evident, Paul saw them as part of the common circumcision mission in which the

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[87] Luedemann, *Opposition*, 52-53.

overriding authority of James was evident.

Although Cephas and James stand close together as representatives of the circumcision party, evidence of a leadership struggle surrounds these two figures. Historically it is likely that James was the first leader of the Jerusalem Church. The prominent missionary role of Peter makes him a prominent figure of the Jerusalem church alongside James. But they played different roles. In the light of the emergence of the Gentile mission Peter's position became more important and Acts obscures the leadership of James in order to portray the Jerusalem church in terms closer to Peter than James. The emergence of the leading role of Petrine tradition is imposed in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersal of the Jerusalem church.

MATTHEW, PETRINE LEADERSHIP AND THE GENTILE MISSION

It is commonly recognized that Matthew does not follow Mark in his critical presentation of the role of the twelve and of Peter in particular. Matthew does not include the reference to the disciples and their attempt to restrain Jesus (Mark 3:20-21). While Matthew reports Jesus' reference to Peter as Satan (Matt 16:23 = Mark 8:33), which Luke omits, only Matthew has the immediate response of Jesus to Peter's confession of him as the Christ in the following terms.

> Blessed are you Simon son of John, because flesh and blood has not revealed this to you but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to you that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hades will not stand against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. (Matt 16:17-20)

These words, addressed directly to Peter, support a tradition of Petrine leadership even if the scope of that authority is explicitly broadened in another passage peculiar to Matthew. In Matt 18:18 the last part of this saying to Peter, which deals with the authority of binding and loosing, is addressed to all of the disciples who are identified as the audience in Matt 18:1 (cf John 20:23). Nevertheless Matthew upholds the tradition of the leadership of Peter in the Church as the leading representative of "the twelve."

Michael Goulder argues that the Gospels need to be understood in relation to their loyalty to one or other of the two missions. He

argued that Luke and John are Pauline Gospels while Mark and Matthew formed bridges to the Jerusalem mission.[88] This is something of an oversimplification because the two missions were themselves divided into factions of which the Gospels are expressions. Mark does not fit the Jerusalem mission and John must be located independently of Paul. Though embodying traditions shaped by the factions before the Jewish war, the Gospels, Mark excepted, attained their final form in the period following the war.

Matthew is widely thought to be a Jewish Gospel adapted to the situation of the Gentile mission following the Jewish War and as a result of the emergence of Formative Judaism which excluded from the Jewish community those who believed Jesus to be the Messiah.[89] A minority of scholars think of Matthew as a Gentile Gospel.[90] Either way the Gospel, in its final form, is understood as directed to the Gentile mission. I have long taught that Matthew is a Jewish Gospel, from the circumcision mission, proclaiming Jesus as Messiah and taking in a mission to the nations on terms that presuppose the foundational importance of Jewish mission and the maintenance of Jewish identity.

Evidence concerning the circumcision mission comes from Paul and reflects a situation around 50 C.E. If Matthew was written around 85 C.E., can we suppose that a mission based on circumcision and the demands of the law was maintained until this time? That such a mission was sustained, especially in Jerusalem, until the Jewish War scarcely needs to be argued. After the destruction of Jerusalem we might doubt the survival of that mission. If members of the Jerusalem Church were dispersed and faced worsening relations between Jews who believed Jesus to be the Messiah and other Jews, rather than an immediate break down of relations, the continuation of the mission is probable. The pressures of Formative Judaism are likely to have strengthened the resolve of the circumcision mission to maintain fidelity to the Mosaic law rather than making that mission

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[88] Goulder, *Two Missions*, x, 41, 42, 44, 74, 93, 94.

[89] Thus D. C. Allison Jr. and W. D. Davies, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.* Volume I: *Introduction and Commentary on Matthew I–VII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).

[90] Thus G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerichtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 34-35; and K. W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947) 165-72.

irrelevant. Indeed, Justin (*Dial.* 47) provides evidence of the continuing Jewish mission in the second century.

It is generally thought that the *Sitz im Leben* of Matthew was Antioch.[91] An early exponent of this view was B. H. Streeter.[92] In dating Matthew around 85 C.E. in Antioch he paved the way for the contemporary consensus. His understanding of the composition of Matthew provides a basis for understanding conflicting tendencies. He was ahead of his time in asserting the diversity of earliest Christianity, stressing the importance of the different great cities that were centers of Christian community. His *The Four Gospels* was first published in 1924, some years before Walter Bauer's celebrated *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity.* In addition to the sources of Matthew, Streeter identified the special Lukan source (L) from Caesarea around 60 C.E., and the special source of the Lukan infancy narrative, not to speak of the Johannine tradition from Ephesus.[93] He located the major Gospel sources in different cities, interpreting the differences in the sources in relation to the character of Christianity in those cities. Streeter also related the Gospel sources and the Gospels themselves to the factionalism of early Christianity.

Tradition associated with Antioch includes the important "You are Peter . . ." of Matt 16:18. The Greek translation of Q, which Streeter dates around 50 C.E., was probably the original Gospel of Antioch.[94] It is unclear where the Q tradition originated though it was probably by Matthew and written in Aramaic.[95] The M tradition was produced in Jerusalem, expressing the authority of James the Just, the brother of Jesus. James was the leader of the "Palestinian" Christians who zealously observed the law and worshipped in the Temple.[96] At the onset of the Jewish war the Jerusalem Christians fled, some to Pella while others went to Antioch, to which the refugees from the first persecution had fled and where they had founded a church (Acts 11:19-20) which maintained links with Jerusalem (Acts 11:28). It was natural, therefore, for a second wave of refugees to flee to

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[91] See Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, ix, 15, 22-29.

[92] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 16, 500-527; idem, *The Primitive Church*, 58ff. The outline of his views that follows is broadly convincing, though there is room for differing views in detail.

[93] See Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, ix, 44, 50-65.

[94] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 513.

[95] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 232.

[96] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 511-12.

Antioch.

When the Jerusalem refugees came to Antioch they brought with them their collection of the sayings of Jesus (M). This interpretation of the Jesus tradition was a reaction against what was perceived as Petro-Pauline liberalism in relation to Gentile mission and the observance of the law. It came with the authority of James, enhanced by his recent martyrdom in 62 C.E. Antioch, like Corinth, was divided by parties. The James tradition (M) strengthened the party of strict law observers. Previously the pro-Gentile mission party and the Jamesian circumcision, law-keeping party had been held together somewhat artificially and precariously by the Q tradition, which was more or less neutral on the question of Gentile mission and law-keeping. Peter was seen as a middle term between James and Paul in the Antiochene tradition which embodied the slogan of the via media party ascribing the power of binding and loosing to Peter (Matt 16:18ff.).[97] The slogan was not aimed against the leadership of Paul but against the leadership of James and the extreme Judaizers.[98] The coming of the Jerusalem refugees with M upset this delicate balance with an attack on what the Jerusalem refugees perceived to be Petro-Pauline liberalism.

About the same time the Gospel of Mark arrived from Rome and was hailed by the more liberal pro-Gentile party as the Gospel of Antioch's own apostle (Peter).[99] Thus, in Antioch, M and Mark were read side by side, helping to create conditions conducive to conciliation. The process was aided by: (1) A continuing tradition of Christian mission; (2) Awareness that James, Peter and Paul had not repudiated each other and all had been martyred recently; (3) The destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. meant that half of the requirements of the law could no longer be fulfilled, suggesting that Paul may have been right in asserting that Christ supersedes the law; (4) The Jews who stood for the old law had become the bitter enemies of Christians.

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[97] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 514-15.

[98] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 258. The evidence of Gal 2:11-14 suggests that Streeter has not allowed enough room for continuing tension between Peter and Paul and their followers.

[99] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 513. The same effect would have been produced had Mark been perceived as a Pauline Gospel. This seems to be closer to the truth, if Matthew is the Petrine Gospel.

If these points suggest a situation favoring the law-free party, then it needs to be remembered that the Judaistic words of Jesus in M could not be and were not set aside. They were explored and reinterpreted in Matthew's Gospel which made use of a new exegesis in order to reconcile both parties. Here the restriction of mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (M in Matt 10:6) was made to apply only to the time of Jesus' ministry, while the universal mission was commanded after the resurrection of Jesus (Matt 28:19-20). J. P. Meier, amongst others, now adopts this position. That universal mission is also foreshadowed in Matt 8:11. The five discourses of Matthew do, however, parallel the five books of the law and give expression to the teaching tradition of M with its demands. This tension makes good sense when seen to be an expression of the *practice* of Jesus, supported by James in relation to the practice of the later church which was based on the position of Peter.

Streeter situates Matthew as a response to Jewish persecution subsequent to the Jewish war and at a time of imminent apocalyptic end expectation.[100] In relation to his sources Matthew increases the stress on imminence (Matt 10:23; 24:29; 26:64) and reference to the end of the age with its trauma and "weeping and gnashing of teeth" (six times in Matthew, once in Luke and nowhere in the rest of the New Testament). The anti-Christ remains personal in Matthew and may well be associated with expectation of Nero *redivivus*. Three pretenders are known in 69, 80 and 89 C.E.

The evidence may suggest that the position of the Jerusalem Church (Peter) became dominant in Antioch after the Jewish War, perhaps as a consequence of the dispersal of (some members of) the Jerusalem Church to Antioch and in the face of the growing influence of Formative Judaism. Thus only after the Jewish war were the more radical demands of the position of James successfully exerted at Antioch and then they were moderated in their effect by the influence of Peter. Even this was understood in the context of the Pauline legacy of continuing active universal mission.

Evidence to support the *composition* of Matthew in Antioch is not as clear or convincing as evidence of its use.[101] Ignatius certainly

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[100] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 518, 523.

[101] A. F. Segal ("Matthew's Jewish Voice," in D. L. Balch [ed.], *Social History of the Matthean Community* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991] 26-29) argues for a Galilean

knew and used Matthew.[102] But by the time of Ignatius (a date between 105 and 135 C.E. is appropriate[103]) it is likely that Matthew was widely used. Problems also emerge in the attempt to show that the form of Christianity at Antioch provides an intelligible *Sitz im Leben* for that Gospel.

> The broad social and religious context reflected in Ignatius is not all that sets Ignatius apart from the Gospel of Matthew. The theological climate in which Ignatius worked also had undergone a sea of change.[104]

Clearly there is no straight line of development from Matthew to Ignatius either in terms of the situation reflected in Matthew and the Antioch of the time of Ignatius or in terms of the theology of Matthew and of Ignatius. The continuing influence of Paul on Ignatius (see *Eph.* 12:2) sets him apart from Matthew so that it must be said that the tradition of reading Matthew as mediated to Ignatius has lost its Judaizing edge. By then the influence of the M tradition had been thoroughly assimilated to the Petrine position and even that had been swallowed up and read in the light of the universal mission of the Great church. Indeed, a case can be made for understanding Ignatius' attack on Judaisers as aimed at Christians, "uncircumcised Gentiles who have developed an interest in things Jewish."[105] That Matthew was not read from an anti-Pauline perspective also suggests that the conflict with Paul lay in the distant past when it was first read in Antioch.

Matthew is an expression of the Petrine tradition, reinforcing Petrine leadership against traditions which sought to maintain the leadership of the family of Jesus and against the Pauline understanding of Christianity. This differs from Streeter's view of a Petro-Pauline alliance at Antioch by distancing Peter from Paul, giving full weight to the conflict between Peter and Paul expressed in Gal 2:11-14 and in 1 Corinthians.

Matthew's understanding of the gospel is an expression of the

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origin of Matthew, as does J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

[102] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 504-507; W. R. Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch," in Balch [ed.], *Social History of the Matthean Community*, 154, 175.

[103] Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch," 130.

[104] Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch," 151.

[105] Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch," 144-45.

circumcision mission and a reconciliation of the positions of both Peter and James. Consistent with James and Peter, Matthew maintains a law-based mission but, following Petrine practice the finished Gospel directs that mission to the nations. Nevertheless Matthew preserves more adequately than any other source the way James interpreted the teaching of Jesus. For this reason a discussion of the law in Matthew is critical for an understanding of James. James' view of the continuing role of the law was not simply strategic, to facilitate the mission to the Jewish people, but is bound up with the call to Israel to be a holy people whose holiness is defined by law observance.

THE LAW IN MATTHEW

1. Matthew and M. Matthew 5:17-20 programatically sets out Matthew's understanding of the law in opposition to Formative Judaism and Pauline Christianity.

> Do not suppose that I have come to destroy the law and the prophets; I have not come to destroy but to fulfil. Truly I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, one *iota* or one *keraia* shall certainly not pass away from the law, until all things are fulfilled.[106] Whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches the same to men, he will be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever does and teaches (these commandments) this person will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.[107] For I say to you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will certainly not enter the kingdom of heaven. (Matt 5:17-20).

John P. Meier and others think that the qualification "until all these things are fulfilled" means that, in Matthew's interpretation of the teaching of Jesus, some aspects of the Jewish law were no longer in force, being already fulfilled, at least subsequent to the resurrection of Jesus if not as a consequence of the ministry of Jesus. The conflict between the command of Matt 10:6, which restricts the mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the command to embark on a universal mission in 28:19-20 is also explained on the basis that the

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[106] Compare Luke 16:17 and see Matt 24:35 = Mark 13:31 = Lk 21:33 for a comparable saying about the words of Jesus.

[107] Streeter (*The Four Gospels*, 256-57) sees the criticism aimed at Paul, while the praise has James the Just in view. H. D. Betz (*Essays on the Sermon on the Mount* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985] 20) agrees that Paul is the target of Matt 5:17-20.

resurrection has intervened bringing about that change. But those who adopt this view have not taken account of the fact that Matthew provides no instance of a *biblical law* that has passed away. Rather Matthew's interpretation provides an understanding of the intensified demands of the law.

Here Matthew is fighting on two fronts. He is confronting the continuing challenge of Pauline Christianity as perceived in his time. Paul and his contemporary (with Matthew) successors are portrayed as those who do not keep the commandments and teach others to break them as well (Matt 5:19 and cf. Acts 21:21). Streeter is right in seeing this criticism aimed against Paul while the praise has James the Just in view. This strand of tradition, which is peculiar to Matthew (M), stems from James and Jerusalem but became embodied in what was to become ultimately a Petrine Gospel.

While Paul was a target of the M tradition, the primary target of the criticism in Matthew is the group described as the scribes and Pharisees who, in Matthew's time, are represented by Formative Judaism. In response to the criticism of Formative Judaism, Matthew makes clear that loyalty to the law is fundamental for the followers of Jesus and Formative Judaism falls under the critique of Jesus' understanding of the law according to Matthew. Robert H. Gundry argues that Matthew's "antithetical manner puts distance between Matthew's community and anything recognizably Judaistic."[108] This argument overlooks that, in spite of the antithetical form, the antitheses are not against the law. They do not advocate breaking or dispensing with the law but are intensifications of it. The righteousness of disciples must exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees. This means a more stringent interpretation of the demands of the law, a view expressed in material that is largely peculiar to Matthew (M).

The more stringent interpretation of the law is given in the six antitheses of Matt 5:21-48. Some of the antitheses, and the adversative form of all, are peculiar to Matthew (M). The adversative form, "You have heard that it was said to those of old . . . *But I say to you* . . ." suggests that the position of Jesus is new and is *opposed* to the

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[108] R. H. Gundry, "A Responsive Evaluation of the Social History of the Matthean Community in Roman Syria," in Balch (ed.), *Social History of the Matthean Community*, 65.

old position which is to be found in the law.[109] It is, to some extent, misleading. Certainly it gives expression to a polemical position but the old is opposed only in one sense. The law, *as interpreted by Formative Judaism*, was opposed by the law as interpreted by the Matthean Jesus. Matthew does not propose *breaking* the law as interpreted by "those of old," though he distances Jesus from the tradition of the elders (15:1-20) which represents an aspect of the position of Formative Judaism. Nevertheless, Matthew proposes a more radical and demanding interpretation of the law and this is foreshadowed in the demand:

> Unless your righteousness exceeds the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees you will not enter the kingdom of heaven. (Matt 5:20)

The antitheses set out the demand for greater righteousness. There is nothing here to suggest any relaxation of the demands of the law. Matthew opposes only in the sense of going beyond, not going against, the biblical laws.

2. Matthew and Mark. Matthew 10:1-16 is based on Mark 6:6b-13. In Matthew's account of the sending out of the twelve, Jesus commands the disciples

> Do not go into a way of the Gentiles, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (Matt 10:5-6)

They are commanded to announce the arrival of the kingdom of heaven (Matt 10:7), to heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, and cast out demons (10:8) and to restrict the scope of their mission to Israel (10:5-6). That this expresses one understanding of the circumcision mission is confirmed by the fact that this command is peculiar to Matthew. It represents a distinctively Matthaean interpretation of the Markan tradition (6:7-13). The restriction of the mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel is a reflection of the Jerusalem mission of the James faction. In Matthew this came to be understood as a limitation restricted to the time of the mission of Jesus. Matthew understood that the mission was extended to the nations after the resurrection of Jesus but was based on the necessity

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[109] (1) Matt 5:21 and Exod 20:13; 21:12; Deut 5:17; Lev 24:17; (2) Matt 5:27 and Exod 20:14; Deut 5:18; (3) Matt 5:31 and Deut 24:1; (4) Matt 5:33 and Lev 19:12; Num 30:2; Deut 23:21; (5) Matt 5:38 and Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21; (6) Matt 5:43 and Lev 19:18.

of circumcision and the keeping of the law, which was the position of the Petrine faction.

3. Matthew and Q. Matthew 11:12-13 = Luke 16:16 stands in tension with the distinctively Matthean Matt 5:17-20. This might be explained in terms of Matthew's failure to reconcile conflicting tendencies in the rather neutral Q with the Judaistic M.

> From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and violent people attack it. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John . . .

First, we note the form of this Q saying in Luke 16:16:

> The law and the prophets were until John; from then on the kingdom of God is preached and every one violently enters into it.

Matthew and Luke have treated this saying quite differently. Matthew has placed it in the context of his account of Jesus' witness to the role and significance of John the Baptist (Matt 11:7-19). Matthew's composition brings together John the Baptist and Jesus, shaping the Q saying to set John the Baptist on the side of fulfillment with Jesus, not with the law and the prophets. This is made clear by the identification of John the Baptist with the eschatological coming of Elijah at this point (Matt 11:14, which is without parallel in Luke). Matthew also presents the message of the Baptist in exactly the same terms as the message of Jesus. Both are messengers of the kingdom preaching:

> Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. (Matt 3:2; 4:17)

For Matthew this means that John the Baptist has been moved in the direction of the new order. He is not the last representative of the old but a representative of the new order. But this can only be done by Matthew moving his understanding of Jesus in the direction of the old order at the same time. This is clear in the way Matthew treats Jesus' interpretation of the law. It is also to be found in the continuity between John and Jesus as messengers of cataclysmic judgement.

4. Matthew and Mark. Matthew 15:1-20 is based on Mark 7:1-23. The incident described here illuminates Jesus' attitude to purity regulations and the way this has been handled in developing tradition. A discussion between Jesus and his disciples arose on the basis of a saying made to the crowd (Matt 15:11). Jesus then

explained to the disciples that nothing entering into a person defiles a person (15:17-19). In both Matthew and Mark the saying arose from an incident in which the disciples were criticized by the scribes and Pharisees for eating with unwashed hands. This was a breach of Pharisaic tradition (the tradition of the elders) rather than the written (scriptural) law.

Differences caused by Matthew's editing are illuminating. Although Matthew, like Mark, notes that the washing of hands before eating is a tradition of the Elders, he omits Mark's reference to the fact that this practice is observed by the Pharisees and all the Jews (Mark 7:3). Because Matthew rejected this tradition without repudiating his Jewishness, it was in his interest to reduce the weight of Jewish support for it. Although Matthew shares (with Mark) the argument put forward by Jesus that food that goes into the belly and passes out of the body cannot defile a person, but rather what proceeds out of the heart defiles a person, the conclusions that are explicitly drawn by Matthew and Mark are quite different. In both Gospels the argument was put forward to counter the accusation arising from the failure of the disciples to observe the tradition of the Elders. The explicit conclusion, drawn by the Markan narrator, was that, by his argument, Jesus had declared all food to be clean (Mark 7:19). Thus Mark asserts that Jesus rejected the Jewish food laws. This is Markan redaction. It is absent from Matthew, who has limited the application of the saying of Jesus to the specific matter under discussion, whether hand washing before eating was a religious necessity.

Given that Matthew has made use of Mark, we must assume that Matthew has rejected Mark's conclusion. The explicit conclusion drawn by Matthew that "to eat with unwashed hands does not defile a person" (Matt 15:20), is explicitly absent from Mark, though it is implied. Matthew, committed still to a law-based mission, could not follow Mark in this any more than could James. Matthew's rejection of Mark's conclusion implies the continuing force of the food laws for Matthew and his community, confirming that we have a form of mission based on circumcision and the observance of the law as understood in Matthew's presentation of Jesus' interpretation of it.

If we interpret Jesus' words (Matt 15:11,17-20) along the lines often taken with "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6; Ps 40:6), Matthew may have understood the words of Jesus to mean that

immorality *also* defiles. But if this line is taken, it is difficult to see how the saying of Jesus relates at all to the requirement of hand washing.

5. Matthew and Mark. Matthew 15:21-28 is based on Mark 7:24-30. A good example of the *exceptional* practice of Jesus is found in the story of the Greek Syro-Phonecian woman (Mark 7:24–30) whereas in Matthew 15:21–28 she is called a Canaanite woman. According to the Markan version the blessings of the ministry of Jesus *overflow* to the nations but Israel has priority. This is evident in the report of the words of Jesus, "First permit the children to be satisfied."[110] It is not likely that the story has come from the Gentile church because the Gentiles are referred to as "dogs" (Mark 7:27). In spite of this derogatory reference in the story, Jesus affirms that in due course they (the Gentiles) will be fed. Further, the woman's persistent faith evoked from Jesus the response for which she hoped. Her daughter was healed immediately and without waiting for the children first to be fed. In Mark what is exceptional in the incident is its timing. The woman's faith, expressed in her saying (Mark 7:28-29), brought about the exorcism of her daughter *before* Jesus' mission to Israel had been completed.

Matthew's perspective is different. Matthew adds to the Markan story the saying of Jesus, "I was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Whereas Mark qualified Jesus' mission in terms of the order, first Israel and then the nations, Matthew asserts that Jesus' mission was exclusively directed towards Israel. This view is consistent with the way James perceived his responsibility for mission. He maintained a mission to Israel in a way that preserved Jewish identity. Matthew also acknowledged that the persistent and exceptional *faith* of the woman was rewarded by the granting of her request and has Jesus pronounce, "Woman, great is your faith, let it be to you as you will" (Matt 15:28). Matthew recognized the overflow of the blessings of the messianic ministry of Jesus beyond Israel to the Canaanite woman but marks this as exceptional. As exceptional it provided no *precedent*. Nevertheless it is in such an incident that the *possibility* of mission to the nations has its basis. The blessings of Abraham were to overflow to the nations (Gen 12:1-3). In the long

[110] Is this an expression of the Pauline principle of "To the Jew first . . ." (Rom 1:16; 2:9, 10; cf. Acts 13:46)?

run Matthew recognized the mission to the nations based on observance of the law as Jesus had expounded it (28:19-20). Peter and others extended the law based mission to the nations in the regions beyond, thus reflecting a position somewhat different from James'. The place of the limited requirements of the Jerusalem decree appears to be in relation to Gentile converts of the Pauline mission. Salvation was not dependent on circumcision and law observance. The minimal requirements are enshrined in the decree. For James and Peter, full fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers presupposed circumcision and law observance.

The Pauline position was an extension of the exceptional action of Jesus, which did not wait until Israel first enjoyed the blessings and was satisfied before extending the blessings to the nations. Paul concluded that Israel's rejection of the blessings provided the nations with their opportunity. This was not meant to exclude Israel from the blessings. Rather the inclusion of the nations was intended to lead to the inclusion of Israel as well (Romans 9–11). At least this was Paul's hope.

But what of Israel's law? Was it to be set aside in the mission to the nations? It is clear, even in Matthew, that the blessings intended for Israel overflowed to the Canaanite woman on the basis of her faith alone.[111] Purity rules were ignored in Jesus' relationship with her, especially in the imagery of the sharing of a meal together, even if it is only crumbs which fall from the table that are eaten by the dogs. Of course this is imagery of the overflow of blessings and nothing suggests that Jesus shared table fellowship with the woman and her daughter. Nevertheless the radical nature of the imagery of even this minimal sharing of food should not be overlooked.[112] Though in the story the image was created by the woman, Jesus so approved of the saying that he granted the woman's wish (Matt 15:28). Of course there is no suggestion of impure food because it is the crumbs from the children's table that come to the "dogs." It is the image of sharing food that poses the problem. It may be no

[111] This Markan motif was not fully assimilated by Matthew. Though he stressed that Jesus' mission was to Israel alone and emphasized the exceptional nature of Jesus' action in this case, the basis for his action remains the woman's faith alone and without reference to the requirements of the law.

[112] It is unlikely that Matthew, with his sensitivity to such issues, missed this radical implication.

coincidence that, in the Cornelius story, Peter's vision concerns impure animals that he is commanded to kill and eat (Acts 10). Again, this story is not really about food but about the assumption that Gentiles are impure and therefore excluded from the blessings of the gospel.

Mark portrays the freedom of Jesus in moving amongst people considered to be unclean: notorious sinners, lepers, the demon possessed. Jesus was not scrupulous in his observance of the Sabbath. It is not that he went out of his way to break purity and sabbath observance but, according to Mark, these rules did not have high priority in his mission.

6. Matthew and redaction: Matthew 28:19-20. That the mission, though based on circumcision and observance of the law, also had Gentiles in view is made clear by the narrative of the resurrection appearance and commission of the eleven disciples (28:16) by Jesus. The form of the commission is distinctive to Matthew.[113] Coming as it does at the conclusion of the Gospel, it is strongly redactional and expresses the point of view of the finished Gospel. Jesus commands the eleven to "go and make disciples of all the nations." If the Jews are included in the description "all the nations," it is also clear that the mission cannot be confined to Israel, as was the case in Matt 10:5-6. The earlier restriction of the mission must now be understood as applying only to the time of Jesus' ministry. The form of the later commission not only signals the scope of the mission of the Matthean community but also sets out the manner and assumptions of the mission. The specific terms of the commission should be carefully examined. There is no command here to *proclaim the gospel* to all people. Rather the command is: (1) "Make disciples of all nations." Focus on the new universalism of the mission has obscured what the mission was to accomplish. It is not the proclamation of the gospel but the communication of a life style to which the nations are to conform. (2) "Baptizing them." Baptism was important for the Matthean community, but there is nothing to suggest that it took the place of circumcision. Rather the demand for the greater righteousness implies that the requirement of baptism was an additional, not an alternative requirement. (3) "Teaching them to observe all" the commandments of Jesus. This signals a law based mission where the

[113] For comparable sayings, see John 20:21; Acts 1:8.

commands of Jesus are to be found in his interpretation of the law in Matthew. This interpretation is an intensified understanding of the demands of the law.

Overall this position was true of both Peter and James though the active mission to the nations reflects the ultimate dominance of Peter's approach. Matthew provides an approach which incorporates tradition from James in such a way as to support Petrine leadership and to legitimate a law based mission to the nations. It is unlikely that Matthew would have survived in what became a dominantly Gentile church unless an alternative reading was possible. That this happened is supported by Ignatius who refers to Gentile Judaizers who seem to have been Christians.[114] They read Matthew in a way relevant to what had become a Gentile church and for which the teaching of Jesus had become a new law. In this new setting many of the "ritual" elements of the Jewish law were disregarded, perhaps because Matthew was now read in circles that were not free from the influence of Paul. It was not noticed that Matthew did not share Paul's critique of the law and no alternative rationale was sought for the abandonment of circumcision, Jewish food laws and other aspects of the law.

The differing roles of James and Paul pose the question of which of these two stands closer to the mind and practice of Jesus. The evidence of the Gospels suggests that James, in limiting his active role in mission to the Jews, was consistent with the *practice* of Jesus for whom, according to the Gospels (which reflect the reality of the mission to the nations), mission beyond the people of Israel was exceptional.

James, centered in Jerusalem with a focus on the mission to the Jews, had every right to think that his approach to mission was true to the mission of Jesus and that the mission of Paul was without adequate precedent in the *practice* of Jesus. Such evidence as there is in favor of Paul's position is complex and can be employed only with difficulty. Much of this evidence is found in accounts of exceptional encounters and incidents which may be suspected of having been shaped by the early Christian community. Nevertheless the most likely reading of this evidence suggests that Jesus was not strictly observant of Jewish purity laws and it can be argued that the law-

[114] Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch," 144-45.

free mission to the nations is an extension of the logic arising from this aspect of the exceptional *practice* of Jesus.

Acts attempts to bring together radically different perceptions of the mission of Jesus.[115] Acts does this from the perspective of the actuality of the successful mission to the nations. An exclusive mission to the Jews is not held out as a realistic possibility. From this perspective Acts does not adequately reveal the serious attempt of a significant proportion of the Jerusalem church to maintain a law-based mission. The author of Acts has obscured the significant conflicts which occurred in the interest of presenting a more or less unified movement and one that could be thought of as continuous with the church of all the nations that had emerged by the last decade of the first century. The situation before the death of James and the Jewish war was quite different from this and Acts has had to adopt strategies to bridge significant gaps.

Acts is an attempt to hold together the position of the church of all nations towards the end of the first century with the position of the mother church of Jerusalem between 30 and 60 C.E. It is an attempt to bring together the *regular* practice of Jesus, which was the basis of the position of James and the Jerusalem church, with the position of Paul which was rooted in the exceptional practice of Jesus who at times broke through the boundaries of Jewish law, enabling the benefits of his mission to reach the outcasts of Israel and even beyond to the nations.[116] Luke acknowledged the differing approaches to mission, especially between Jerusalem and Antioch and sought to hold the two together. The actual problem was more serious because even Jerusalem and Antioch were not unified, being subject to further divisions in reaction to policy on mission.

In this context James was a significant and far sighted leader whose

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[115] Jacob Neusner's understanding of Israel as a holy people sanctified by the presence of the law which called for separation from all that is impure is set against the understanding of Israel called to mission for the salvation of the world (see his "Israel's Gentile problem"). Into this analysis we need to insert the new element that salvation is now dependent on faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Nevertheless, the role of the law is not necessarily swept aside, especially for those who see Israel called to holiness.

[116] Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God might also have provided some basis for the Pauline mission. It was relevant to the poor and oppressed, the sick and the suffering; it entailed the overthrow of the forces of evil and the renewal of life in the fulfillment of God's purpose for *human destiny*.

strategy was to preserve the mission to his own people. History proved his worst fears concerning the Pauline mission to be correct. The mission to the nations ensured the ultimate failure of the circumcision mission.

THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES: BISHOP OF BISHOPS IN THE CHURCH OF THE HEBREWS

In their present form the Pseudo-Clementines are not earlier than the late fourth century. They are in two main parts, the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions.*[117] An overlap between the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* in which first the one and then the other seems to preserve the original text, suggests that the two works are dependent on a common *Grundschrift.* Georg Strecker argued that the *Grundschrift* made use of earlier works including the *Ascents of James* and *Kerygmata Petrou* which he identifies as late second century Jewish Christian sources written in Pella and Syria respectively.

What is important for our study of James and Peter is the evidence concerning the overwhelming authority of James in Jerusalem. While the terminology is anachronistic, James is named as bishop and archbishop and addressed as "my Lord," the leadership of James is abundantly clear. From Jerusalem he directed not only the church in Jerusalem but also the mission to the regions beyond. Indeed, all teaching needed to be authorized by him.

Peter, the leader of the law observant mission, cautions his hearers concerning false apostles, "believe no teacher, unless he brings from Jerusalem the testimonial of James the Lord's brother, or whosoever may come after him" (*Recognitions* 4.35). He ascribes to James the authority to authenticate the credentials of all teachers, making James the supreme authority in the early church.

Peter addressed a letter "to James, the lord and bishop of the holy Church" and addresses him as "my brother" (*Ep.P.*). The stated purpose of the letter was to request that James not reveal the teaching/preaching of Peter to any untried and uninitiated Gentile or Jewish teachers but to follow the practice of Moses who delivered his books to the seventy who succeeded him.[118] The stated reason for

[117] For a more detailed discussion, see Painter, *Just James*, 187-98.
[118] See Num 11:16, 25.

this concern was that "some from among the Gentiles have rejected my lawful preaching, attaching themselves to certain lawless and trifling preaching of the man who is my enemy." This strong anti-Pauline motif is related to the special tradition in Matthew often designated "M."

> Some have attempted while I am still alive, to transform my words by certain various interpretations, in order to teach the dissolution of the law; as though I myself were of such a mind, but did not freely proclaim it, which God forbid! For such a thing were to act in opposition to the law of God which was spoken by Moses, and was borne witness to by our Lord in respect of its eternal continuance; for thus he spoke: "The heavens and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law."

The quotation is from Matt 5:18 which is from the special M material, a tradition which represents James and Jerusalem and is here affirmed by Peter. The difference between Peter and James in the Pseudo-Clementines is that James maintained the Jewish mission centered in Jerusalem while Peter extended the law-based mission to the Gentiles. That Peter affirms a law-based mission against the Pauline law-free mission is clear. The role of the seventy is also important, linking up with other works related to James.[119] Here the explicit link with Moses is spelt out in terms of safeguarding the law-based mission.

James emerges, especially in the section dependent on the *Ascents*, as the bishop and leader of the Jerusalem church (1.62.2; 68.2; 70.3); whose authority derived directly from the risen Lord and encompassed the twelve (1.43.3; 44.1) including Peter (1.72.1). While not denying the leadership of James, the tradition of the Great church was eager to couple the apostles with the Lord as the source of the authority of James as can be seen in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.19). But in the *Ascents* James also has responsibility for the early Christian mission and he is depicted as an apologist to the Jews, seeking their conversion (1.70-71). Characteristically James is opposed by Saul of Tarsus (1.70-71) and this motif has played an important role in the history of the study of a distinctive Jewish Christianity, becoming one of the defining characteristics.

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[119] See especially Clement of Alexandria (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.4) and the *First Apocalypse of James* where Addai, identified with Thaddeus, is named in the chain of transmission of higher knowledge.

Given that this form of Jewish Christianity was manifest in the second half of the second century the question is raised as to its relationship to the original Jewish Christianity of the Jerusalem Church. Johannes Munck and S. G. F. Brandon argued that authentic Jewish Christianity did not survive the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.[120] The evidence suggests, however, that significant continuity exists between James and the Pharisaic believers of Acts 15:1, 5 and the Jewish Christians of the sources of the Pseudo-Clementines. Had the way of James prevailed it is unlikely that Christianity would have emerged as a religion separate from Judaism. Rather James looked to winning Jews to faith in Jesus the Messiah, who was to come again in judgement. This understanding of the position of James is supported by the account in Acts and the letters of Paul, as well as the evidence of Hegesippus and the Pseudo-Clementines. While the Petrine mission extended to Gentiles, it did so on a law observant basis. Here also the Pseudo-Clementines seem to have preserved historical tradition. The portrayal of Paul, however, reflects a time when the rift between Jewish Christianity and the church of all nations has become final and Paul is portrayed as the villain of the peace.

[120] S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London: SPCK, 1957); and J. Munck, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times," *NTS* 6 (1960) 103-16.

A FISHING BOAT, A HOUSE, AND AN OSSUARY
WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE ARTIFACTS?

Craig A. Evans

TEXTS, ARTIFACTS, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The papers in the present volume were read and discussed in various settings from 1999 to 2002. When the 2002 conference convened, the public was just beginning to learn of the discovery of an ossuary that may have contained the remains of James, the brother of Jesus. The uproar that ensued was predictable, but the amount of thought given to the value and relevance of artifacts in the task of historiography and interpretation has been interesting and on the whole quite useful.

There have been several other archaeological finds that have had direct bearing on the world in which early rabbinic Judaism and Christianity emerged. A brief review is in order. In 1871 Charles S. Clermont-Ganneau found a limestone block, on which was inscribed a warning to Gentiles to stay out of the perimeter surrounding the Jewish Sanctuary.[1] The warning coincides with statements made by Josephus (*J.W.* 5.5.2 §193-194; cf. 6.2.4 §124-128; *Ant.* 15.2.5 §417; *Ag. Ap.* 2.8 §103) and Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium* 31 §212) and provides a clarifying backdrop to the story of Paul's trouble in the Temple precincts (cf. Acts 21:27-36), to the Pauline assertion that in Christ the dividing wall has been broken down (cf. Eph 2:14-15), and probably also to the story of Jesus' demonstration years earlier in these same precincts (cf. Mark 11:15-18 and parallels).

In 1878 a marble slab surfaced in Nazareth, on which was inscribed Caesar's edict forbidding tampering with sepulture. In 1925 it was sent to Paris, and a few years later Franz Cumont

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[1] Initially announced in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (1871) 132; cf. C. S. Clermont-Ganneau, "Une stèle du temple de Jérusalem," *Revue archéologique* 28 (1872) 214-34 (esp. 220), 290-96 + pl. X. See also J. Derenbourg, "Une stèle du temple d'Hérode," *Journal asiatique* 20 (1872) 178-95. A fragment of a second inscription was found in 1935; cf. J. H. Iliffe, "The θάνατος Inscription from Herod's Temple: Fragment of a Second Copy," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 6 (1936) 1-3 + pls. I-II. For other editions of the inscription(s), see *OGIS* no. 598; *CIJ* no. 1400; *SEG* VIII no. 169.

published and commented on its text.[2] Although it is not certain, most think the inscription dates to the reign of Augustus.[3] Because the edict specifically forbids transferring bodies from one grave to another, some scholars think it may have relevance for the Gospel story of Jesus' burial and the discovery of the empty tomb, especially with regard to the story that circulated (whatever its origin) that the disciples may have illegally removed the body of Jesus (Matt 27:62-66; 28:11-15).[4]

In 1956 Józef Tadeusz Milik published an ossuary inscription, in which the word *qorban* ("gift") appears: "Everything that a man will find to his profit in this ossuary (is) an offering (קרבן) to God from the one within it."[5] A few years later Joseph Fitzmyer published a study, in which he rightly perceived the relevance of this inscription for Jesus' debate with some Pharisees over the authority of oral traditions (Mark 7:9-13, esp. v. 11).[6]

In 1968 an ossuary was discovered that contained the bones of a man, one Yehohanan, who had been crucified. Amazingly, an iron spike, with fragments of wood still attached, was found in the right heel bone (or *calcaneum*).[7] The ossuary and its contents have been

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[2] F. Cumont, "Un rescrit impérial sur la violation de sépulture," *Revue historique* 163 (1930) 241-66. See *SEG* VIII no. 13.

[3] See Cumont, "Un rescrit impérial," 265; F. de Zulueta, "Violation of Sepulture in Palestine at the Beginning of the Christian Era," *Journal of Roman Studies* 22 (1932) 184-97, esp. 186-87.

[4] For further discussion, see B. M. Metzger, "The Nazareth Inscription Once Again," in Metzger, *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (NTTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1980) 75-92; P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE – 700 CE)* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991) 159-60; L. Boffo, "L'ordine imperiale di Nazaret (?) sulla violazione dei sepolcri," in Boffo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1994) 319-33 (for additional bibliography, see pp. 319-20); R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (2 vols., ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994) 2:1293-94.

[5] J. T. Milik, "Trois tombeaux juifs récemment découverts au Sud-Est de Jérusalem," *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 7 (1956–57) 232-39.

[6] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Qorbân Inscription from Jebel Hallet et-Tûrî and Mk 7:11/Mt 15:5," *JBL* 78 (1959) 60-65; repr. in Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971; repr. as SBLSBS 5; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 93-100. For two more ossuary inscriptions that mention *qorban*, see M.-J. Lagrange, "Epigraphie sémitique," *RB* 2 (1893) 220-22 ("for the fire, a gift [*qorban*]—Martha").

[7] See N. Haas, "Anthropological Observations on the Skeletal Remains from Giv'at ha-Mivtar," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 38-59; J. Naveh, "The Ossuary Inscriptions from Giv'at ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 33-37; V. Tzaferis, "Jewish Tombs at

dated to the administration of Pontius Pilate. At the very least the ossuary provides evidence that during peace-time proper Jewish burial, followed by ossilegium (i.e., the placement of the bones of the deceased into an ossuary), was permitted in the case of a crucified criminal.[8]

In 1971 Amos Kloner discovered an ossuary, in which were inscribed the words שׁל בי דוד ("belonging to the house of David").[9] This inscription provides significant artifactual support of literary evidence that presupposes the existence of Jews in late antiquity who believed that they were descendants of Israel's great king (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.12-13, 19-20; *m. Ta'an.* 4:5).

Other finds may relate directly to figures mentioned in the New Testament. These include one Alexander, son of Simon, possibly from Cyrene (on ossuary lid: אלכסנדרוס קרנית ["Alexander, the Cyrenite"]; on ossuary side: 'Αλέξανδρος Σίμωνος ["Simon (son) of Alexander"]).[10] If so (and the reading is disputed), this person may well be the son of the man who carried Jesus' cross (Mark 15:21:

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and near Giv'at ha-Mivtar," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 18-32, esp. 20-27; Y. Yadin, "Epigraphy and Crucifixion," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 18-22 + plate; H.-W. Kuhn, "Der Gekreuzigte von Giv'at ha-Mivtar: Bilanz einer Entdeckung," in C. Andresen and G. Klein (eds.), *Theologia Crucis–Signum Crucis* (Erich Dinkler Festschrift; Tübingen: Mohr, 1979) 303-34; V. Tzaferis, "Crucifixion: The Archaeological Evidence," *BAR* 11.1 (1985) 44-53; J. Zias and E. Sekeles, "The Crucified Man from Giv'at ha-Mivtar: A Reappraisal," *IEJ* 35 (1985) 22-27; J. Zias and J. H. Charlesworth, "Crucifixion: Archaeology, Jesus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 273-89 + plates following p. 184; L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994) no. 218 + plate.

[8] The proper, Jewish burial of Yehohanan stands in tension with the speculation that the bodies of Jesus and the men crucified with him were not buried, but either left hanging on the cross or were cast into a ditch and eaten by animals.

[9] A. Kloner, "A Burial Cave of the Second Temple Period at Giv'at Ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem," *Qadmoniot* 19–20 (1972) 108-9 (Hebrew); idem, "A Burial Cave of the Second Temple Period at Giv'at Ha-Mivtar," in A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport, and M. Stern (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1980) 191-224 (Hebrew), with English abstract on pp. xii-xiii; D. Flusser, *Jesus* (rev. ed., in collaboration with R. S. Notley; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1997) 180-86.

[10] The name is inscribed on an ossuary discovered by E. L. Sukenik in the Kidron Valley in 1941. Sukenik announced the discovery in *BASOR* 88 (1942) 38, but the inscriptions and ossuary descriptions were not fully published for another twenty years. See N. Avigad, "A Depository of Inscribed Ossuaries in the Kidron Valley," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 1-12 + pls. I-IV. See also "Tomb South of the Village of Silwan," in N. Avigad, "Tombs," in E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (4 vols., Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993) 2:750-53, here 753.

"they compelled a passer-by, Simon of Cyrene . . . the father of Alexander and Rufus"). Another Gospel personage is Pontius Pilate, whose name and rank as prefect were found in 1961 inscribed on a stone in Caesarea Maritima: "The Tiberieum of (?) Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judaea, restored(?)."[11] The inscription is part of a dedication that may have had something to do with the refurbishing and expansion of the harbor. But even of greater interest was the discovery in 1990 of a crypt containing ossuaries, on which may be inscribed the name Caiaphas. One inscription is said to read *Yehoseph bar Qyph'* (on ossuary side: [or קופא] יהוסף בר קיפא), is translated "Joseph, son of Caiaphas," and is identified with "Caiaphas" the high priest mentioned in the Gospels (Matt 26:3, 57; Luke 3:2; John 11:49; 18:13, 14, 24, 28; Acts 4:6) and with "Joseph Caiaphas" and "Joseph called Caiaphas" mentioned in Josephus (*Ant.* 18.2.2 §35; 18.4.3 §95).[12]

The crypt of the family of Annas the high priest, father-in-law of Caiaphas, may also have been found in Akeldama. In describing

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[11] For text and attempted restoration of this Latin inscription, see A. Frova, "L'iscrizione di Ponzio Pilato a Cesarea," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 95 (1961) 419-34, esp. 424, with frag. 3 on p. 424; and more recently G. Alföldy, "Pontius Pilatus und das Tiberieum von Caesarea Maritima," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 18 (1999) 85-108, who thinks the building may have been the "seamen's [*nautis*] Tiberieum." One year before the discovery of the inscription, A. H. M. Jones ("Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate," in Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1960] 117-25) had correctly deduced that Pilate's rank was not procurator (*pace* Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44), but prefect.

[12] Z. Greenhut, "Burial Cave of the Caiaphas Family," *BAR* 18.5 (1992) 28-36, 76; idem, "The 'Caiaphas' Tomb in North Talpiyot, Jerusalem," *'Atiqot* 21 (1992) 63-71; and R. Reich, "Caiaphas Name Inscribed on Bone Boxes," *BAR* 18.5 (1992) 38-44, 76; idem, "Ossuary Inscriptions from the 'Caiaphas' Tomb," *'Atiqot* 21 (1992) 72-77; W. R. Domeris and S. M. Long, "The Recently Excavated Tomb of Joseph Bar Caipha and the Biblical Caiaphas," *Journal of Theology for South Africa* 89 (1994) 50-58; Flusser, *Jesus*, 195-206.

According to J. D. Crossan and J. L. Reed, *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2001) 242: "There should be no doubt that the chamber was the resting place of the family of the high priest Caiaphas named in the gospels for his role in the crucifixion, and it's very likely that the elderly man's bones were those of Caiaphas himself." Alas, for several reasons the "Caiaphas" identification is indeed doubtful. The letter transcribed as a consonantal *yod*, which then allows the reading *Qayapha*, is probably a *waw* functioning as a vowel, which accounts for its absence in two other occurrences of the name. The name is probably *Qopha* or *Qupha*. For studies that question the Caiaphas identification, see E. Puech, "A-t-on redécouvert le tombeau du grand-prêtre Caïphe?" *Le monde de la Bible* 80 (1993) 42-47; idem, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, vol. 1 (EBib 21; Paris: Gabald, 1993) 193-95; W. Horbury, "The 'Caiaphas' Ossuaries and Joseph Caiaphas," *PEQ* 126 (1994) 32-48.

Roman siege works, encircling Jerusalem, Josephus states that the wall ascended from Siloam "over against the tomb of the high priest Ananus" (*J.W.* 5.12.2 §506). This tomb may well have been discovered among the tombs and monuments found in Akeldama.[13] It is palatial in size, design, and ornamentation, and at one time was adorned with an impressive superstructure. The quality of this tomb complex and its location (remnants of the siege wall mentioned by Josephus are nearby) support the identification. Indeed, the very resting place of the former high priest (known in the New Testament as Annas) may also have been discovered.

We have archaeological and inscriptional evidence of other high priests in this period, including members of the family of Annas. An ossuary appeared in the antiquities market in 1983, which almost certainly had been looted from a crypt either in Jerusalem or in nearby Hizma. The ossuary's inscription, found on the decorated side of the ossuary, within the middle arch of three arches, identifies the occupant as "Yehohanah, daughter of Yehohanan, son of Theophilus the high priest [בר תפלוס הכהן הגדל]." It is probable that this Theophilus was the son of Annas (or Ananus) and brother-in-law of Caiaphas, appointed to the office of high priest in 37 C.E. by Vitellius, after the recall of Pontius Pilate (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.5.3 §123).[14]

On an ostracon found at Masada (Mas no. 461) inked words read: ח[נני]ה כהנא רבא עקביא בריה ("A[nani]as the high priest, 'Aqavia his son").[15] The inscription may refer to Ananias, son of Nedebaeus, who served as high priest from 47–59 C.E. (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.5.2 §103). This may be the man mentioned in the New Testament, who orders Paul be struck (Acts 23:2-5).

We may have the name of another high priest attested. On a circular stone weight found in the ruins of the "Burnt House" (70

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[13] G. Avni, Z. Greenhut, et al., *The Akeldama Tombs: Three Burial Caves in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem* (IAA Reports 1; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1996); G. Avni, Z. Greenhut, and T. Ilan, "Three New Burial Caves of the Second Temple Period in Aceldama (Kidron Valley)," in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994) 206-18; L. Ritmeyer and K. Ritmeyer, "Akeldama: Potter's Field or High Priest's Tomb?" *BAR* 20.6 (1994) 22-35, 76, 78.

[14] D. Barag and D. Flusser, "The Ossuary of Yehohanah Granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus," *IEJ* 36 (1986) 39-44; Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 871.

[15] Y. Yadin, J. Naveh, and Y. Meshorer, *Masada I: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports. The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions / The Coins of Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989) 37 + pl. 30.

C.E.) in the old city of Jerusalem (not too far from the southwest corner of the Temple Mount) we find inscribed: בר קתרס[ד] ("[of] the son of Qatros"). This may be the family name of one of the ruling priests recalled by later rabbis: "Violent men of the priesthood came and took away (the tithes) by force . . . Concerning these and people like them . . . 'Woe is me because of the House of Boethos [ביתוס]. Woe is me because of their clubs. Woe is me because of the house of Qadros. Woe is me because of their pen. Woe is me because of the house of Hanan (i.e., Annas). Woe is me because of their whispering. Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael ben Phiabi'" (*t. Menah.* 13.19, 21). This activity of violence and theft is also described by Josephus (*Ant.* 20.9.2 §206).

We may also have the name of Boethos, whose name appeared above in the passage cited from the Tosefta. On an ossuary found on the western slope of Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, we find inscribed: בוטין שמעון בוטין ("Boethos. Shim'on, of [the family of] Boethos").[16] Eleazar Sukenik links this inscription and ossuary to the family of Simon, son of Boethos of Alexandria, whom Herod appointed to the high priesthood (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.9.3 §320-322). The Qatros mentioned above may have been his son.

We may have inscriptional evidence of yet another member of the Boethos family. On an ossuary we have "Yoezer, son of Simon" (*CIJ* no. 1354) and on ostraca from Masada we have "Yoezer" (Mas no. 383) and "Simeon ben Yoezer" (Mas no. 466: שמעון בן יועזר).[17] The affiliation of Yoezer and Simeon is significant in light of what Josephus relates: "Jozar [= Yoezer], also a Pharisee, came of a priestly family; the youngest, Simon, was descended from high priests" (*Vita* 39 §197). This "Jozar" may be the same person as Joazar, son of Boethos (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 17.6.4 §164; 18.1.1 §3), who himself served as high priest briefly in 4 B.C.E.

Two interesting inscriptions bearing the name Simon may be mentioned: סמון בנא הכלה ("Simon, builder of the temple")[18] and הב לסמו בניא ("give to Simo [sic] the builder").[19] We immediately think

[16] E. L. Sukenik "A Jewish Tomb Cave on the Slope of Mount Scopus," *Qovetz* 3 (1934) 62-73, here 67 (Hebrew); Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 41. The form בוטין may correspond with the genitive plural Βοηθῶν, meaning "of the Boethians."

[17] Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1966) 96; Yadin, Naveh, and Meshorer, *Masada I*, 40 + pl. 31.

[18] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 200. The ossuary was found at Giv'at Ha-Mivtar in 1968. The inscription occurs a second time on this ossuary, but in Hebrew.

[19] Yadin, Naveh, and Meshorer, *Masada I*, 53 + pl. 46.

of Matt 16:18, where Jesus tells Simon, whom he has nicknamed "Peter," "I will build my church." It is not suggested that either Jesus or the Matthean evangelist alluded to the person mentioned in the inscription. Rather, it may well be that the occupational description, "builder of the temple," served a quasi religious function. Simon and many others were builders of the temple of Jerusalem, a building project that commenced before Jesus was born and which finally concluded some thirty years after his death. Building the temple, therefore, was a constant throughout his lifetime. Perhaps mimicking this way of speaking, as reflected in the Simon ossuary inscription, Jesus declares that his Simon Peter will become the builder of Jesus' church, something parallel to and perhaps in some sense over against the temple.

The value of these artifacts is not apologetic (as so often is claimed); it is contextual and exegetical. For example, the *qorban* inscription clarifies the meaning of the use of this word in Mark 7 and provides important attestation of the practice in Jesus' time of dedicating to divine service one's property. The temple warning lends precision to the warnings, customs, and specific events found in literary sources, while the skeletal remains of the crucified man clarify aspects of this fearful form of execution and the possibility of proper Jewish burial for its victim. The inscription mentioning the house of David does not prove Jesus' Davidic descent, but it does document the reasonableness and intelligibility of such a claim, while the edict against tampering with sepulture sharpens our understanding of burial customs and sensitivities. The Petrine and Jacobean artifacts that are discussed below fit within the general context of the artifacts that have just been surveyed.

TWO PETRINE ARTIFACTS

There are two Galilean "Petrine" artifacts that deserve mention. The first is the so-called house of Peter and the other is the Sea of Galilee boat. The first—the house, in Capernaum—may actually have belonged to Peter, or to his family. The second—the boat, found near Ginosar—almost certainly had no connection to Peter, but it may well represent a type of fishing boat that Peter and his colleagues employed.

The Capernaum Synagogue and the House of Peter

Study of ancient Capernaum commenced in 1838 with the survey of Edward Robinson. He was the first to identify the remains of the synagogue, though he did not realize that the site was ancient Capernaum. In 1866 Charles Wilson identified the site as Capernaum and linked the synagogue to the one mentioned in Luke 7:5, the synagogue built by the Roman centurion.

Regrettably, with the exposure of artifacts and architecture, the site was looted and vandalized. In 1894 the site was secured by the Franciscan Fathers and new excavations were undertaken in 1905. The synagogue, built of limestone and measuring just over 24 meters in length and 18.5 meters in width, was partly reconstructed and eventually was dated to the fourth or fifth century C.E. However, the underlying black basalt foundation, damaged and no longer level (perhaps due to an earthquake), is probably a much older foundation, whose footings reach back to the time of Jesus, if not earlier.[20]

In 1968 the Franciscan excavations, extending into the area surrounding the synagogue, uncovered the remains of a building complex, at the approximate center of which may have been the

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[20] The basalt foundation descends slightly as one moves toward the Sea of Galilee, thereby requiring the builders of the limestone synagogue to go to a great deal of trouble to level the new floor. Indeed, the basalt foundation actually extends beyond the limestone structure. Preservation of the old foundation, despite its flaws, attests to the antiquity and sacredness with which the basalt foundation was regarded. Initially the Franciscans dated the synagogue to the first century, claiming that it was the very synagogue in which Jesus ministered. See V. C. Corbo, S. Loffreda, and A. Spijkerman, *La Sinagoga de Cafarnao, dopo gli scavi del 1969* (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor 9; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1970). This early date is now almost universally rejected. Some Israeli archaeologists contend that the limestone synagogue dates to the second or third century C.E. Pottery found in and under this floor confirms the ancient date of the older, basalt foundation. See J. F. Strange and H. Shanks, "Synagogue Where Jesus Preached Found at Capernaum," *BAR* 9.6 (1983) 24-31, esp. 28-31.

In a series of studies H. C. Kee (e.g., "The Transformation of the Synagogue after 70 C.E.: Its Import for Early Christianity," *NTS* 36 [1990] 481-500) has argued that there is no compelling evidence of actual synagogue buildings prior to 70 C.E. and that references to them in the Gospels and Acts are anachronistic (and he especially has in mind the book of Acts). In my judgment Kee's position has been thoroughly refuted by R. E. Oster, "Supposed Anachronism in Luke–Acts' Use of συναγωγή: A Rejoinder to H. C. Kee," *NTS* 39 (1993) 178-208; and J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "Dating Theodotos (*CIJ* 1404)," *JJS* 51 (2000) 243-80. A datable inscription from North Africa, the paleography of the Theodotos Inscription, and the literary evidence of Josephus fully corroborate references to synagogues in the Gospels and Acts.

house of Peter.[21] This complex seems to have had three major manifestations. The first was a private house, probably originally built in the first century B.C.E. The house was built of round black basalt wadi stones, including the floors. Only the stones of the thresholds and door-jambs have been dressed. This structure could not have supported a second story, but a thatched roof, supported by beams. At the center of the structure was a courtyard, surrounded by a series of rooms. Sometime in the middle of the first century C.E. the floor and walls of the largest room was plastered. Evidence of cooking and domestic life ends. The plaster and a large number of lamp fragments suggest that the room had been converted into a public meeting place, some eight meters by nine meters.

It is speculated that the Capernaum house had become a gathering place for early Christians. Evidently it continued to serve this function for centuries, with a wall in the fourth century being built around the aging house. The complex had been converted into a "house-church," its second manifestation. Graffiti suggest that this is correct.[22]

The complex was updated again in the fifth century, with an octagonal structure superimposed over the old house, but within the boundaries of the fourth-century "house-church" walls. This new complex was complete with apse and baptistry.

Was the original domestic structure the house of Peter and his brother Andrew (cf. Mark 1:29)?[23] Fishhooks found beneath the paving of the later house-church are not of much probative value. We should assume that generations of inhabitants in Capernaum before and after Peter's time were fishermen. The name of Peter himself is said to be inscribed (i.e., "Peter, the helper of Rome"), but

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[21] V. C. Corbo, *The House of St. Peter at Capharnaum: A Preliminary Report of the First Two Campaigns of Excavations, April 16–June 19, Sept. 12–Nov. 26, 1968* (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor 5; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1969). For a popular presentation of the data, see J. F. Strange and H. Shanks, "Has the House Where Jesus Stayed in Capernaum Been Found?" *BAR* 8.6 (1982) 26-37.

[22] One graffito reads, "Lord Jesus Christ, help thy servant," and another: "Christ have mercy"; Strange and Shanks, "House," 33. Some 111 Greek inscriptions; nine Aramaic inscriptions, nine Syriac, two Latin, and one Hebrew have been identified. There are also pictures, including forms of crosses and a boat.

[23] See the discussion in C. Breytenbach, "Mark and Galilee: Text World and Historical World," in E. M. Meyers (ed.), *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures* (Duke Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999) 75-85, esp. 80-84.

this reading is very doubtful.[24]

The name "Peter" is itself something of a scholarly problem. According to the Gospels, Jesus gave Simon, son of John (or Jonah), the nickname "Peter": ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον (Mark 3:16; Luke 6:14). In Aramaic the nickname is כפא, which in the Greek New Testament is transliterated Κηφᾶς, as seen in John 1:42b, "'You shall be called Cephas [Κηφᾶς],' which means rock [Πέτρος]." Paul several times refers to Cephas, who is almost certainly Simon Peter (cf. 1 Cor 1:12 [and *1 Clem.* 47:3]; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14).[25]

Some have contended that כפא was not used as a proper name in the time of Jesus or before. Accordingly, it has been argued that Jesus did not give Simon the name "rock," but simply designated him as a *rock*. (The Aramaic word "rock" is found in pre-Christian sources, e.g., 11QtgJob 32:1; 33:9; 4QEnoch^{e} 4 iii 19.) This explanation is not convincing, for Paul calls the apostle כפא / Κηφᾶς (Cephas) several times, as though it is a proper name (see the above references). In my view the issue has been settled by Joseph Fitzmyer,[26] who has called our attention to an Aramaic papyrus, in which כפא appears as a name. According to one of the papyri from the island of Elephantine, Egypt (*BMAP* no. 8, line 10, ca. 416 B.C.E.), one of the witnesses to the transfer of a slave from one owner to another is "'Aqab, son of Kepha'" (עקב בר כפא).[27] The name 'Aqab may in fact be an shortened form of Jacob (i.e., יעקב). Because there are no known examples of men named Peter prior to the nicknaming of Simon and because the Aramaic name Cephas is so rare (so far as our documentation goes), it is possible that Jesus' naming of Peter was unusual, if not unique.

Although it is true that no examples of the Greek name Peter have

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[24] Strange and Shanks, "House," 35-36; J. F. Strange, "The Capernaum and Herodium Publications, Part 2," *BASOR* 233 (1979) 68-69. For summary of work in Capernaum, see S. Loffreda and V. Tzaferis, "Capernaum," in *NEAEHL*, 1:291-96.

[25] For further discussion of linguistic and related issues, see *TDNT* 6:100-112; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Kepha' and Peter's Name in the New Testament," in E. Best and R. McL. Wilson (eds.), *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 121-32; repr. in Fitzmyer, *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 112-24; M. Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (SNTSMS 102; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 84.

[26] Fitzmyer "Aramaic Kepha' and Peter's Name in the New Testament."

[27] For facsimile, text, and notes, see B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, I. Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986) 84-85.

been found, dating to the middle of the first century C.E. or earlier, there is some evidence that this name was in use in the second half of the first century and in the second. Some have suggested that the name Peter (Πέτρος) is attested in Josephus: "Marsyas thereupon bade Peter, a freeman of Agrippa's mother Berenice . . . " (*Ant.* 18.6.3 §156). But most mss read Πρῶτον (i.e., Protos), not Πέτρον. The reading of the name Peter probably owes its origin to a Christian scribe. The Greek name does appear, in Hebrew transliteration, in rabbinic literature: פיטרס (*y. Mo'ed Qatan* 3.6, 82d: רבי יוסי בר פיטרס "Rabbi Jose, son of Petros"; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 62.2 [on Gen 25:8]; *Exod. Rab.* 52.3 [on Exod 39:33]). But this person Jose, son of Petros (or Peter), cannot be earlier than the second century. We also have a "Petron [פטרון], son of Joseph," in P.Yadin 46, and a "Petrine [פטרין], son of Istomachus," among the ostraca found at Masada (Mas no. 413).[28] The papyrus dates to the Bar Kokhba era, the ostracon to the fall of Masada in 73 C.E.[29] See also Mas no. 668 "(belonging?) to the 'Stones'; son of 'Rocks'"(?).[30]

The Gospels' frequent mention of Capernaum and the evident fact that Peter, who was from Capernaum, was the leader of the disciples provide reasonable circumstantial evidence for concluding that Capernaum did in fact serve as Jesus' base of operations and that it was specifically the house of Peter in which he stayed. Accordingly, we may justly suppose that early Christian interest in this site was due to the belief that this was indeed the very house in which Jesus frequently stayed and taught (Mark 1:21 "they went into Capernaum; and immediately on the sabbath he entered the synagogue and taught"; 1:29 "he left the synagogue, and entered the house of Simon and Andrew"; 1:32-32 "at sundown, they brought to him all who were sick . . . the whole city was gathered at the door"; 2:1 "when he returned to Capernaum after some days, it was reported that he was at home"; 9:33 "they came to Capernaum, and when he was in the house"; cf. Luke 4:23; 7:1).[31]

The Gospels also tell us that Peter, his brother Andrew, and James

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[28] Yadin, Naveh, and Meshorer, *Masada I*, 22 + p. 23.

[29] T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (TSAJ 91; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002) 303.

[30] Yadin, Naveh, and Meshorer, *Masada I*, 66 + pl. 55.

[31] For additional reports of archaeological work at Capernaum, which takes into account more fully the Greek Orthodox section of the site, see V. Tzaferis et al., *Excavations at Capernaum I, 1978–1982* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

and John, the sons of Zebedee, were fishermen (Mark 1:16-20). The location and archaeology of Capernaum support this tradition. A spectacular find some twenty years ago provides additional insights.

The Kinneret Boat

In 1985, after several years of less-than-average rainfall, the level of the Sea of Galilee was several meters lower than normal. Two brothers, Moshe and Yuval Lufan, wandering along the shore near Ginosar, noticed the outline of what appeared to be a boat. They reported their find and the boat was recovered. The ingenuity and technology required to salvage this boat constitute a remarkable story in its own right.[32]

The boat, which Israelis call the "Kinneret Boat," is 8.2 meters long, 2.3 meters wide, and 1.3 meters deep. When discovered, it was mostly submerged in mud. Because the wood had become almost completely waterlogged and oxygen-free, it was not consumed by the bacteria that normally feed on wood. Carbon-14 tests have dated the boat to the second half of the first century B.C.E. and the first half of the first century C.E.[33]

It is estimated that the boat could have accommodated as many as fifteen people.[34] This is interesting and is probably the single most

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[32] This story is well told in S. Wachsmann, *The Sea of Galilee Boat: A 2000-Year-Old Discovery from the Sea of Legends* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2000); cf. S. Wachsmann and K. Raveh, "The Discovery," and O. Cohen, "Conservation of the Boat," in S. Wachsmann, J. R. Steffy, et al., *The Excavations of an Ancient Boat in the Sea of Galilee (Lake Kinneret)* ('Atiqot 19; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1990) 1-7 and 15-22, respectively.

[33] See R. Riesner, "Das Boot vom See Gennesaret," *Bibel und Kirche* 41 (1986) 135-38; D. Adan-Bayewitz, "Dating the Pottery from the Galilee Boat Excavation," *BAR* 14.5 (1988) 24-29; I. Carmi, "How Old Is the Galilee Boat?" *BAR* 14.5 (1988) 30-33; idem, "Radiocarbon Dating of the Boat," in Wachsmann, Steffy, et al., *The Excavations of an Ancient Boat*, 127-28; S. Wachsmann, "The Date of the Boat," in Wachsmann, Steffy, et al., *The Excavations of an Ancient Boat*, 129-30; A. Raban, "The Boat from Migdal Nunia and the Anchorages of the Sea of Galilee from the Time of Jesus," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 17 (1988) 311-29; S. Wachsmann, "The Excavation of the Kinneret Boat," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 6 (1986–87) 50-52; idem, "The Galilee Boat: 2,000-Year-Old Hull Recovered Intact," *BAR* 14.5 (1988) 18-23; C. Peachey, "Model Building in Nautical Archaeology: The Kinneret Boat," *BA* 53 (1990) 46-53.

[34] See the discussion in Wachsmann, *The Sea of Galilee Boat*, 309-12. On the basis of the boat depicted in the Migdal Mosaic, the excavated boat of the Sea of Galilee, and references in Josephus (cf. *J.W.* 2.21.8 §635), Wachsmann estimates that these

important datum, when one thinks of references to Jesus and his disciples together in a boat (e.g., Mark 8:10). Accordingly, it is possible that Jesus and the Twelve could have sailed together in a single boat. The size too is consistent with the comment in Mark 1:20 that Zebedee, the father of James and John, employed hired hands to help in the fishing. Boats of the size found at Ginosar were manned by more than the members of a single family. And finally, the design of the boat's stern is consistent with the story of Jesus asleep on a cushion in the stern (Mark 4:38).

Well designed and well made, the boat was constructed from no fewer than seven species of wood (with cedar and oak the most common). The planks and supporting beams are small; they are joined and fastened with wooden pegs and iron nails. The boat had been frequently repaired and had probably been retired at shore (and not sunk), where it was later cannibalized for parts. It eventually sank beneath the water and became partially submerged in the mud.

ONE JACOBEAN ARTIFACT

The announcement in the fall of 2002 of the discovery of an ossuary, on which are inscribed the words, "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus," stunned the public and the academic world like no other find since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. As a single artifact, the "James Ossuary"—if authentic and if indeed belonging to James—will surely be ranked as one of the most important artifacts ever to come to light.

Because the ossuary was not uncovered *in situ* by qualified archaeologists,[35] the question of authenticity will probably linger for many years. Worse yet, because we do not know precisely where it was found and what it contained, we have lost the most important data that the ossuary might have been able to tell us. Nevertheless the ossuary and its inscription are not without value.

The ossuary is some 50 centimeters long, at the base, widening to 56 centimeters at the top, some 30 centimeters wide at one end and about 26 centimeters wide at the other end, and about 30 centimeters high. (Thus the ossuary is not perfectly rectangular in form.) The

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fishing boats had crews of five to seven men and could accommodate up to fifteen crew and passengers in total.

[35] It was discovered quite by accident by French paleographer and Hebrew scholar André Lemaire, while viewing artifacts owned by Oded Golan of Tel Aviv.

inscription, which is made up of five words, is 19 centimeters long. The lid is flat and rests on a ledge inside the rim. Badly weathered, the ossuary reveals faint traces of rosettas on one side. It is also reported that tiny bone fragments were present in the dust at the bottom of the ossuary.

The ossuary is quite shabby in comparison to most. It is badly weathered, with the decorated side suffering the worst of it. The inscription is for the most part deeply incised and is quite legible. Even to the naked eye it is clear that the inscription has been retraced in more recent times, which along with weathering and cleaning in modern times has seriously compromised the forensic evidence on which geologists and archaeologists depend, in order to ascertain dating and authenticity.

The workmanship of the ossuary is poor to average, as the sloppy measurements indicate. However, the inscription itself compares favorably to the other 900 or so ossuaries that have been catalogued.[36] I would rate it above average (and much better than the "Caiaphas" ossuary).

The inscription is quite legible and reads as follows:

יעקוב בר יוסף אחוי דישוע

Jacob, son of Joseph, brother of Yeshu'a
or James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus

There are no spaces between the words; the letters are deeply etched into the limestone. André Lemaire, who has published the first scholarly study of the ossuary, has concluded that the style of writing points to the last two decades prior to the destruction of Jerusalem and that in all probability the inscription is authentic and is in reference to early Christianity's James the brother of Jesus.[37]

This conclusion has been disputed, with some claiming either that the Aramaic is faulty or that it is Aramaic of a later date, and that in either case the inscription, or at least the last two words ("brother of Jesus"), is a forgery.[38] This is of course possible. But the two

[36] The ossuary was displayed in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, during the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature in November 2002.

[37] A. Lemaire, "Burial Box of James the Brother of Jesus," *BAR* 28.6 (2002) 24-33, 70, esp. 28, 33; idem, "L'ossuaire de 'Jacques fils de Joseph, le frère de Jésus," *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 2.2 (2003) 81-87.

[38] Several publications appeared in 2003–2004 discussing issues surrounding this ossuary and its controversial inscription. A few of these include E. Puech, "A propos

linguistic objections are without foundation.

First, it is not true that the Aramaic is faulty (as one or two have claimed). The exact construction is attested in the Targum. For example, in Gen 14:13 "brother of Eshcol and of Aner" in Hebrew is אֲחֵי אֶשְׁכֹּל וַאֲחֵי עָנֵר, but in Aramaic it is אחוי דאשכל ואחוי דענר (cf. *Tg. Neof.*), precisely the form we have in the James ossuary.[39] The אחוי form is also attested in a synagogue inscription: "Simeon his brother."[40] More importantly, the form is attested in 1QapGen 21:34 "Lot, son of his [Abram's] brother."[41]

Secondly, it is not true that the second part of the inscription reflects an Aramaic that was not in use in the first century. The exact construction is found on another inscription, dating from the same period:

שׁימי בר עשׁיה אחוי דחנין

Shimi, son of 'Asaiah, brother of Hanin

It is admitted that the *dalet* before the name Hanin must be partly restored (the horizontal stroke is effaced), but no other reading will work.[42]

It has been suggested that mention of the deceased's brother probably implies that the brother was well known, probably much better known than either the deceased or his father. In the case of the James ossuary, this would certainly be true. Josephus himself identifies James as the brother of Jesus (*Ant.* 20.9.1 §200–203). So why is Hanin mentioned in the inscription that identifies Shimi? Could this Hanin be none other than the well known Hanin, whose sons were known for supplying Jerusalem with sacrificial animals

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de l'ossuaire de Jacques le frère de Jésus," *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 2.1 (2002) 7-23; H. Shanks and B. Witherington, *The Brother of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2003); M. M. Mitchell, "Does the 'James Ossuary' Bring Us Closer to Jesus? " *RSN: SBL Edition* 4.2 (2003) 9-10. Several essays have appeared in recent issues of the *Polish Journal of Biblical Research*, including a surprisingly lengthy bibliography in 2.2 (2003) 91-96.

[39] For more examples, see *Tg. Neof.* Gen 10:21; 28:5; 43:29 (*Onqelos* reads אחוהי דאשכל ואחוהי דענר).

[40] J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century B.C.—Second Century A.D.)* (BibOr 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1978) 268-69 and 298 (for notes).

[41] לוט בר אחוי; cf. Fitzmyer and Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 122. 1QapGen probably dates to the end of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE.

[42] So Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 570.

(cf. *y. Pe'ah* 1.5; *b. Sanh.* 41a)?

Linguistically and epigraphically there are no compelling reasons to regard the inscription as inauthentic. Even the claim that the last two words (i.e., אחוי דישוע) were inscribed later, perhaps by a second hand, proves little. In the case of the ossuary of the crucified man, the name Yehohanan occurs twice, clearly by two different hands.[43]

All three names of the James ossuary (Jacob, Joseph, and Jesus) were common in the late second temple period and are well represented among ossuary and crypt inscriptions. We may review the evidence briefly.

James (or Jacob). Tal Ilan identifies 45 individuals who bore the name Jacob.[44] In the James ossuary Jacob is spelled with the *waw*: יעקוב (as in Jer 30:18 יַעֲקוֹב). It appears in this form in at least three other ossuaries: "Jacob," "Aha and Jacob, his son," and "Jacob."[45] Jacob also appears on two ossuaries without the *waw* (i.e., יעקב, as in Gen 25:26 *et passim* יַעֲקֹב): "Martha, daughter of Joseph, son of Jacob, wife of Joseph, from Hin" and "Jacob Birebbi," or "Jacob, son of the great."[46] In Greek inscriptions Jacob appears, spelled variously Ἰακώ,[47] Ἰακώβ,[48] Ἰακώβω,[49] Ἰάκωβος,[50] Ἰάκκωβος,[51] Ἰακώς,[52] Ἰάκουβος,[53] and Ἴκουβος.[54] In the LXX it regularly appears as

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[43] In June 2003 the Israel Antiquities Authority issued a report, declaring the inscription to be a forgery. But the geological aspects of this report have come under fire. Questions of bias have also been raised. Besides Lemaire, "Burial Box," 29 (for copy of the geologists' report), see also H. Shanks, "Between Authenticity and Forgery," *RSN: SBL Edition* 4.2 (2003) 6-8; idem, "Cracks in James Bone Box Repaired," *BAR* 29.1 (2003) 20-25; E. J. Keall, "Brother of Jesus Ossuary: New Tests Bolster Case for Authenticity," *BAR* 29.4 (2003) 52-55, 70; A. Lemaire, Critical Evaluation of the IAA Committee Reports Regarding the Ossuary Inscription," *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 2.2 (2003) 29-60; J. A. Harrell, "Final Blow to IAA Report: Flawed Geochemistry Used to Condemn James Inscription," *BAR* 30.1 (2004) 38–41.

[44] Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 171-74.

[45] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, nos. 104, 396, and 678, respectively.

[46] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, nos. 290 and 865, respectively.

[47] *CIJ* no. 956; M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim.* Volume II: *The Greek Inscriptions* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974) nos. 83, 126, and 130, respectively.

[48] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 75.

[49] *CIJ* no. 1482.

[50] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 125.

[51] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 6.

[52] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 203.

[53] *CIJ* nos. 1467 and 1505.

'Ιακώβ, while in the New Testament it appears as 'Ιακώβ or 'Ιάκωβος. The latter form is an accommodation to Greek inflection.

In the early Jesus movement James became known as the "Just" (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.12-14). Evidently he was not alone. One of the men nominated to replace Judas Iscariot was "Joseph called Barsabbas, who was called Justus" (Acts 1:23). "Justus" ('Ιοῦστος) is Latin (*justus*) and means "the Just One."

From an earlier time we have the much respected high priest Simon the Just, who succeeded Onias (Sir 50:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.2.5 §43; *m. Par.* 3:5). We are told that Simon was called "the Just" (ὁ δίκαιος) because of his piety toward God and his kindness to his people. The sobriquet also parallels the title given the Teacher of Righteous mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD 1:1; 1QpHab 1:13).

Joseph. Ilan identifies 232 individuals who bore the name Joseph.[55] In the James ossuary Joseph is spelled יוסף (*Yoseph*), which is the standard spelling of the name in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Gen 30:24 יוֹסֵף). There is one other example of this spelling in an ossuary inscription: "Pinhas, son of Joseph."[56] The most common spelling is יהוסף (*Yehoseph*), which only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Ps 81:6 [Eng. 81:5] יְהוֹסֵף). There are numerous examples of this spelling in ossuary inscriptions: "Our father, Simeon the elder, Joseph his son," "Master Joseph, son of Benaia, son of Judah," "Joseph, son of Haggai," and many others.[57] Other Semitic forms include יהוסיף, יהסף, יוסי, and יוסה. Greek forms include 'Ιωσέ, 'Ιοσέ, 'Ιοσῆ,[58] 'Ιωσήφ,[59] 'Ιωσῆφος,[60] 'Ιωασάφ,[61] 'Ιώσεφος,[62] 'Ιώσηπος,[63] and 'Ιωσῆς.[64] The most common biblical Greek form is 'Ιωσήφ, though 'Ιώσηπος is attested a few times in the Apocrypha (e.g., 1 Esdr 9:34; 1 Macc 5:18, 60; 8:22; 10:19).

Jesus. Ilan identifies 104 individuals who bore the name Jesus or

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[54] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, nos. 94 and 96, respectively.

[55] Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 150-68, 449.

[56] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 573.

[57] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, nos. 12, 327, and 603.

[58] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, nos. 19, 41, 43, 48, 93, 124, and 221.

[59] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, nos. 23, 26, 32, 33, 44, and 178.

[60] *CIJ* no. 1485; W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) no. 132.

[61] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 45.

[62] Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 143.

[63] *CIJ* no. 1427.

[64] Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 12.

its older form Joshua.[65] There is a similar range of diversity in the forms of the name Jesus, as we have seen in the names Jacob and Joseph. In the James ossuary it is spelled ישוע (*Yeshu'a*). This form is late biblical and is vocalized יֵשׁוּעַ, occurring several times in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The older, fuller form is יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (*Yehoshu'a*), or Joshua. In post-biblical Hebrew ישוע was sometimes abbreviated יֵשׁוּ (*Yeshu*). ישוע, the form found in the James ossuary, is attested in at least another four or five ossuaries: "Jesus, son of Dostas," "Jesus," "Judah, son of Jesus," and "Jesus, son of Joseph."[66] In one example, the longer form ישוע and its abbreviation ישו occur together: "Yeshu . . . Yeshu'a, son of Joseph."[67] In rabbinic literature the abbreviated form is used in reference to Jesus (cf. *b. Sanh.* 43a, 103a "Yeshu ha-Nosri," or "Jesus the Nazarene"). Greek forms of the name Jesus include Ἰησοῦς (the most common form in the LXX and New Testament, as well as in the Greek ossuary inscriptions,[68] Ἰήσιος,[69] Ἰεσοῦς,[70] Ἰέσουος,[71] and Ἴσουος.[72]

Like the Petrine artifacts, the James Ossuary—if indeed it is the ossuary that at one time contained the remains of the brother of Jesus—clarifies and may even confirm important background details.[73] No position is taken here, as to the authenticity of the inscription. We must await a verdict from qualified scientists who have no prior commitments to the issues surrounding the antiquities trade. But if the inscription is authentic, we learn at least four things:

(1) James and family probably spoke Aramaic, which scholars have long recognized as Jesus' first language. The James ossuary lends an important measure of support to this hypothesis. Of course, one could object and say that all we know is that the inscriber of the

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[65] Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 126-33, 449.

[66] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, nos. 121, 140, 702, and 704; the Joshua form is attested in no. 63.

[67] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 9.

[68] *CIJ* nos. 1476 and 1511; Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, no. 51; Rahmani, *Catalogue*, nos. 56, 113, 114, and 751.

[69] Rahmani, *Catalogue*, no. 89.

[70] S. Klein, *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogeninschriften)* (Vienna and Berlin: Löwit, 1920) no. 46.

[71] Schwabe and Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim*, nos. 138-40.

[72] B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues* (CahRB 7; Paris: Gabalda, 1967) 58.

[73] I make this point in C. A. Evans, "Jesus and the Ossuaries," *BBR* 13 (2003) 21-46; idem, "On the Recently Discovered James Ossuary," *DavarLogos* 2 (2003) 65-72.

ossuary spoke Aramaic; not necessarily James. But given the personal, family-oriented reality of ossilegium, it is wiser to assume that the language used in the inscription is the language of the family and, therefore, of the deceased.

(2) James, originally of Galilee, continued to live in or near Jerusalem. We are left with this impression in the New Testament (particularly the book of Acts and Paul's letter to the churches of Galatia). After all, if James' family and home were still in Galilee, then we should not have expected his ossuary to be found in Jerusalem. Its discovery in Jerusalem shows that in all probability his home had become Jerusalem. Therefore, when his bones were gathered and placed in an ossuary, the ossuary remained in Jerusalem, in the family tomb.

(3) The James ossuary may also suggest that James probably died in or near Jerusalem, as early church traditions maintain (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4–18; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.1 §200-203). If the ossuary was discovered in a burial vault near the Temple Mount, perhaps in the Kidron Valley, as has been conjectured,[74] this may offer a measure of support to the tradition that James was closely associated with the temple, even if at odds with the powerful priestly family of Annas. Of course, this suggestion is at best tenuous, but the discovery of the ossuary of James in the general vicinity of the Temple Mount does lend a small measure of support to Christian tradition and to the brief report of James' death found in Josephus.

(4) And finally, secondary burial, according to Jewish burial custom, implies that James, though a follower of Jesus and part of a movement that was beginning to drift away from its Jewish heritage, continued to live as a Jew, and so was buried as a Jew. The Christianity of James, we may infer, was not understood as something separate from or opposed to Jewish faith. This observation is completely in step with a critical reading of the traditions about James found in the New Testament, especially in the unvarnished account we have in Paul, in his letter to the churches of Galatia. There we are told that even a major figure like Peter was cowed by the arrival in Antioch of "men from James," with the result that the apostle no longer ate with Gentiles (Gal 2:11-14). It is clear from the context that Peter withdrew from the Gentiles because the men from

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[74] J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Where was James Buried?" *Bible Review* 19.3 (2003) 34-42.

James were Torah-observant and evidently expected Peter and other Jewish believers (such as Barnabas) to be Torah-observant also.

Thus, we may have the ossuary of a man who was interred without ostentation, in accordance with proper Jewish burial custom, and in the vicinity of Jerusalem, perhaps in close proximity to the Temple Mount itself. All of these details are consistent with what we are told in our literary sources, namely, that James lived in Jerusalem, frequented the Temple, did not waver in his adherence to the Jewish faith, and was known as a man of modest and humble means. In short, the James ossuary is consistent with the Judaic character of James and the community that he guided and defended. If authentic, then this is probably the most important detail that the ossuary can tell us.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The principal value of artifacts and of the archaeology that uncovers, contextualizes, and interprets them lies in their supplying us with the details of material culture presupposed in literary texts, but rarely mentioned and even more rarely explained. The excavations of Capernaum have uncovered homes, one of which Peter may have lived in, and a synagogue foundation that probably reaches back to the time of Jesus and Peter. When the Gospels speak of Jesus in the home of Peter or preaching and healing in the local synagogue, we can actually visualize these edifices. Indeed, we now know what a fishing boat from this period of time actually looks like and that it could in fact accommodate Jesus and his disciples.

Thanks to archaeological discoveries we have attestation of the name Cephas, or Peter, and even have what may be a sobriquet—"Simon, builder of the temple"—that may provide relevant background for the nickname that Jesus gave to Simon Peter, especially in the context of the solemn declaration that the Church would be built upon the rock.

Much of what we have learned regarding the world of Peter probably applies to James, the brother of Jesus, who grew up in another Galilean village not too far away. Ongoing excavations at Nazareth will no doubt shed light on day-to-day life there.

But the artifact that is potentially the most important—the ossuary that bears his name and that of his famous brother—remains hotly debated. If geochemical analysis decides in favor of the inscription's

authenticity, scholars will finally be in a position to assess its value for understanding better the world of James and his community, thus potentially shedding important light on the Judaic nature of the early messianic movement that at a later time and in another place became Christianity.

PART TWO

JAMES AND PAUL

THE POWER OF WORDS: RHETORIC IN JAMES AND PAUL

John Painter

A study of James and Paul from the perspective of the Power of Words is evocative of many aspects of their interrelated expressions of the diversity of earliest "Christianity." Indeed, the word "Christianity" is an anachronism as far as either James or Paul is concerned.[1] We may think rather of the way each of them conceives the messianic faith of the people of God. Each of them expresses a point of view in words intended to be persuasive to the readers. This is one level of a comparative study of the power of words. We may also recognize that the way each of them conceives of the human predicament has a bearing on they way they think of the saving-power of the words they communicate.

RHETORIC AND THE POWER OF WORDS

Recent studies have shown that, although Paul explicitly renounces the use of clever speech, the wisdom of words (1 Cor 1:17; 2:1), nevertheless his letters bear the marks of careful literary structuring and rhetorical fashioning. They are designed to be persuasive. There is a need, therefore, to view his letters not only in the light of the popular Hellenistic letters but also from the perspective of the literary Epistles in which the influence of rhetoric is evident.[2]

As early as the influential commentary of Martin Dibelius (1921) there has been recognition of the literary quality of James, its language and rhetorical shaping.[3] Recently studies have gone further

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[1] We may wonder whether the reference to "the good name" that is blasphemed is a reference to χριστιανοί. But this would involve reading 2:7 as "Is it not they who blaspheme the good name that you bear?" Rather we should translate "Is it not they who blaspheme the good name that was invoked over you?" In that case, the name is likely to be "Jesus," or less likely "Lord" (κύριος). See Peter Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Exeter: Paternoster, 1982) 113-14.

[2] See the pioneering work of Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[3] See the English translation of the 11th edition that appeared in the Hermeneia series as *The Epistle of James* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 34-38.

in showing how both James and Paul combine the insights and practices set out in the epistolary handbooks as well as the rhetorical handbooks and *progymnasmata*.[4] From this perspective, we expect quite a lot of formal overlap between James and Paul in their use of persuasive language.

RHETORIC IN THE WORDS OF PAUL AND JAMES

At the same time, it is evident that Paul and James represent different streams of early Christianity. This becomes evident from a study of the range of language used by each author, and especially by taking account of the language of the dominant themes. One measure of dominance is word frequency. This is a comparative matter and might be recognized in relation to a word used by an author that is rarely used elsewhere. But dominant themes also appear in other ways. The weight or importance of a theme in the overall composition is another criterion. In the case of Paul, a theme might be judged dominant where it appears at a critical point in more than one letter.

Then there is the word of the gospel.[5] The specific language of "gospel" is characteristic of Mark and Paul and the verb "to proclaim the gospel" is also found in Luke-Acts. It is rarely used elsewhere in the New Testament. It is not used at all in James. Of course this does not mean that the reality of the gospel is not spoken of elsewhere, using other terms. Nevertheless, the use of particular words might reflect differing understandings of what constitutes the saving message.

For Paul, the gospel is the word of the cross (1 Cor 1:18) and, for James, the word of truth (1:18), the "implanted word" (1:21) seem to be references to what James thinks of as the saving message. Martin Dibelius recognized the Pauline kerygma of the eschatological event

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[4] For a recent study of James from this perspective see Wesley Hiram Wachob, *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James* (SNTSMS 106; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and references on p. 11.

[5] The vocabulary concerning the "gospel" (εὐαγγέλιον), and "to preach the gospel" (εὐαγγελίζειν) is commonly found in the letters of Paul (see 1 Cor 1:17). But Paul occasionally uses κήρυγμα and κηρύσσειν to refer to the content of the message and the act of proclaiming it (1 Cor 1:21, 23). He also describes the message of the gospel as "the word (ὁ λόγος) of the cross" (1:18), and the content of what is proclaimed as "Christ crucified" (ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον). The emphatic emphasis on "we" may show that Paul was aware that practice set him apart from the mass of Jewish and Hellenistic "preachers." Just who is included in Paul's self-conscious "we"?

of the saving death and resurrection of Jesus. This stands in contrast to the collection of sayings of Jesus in Q, which is similar in "form, style and general convictions" to the sayings of James.[6] In neither of these is there any sign of the Pauline kerygma of the cross. Dibelius thought of Q and James as a stream of paraenetic tradition supplementing the kerygma. Modern Q and James research appeals to diversity within early Christianity in which there were Christians who found "the turning point of the ages," "the message of salvation," in Jesus' words and deeds rather that the kerygma of his saving death and resurrection. Such followers of Jesus belonged to law-abiding Israel, taking Jesus' interpretation of the law as the message of salvation.[7] If this analysis is somewhere near the truth, then the different expressions used to describe the message of salvation may be important indications of the diversity of early Christianity. We are also concerned to examine the language used to describe the gospel to see what it reveals of the power of the word in the mind of the writer as well as in respect to evidence of rhetorical shaping and its probable effect on contemporary readers.

The subject of the preached word by which people come to believe is quite central for Paul. See especially Rom 10:5-21. Paul shows a strong sense of having been called to proclaim the gospel (1 Cor 1:17). It is in the following passage (1 Cor 1:18-31) that Paul speaks of the gospel as "the word of the cross" and, "for those of us being saved it is the power of God." In this context it is tempting to speak of "the power of *the Word.*" It entails, at the same time, both the foolishness and the wisdom of God, the weakness and the power of God.[8]

Although Paul disclaims preaching with the wisdom of word (1:17; 2:1-4), the form in which this message is presented is starkly paradoxical. Yet the paradox is not rooted in irresolvable oppositions. Rather, Paul is playing with words and ideas so that the foolishness of God is at the same time the wisdom of God, and the weakness of God is also the power of God. It is because what the world deems to be

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[6] See Wachob, *Voice of Jesus*, 36-37.

[7] See Wachob, *Voice of Jesus*, 38-39. Wachob appeals to the work of Hans Dieter Betz, John S. Kloppenborg, and Helmut Koester. See also Wachob, *Voice of Jesus*, 65, 126-27, 142-43, 148.

[8] See my "Paul and the πνευματικοί at Corinth," in M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism* (London: SPCK, 1982) 237-50.

foolish turns out to be the wisdom of God, and what the world deems to be weakness turns out to be the power of God, that Paul adopts this strongly rhetorical form of communication. Paul's rhetoric reveals a clash of values, arising from his understanding of the gospel, which revealed values in conflict with the values of the Graeco-Roman world. From one perspective Paul's understanding of the wisdom of God is pitted against the wisdom of the world and the wisdom of the world proves to be a failure because it failed to lead to knowledge of God (1 Cor 1:20-21). This rhetorical argument is similar to that used in James 3:13-18 to be discussed below. From another perspective, the wisdom of God is judged to be foolishness (and the power of God is judged to be weakness) by the wisdom of the world. Paul's rhetorical response is to assert that the foolishness of God is wiser than human wisdom (1 Cor 1:25). James does not follow Paul in developing such a rhetorical paradox but uses more conventional means in the expectation that the virtues of the wisdom of God will outshine the vices of earthly wisdom.

Although Paul makes use of rhetorical strategies, he disclaims the use of clever words because the world of his time did not consider his words (the content of his message) to be wise. His method of communication does not shield or camouflage the scandalous nature of his message. Indeed, the message is placarded for all to see and its scandalous nature is proclaimed from the housetops. This is a bold rhetorical strategy and undertaken with flair. Given the scandalous nature of Roman crucifixion in the first century, a bold rhetorical approach was the only persuasive option open to Paul.

RHETORIC AND VALUES

At the heart of Paul's gospel is an understanding of God that challenged the values of the Roman Empire at their very heart. At this point, the content of Paul's gospel is in harmony with his ethical values. His values stand in conflict with the values of the world also. At Corinth his conflict was with at least one group within the Corinthian church that considered itself to be wise, rich, and powerful, endowed by God with every gift (see 1 Cor 4:6-13). This group developed an attitude of superiority and discrimination that led to divisions within the Corinthian church. The divisions were rooted in pride (ὕβρις) in their superiority in relation to those they despised (καταφρονεῖν) and shamed (καταισχύνειν) (see 1 Cor 11:22). It is in

relation to this group, that regarded itself as superior, that Paul embarks on a highly rhetorical attack. His attack was aimed at the boasting of the Corinthians, using his own ironical form of boasting, which undermines all grounds for human boasting (see 1 Cor 1:26-31).

Paul begins (in 1 Cor 4:7) by asking, "What do you have that you did not receive? And if you received, why do you boast as one not receiving?" From this perspective, giftedness is no ground for boasting in ones own superiority, because the gifts are not based on the personal merits of the receivers. The gifts are gratuitous. There is also another perspective. The self-evaluation of these Corinthians can be called into question by Paul's deeply ironical contrasting picture of them in relation to "us apostles." This contrast makes the reader aware of the irony of the description of the Corinthians as filled, rich, kings who already reign. At this point Paul cannot maintain the charade, but interjects, "And would that you did reign, so that we might share the rule with you" (4:8). It is only this interjection that clearly indicates the deep irony of the description. The continuing contrast, with its unfavorable treatment of the apostles alongside the Corinthians, alerts the reader to an implied criticism of the Corinthians' self-evaluation. At the same time, the deep irony implies that the Corinthian self-description is superficially correct. At a deeper level it breaks down because of the clash of values between the world and the kingdom of God.

> For I think that God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death: because we have become a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake, but you are wise in Christ. We are weak, but you are strong. You are held in honor, but we in disrepute. To the present hour we hunger and thirst, we are ill-clad and buffeted and homeless, and we labor, working with our own hands.[9] When reviled we bless; when persecuted, we endure; when slandered, we try to conciliate; we have become, and are now, as the refuse of the world, the offscouring of all things.[10]

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[9] Very likely this reference to manual labor, "working with our own hands," attacks a Greek prejudice against manual labor in favor of the more intellectual pursuits. The prejudice has spread widely in Western society where the "professions" are distinguished from other forms of work and the distinction between "blue collar" and "white collar" continues to mark perceptions of social class. In this context, it is Paul, speaking for the apostles in relation to the Corinthian elite, who speaks of "working with our own hands."

[10] While 1 Cor 4:6-13 is an ironical critique of the implied boasting of the Corinthians,

To understand the irony of the passage (4:6-13) it is necessary to recognize that two irreconcilable value systems have collided and in Paul's writings this has resulted in the reversal of the values at Corinth and the Roman world generally. Paul's understanding of the appropriate response to God arises from his acceptance that the crucified Messiah is at the heart of the gospel that comes from God and is proclaimed as the saving message to all people, Jews and Gentiles.

While the wisdom and values of the world are described largely in their own terms, the values and lives of Christ's apostles, as understood by Paul, are *evaluated* from the perspective of worldly values. It is true that Paul's objections to this can be felt bristling just below the surface. Yet they do not intrude overtly. What alerts the reader to his objections is the dishonorable description of *Christ's* apostles. This implies a subversive attack on the values of the world. Indeed the attack cannot be held back by Paul in 4:8, when he interjects, in the course of his own ironical argument, "and I would that you did really reign so that you might reign with us!" For Paul, that reign must somehow be in the future. Meantime, God has set the apostles not first, but last. Paul's struggle at Corinth is comparable to Mark's portrayal of Jesus' struggle with the disciples over the nature of discipleship. They seem to be incapable of understanding that discipleship means taking up a cross and following Jesus. Rather they want to sit on thrones in his kingdom (Mark 8:34-37; 9:33-37; 10:35-45).

How then does the gospel proclaimed by Paul work? The first intimation of the theme of the gospel comes in response to the evidence of factionalism (1:10-17). Paul asks rhetorically, "Is Christ divided? Or surely it was not Paul who was crucified for you or you were not baptized into the name of Paul were you?" (1:13) The implied answer to all questions is a resounding "No!" Paul concludes, "For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel, not in wisdom of word, lest the cross of Christ be made void (empty of its meaning and power)" (1:17). Clearly, then, the gospel is focused on

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2 Corinthians contains a number of passages where Paul explicitly deals with the problem of boasting (see the use of καυχᾶσθαι, καύχημα, καύχησις in 2 Cor 11:16-33; 12:1-10). This paradoxical and ironical treatment of boasting is a consequence of Paul's identification of the crucified Messiah at the center of the gospel that reveals God and provides the basis for the life of faith in the world.

the cross of Christ. Human wisdom empties this event of meaning and power.

In 1:18-25 human wisdom is equated with the evaluation of the preaching of the cross by those who are perishing. For them it is foolishness. The other evaluative position comes from those who are being saved. For such, this is God's power (cf. Rom 1:16-17). This group can be identified in more descriptive terms as those who believe Paul's gospel. From this perspective, in the gospel God defies and overturns human wisdom. There are two rhetorical approaches taken by Paul. In the first the wisdom of God is opposed to the wisdom of the world (human wisdom). God has emptied the wisdom of the world of meaning and power. It was by God's wisdom that the world failed to know God through worldly wisdom. Knowing God seems to be the way to salvation. God chose to save those who believe through the foolishness of what was preached (the *kerygma).*

But how are we to understand this? Is it faith in the *message* that saves or faith in the event that the message proclaims? If the word of the cross is the power of God to salvation (1:18), does that word depend on the event to which it bears witness? Or does Paul mean that the word itself has the creative and transforming power of God to save those who believe? The language used by Paul is ambiguous and allows us to ask these questions.

The word of the cross is foolishness (μωρία) to those perishing (1:18) and Paul speaks of the foolishness (μωρία) of what is preached (κερύγμα, 1:21). Reference to the *kerygma* emphasizes the content of what is preached and Paul leaves no doubt about this, "we preach Christ crucified" (Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, 1:23; 2:2). Christ crucified is the content of the preaching. It is not as if the preaching saves as an independent event. Rather the preaching makes known the event of Christ crucified because he was "crucified for (ὑπὲρ) you (plural)" (1:13). This is what Paul says "we preach" (κηρύσσομεν) to Jew and to Greek.

The incredible element in this preaching becomes clearer when we understand that, according to Paul, Christ crucified is God's chosen way to save those who believe. Paul elsewhere expresses this as "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself" (2 Cor 5:19). The paradox is brought out by reference to Jews who ask for signs and Greeks who seek wisdom.

Signs are thought of as powerful authenticating actions and wisdom

based on such signs might produce convincing arguments and overwhelmingly persuasive rhetoric. Christ crucified does not qualify as an overwhelmingly powerful sign. An appeal to the triumph of the resurrection would have been more in line. But Paul does not do this precisely because, for him, the power of God works in a way antithetical to the power of a worldly kind.

Against the demand for wisdom, Paul proclaims Christ crucified. This hardly qualifies as overwhelmingly convincing argument or totally persuasive rhetoric, though powerful rhetoric is at work here. Its power lies in the stark contrast brought about by the collision of two worlds of value. The message of the crucified Messiah is a scandal and foolishness, in worldly terms a failure. Those called [by God] (1:24; cf. "those being saved," 1:18) whether Jews or Greeks, recognize Christ [crucified] as God's power, God's wisdom (1:24). From their perspective, the perspective of believing (1:21), what the world calls foolishness is seen as the wisdom of God, what the world calls weakness is the power of God in action.

An alternative (secondary) form of rhetoric is to accept the evaluation of worldly wisdom that calls Christ crucified a foolish message and an event of weakness. In response Paul retorts that if this is foolishness, it is the foolishness of God that is wiser than human wisdom, if this is weakness, it is the weakness of God that is stronger than human strength (1:25).

THE RHETORIC OF BOASTING IN PAUL AND JAMES

The point of God's way is to exclude any basis for *boasting* before God (1:29; cf. Rom 3:27).[11] Christ crucified "for us" is an event which makes wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption the free gift of God so that all *boasting* and glory belong to God ("As it is written [Jer 9:24], 'Let the one who boasts boast in the Lord'," 1:31;

[11] In the New Testament the language of boasting is almost restricted to Paul and is concentrated in the Corinthian correspondence, especially 2 Corinthians, and to a lesser extent in Romans. The verb "to boast" (καυχᾶσθαι) is used in Rom 2:17, 23; 5:2, 3, 11; 1 Cor 1:29, 31(x2); 3:21; 4:7; 2 Cor 5:12; 7:14; 9:2; 10:8, 13, 15, 16, 17 (x2); 11:12, 16, 18 (x2), 30 (x2); 12:1, 5 (x2), 6, 9, 11; Gal 6:13, 14; Eph 2:9; Phil 3:3; 2 Thess 1:4; James 1:9; 4:16. The noun (καύχημα) has the sense of the 'ground of boasting' and is used in Rom 4:2; 1 Cor 5:6; 9:15, 16; 2 Cor 1:14; 5:12; 9:3; Phil 1:26; 2:16; Heb 3:6. The noun 'boast' (καύχησις) is used in Rom 3:27; 15:17; 1 Cor 15:31; 2 Cor 1:12; 7:4, 14; 8:24; 9:4; 11:10, 17; 1 Thess 2:19; James 4:16. The importance of the references (1:9; 4:16 [x2]) in the brief letter of James needs to be noted.

cf. Rom 5:2). The language of boasting is crucial in Paul. He needs to show that his rejection of the conventional basis is not because he could not boast in these terms (see 2 Cor 11:21-23 and Phil 3:4-6). But he repudiated that set of values. For this reason the conventional grounds for boasting quickly give way to the reversal of values (2 Cor 11:23-33; cf. Phil 3:7-11) which is implied by the message of the cross.

Underlying the message of the cross are elements of Paul's apocalyptic view of the world. The world lies in the power of evil. Paul's understanding of Christ crucified impinges on his struggle to express the way God deals with evil in the world. God does not leave the world of humanity to cope with evil alone. In Christ God takes on himself the consequences of evil in order to redeem the world and to free those who believe from the dominion and destruction of evil. Paul identifies the crucifixion of Jesus as the key event in this process.

In 2:1-5 Paul reminds the Corinthians of how he came "proclaiming the mystery of God." This mystery is "Jesus Christ and him crucified." Paul asserts that he did not do this with a lofty word or [human] wisdom, not in persuasive words of wisdom but in preaching of the cross accompanied by a display of the Spirit and power. Here Paul seems to make a concession to the Jewish demand for signs. His aim was to establish a faith not based on human wisdom but on the power of God. But is this power of the worldly kind or the redefined power of God that the world describes as weakness (cf. 1:25)?

While Paul associates the demand for signs with Jews and the seeking of wisdom with Greeks, it is wisdom that forms the basis of the discussion of the first four chapters. This suggests that, although Corinth was not a distinctively Greek city, having been rebuilt and resettled with retired soldiers from around the empire, the Greek influence was strong, at least in some sectors of the Corinthian church. This sector might have been better educated, wealthier and of more noble class than the rest of the church. As such they will have been a minority group. Privileged place is normally claimed by a minority. Having more "natural" gifts and resources to make use of, it might have been tempting to rely on these and to despise those of more lowly position, the *"hoi polloi."* Paul attacks such self-reliance and discrimination, especially where it led to the wise, strong and

wealthy, despising and exploiting the weak, and poverty stricken.[12]

Paul is critical of those who think of themselves as the perfect (τελείοι, 2:6) and spiritual (πνευματικοῖς, 3:1; 12:1). He questions whether the Corinthians are either the perfect or the spiritual. Rather they are immature (νηπίοι) and carnal (here Paul uses two terms, σαρκίνοι and σαρκίκοι which seem to be indistinguishable in meaning), and this is demonstrated by their factionalism (3:1-4). Given that some of the Corinthians considered themselves to be of superior status, intellect and spirituality, it must have been something of a shock to be told by Paul that he had to treat them as babes who, on a spiritual level, could only cope with baby food. That this self-evaluated superior group was opposed to Paul is likely. Their opposition might be explained partly on the basis of Paul's practice of working with his own hands (4:12). In Greek culture manual work was thought to be below the dignity of the "well born." Consequently Paul's policy of working to maintain his own mission so that the gospel could be offered without charge (9:1-18, esp. 9:18; cf. 2 Cor 11:7-11) might have backfired with such a group. Rather than bringing him honor, his manual work encouraged them to despise him.

Yet Paul did receive aid from the churches of Macedonia, especially the church at Philippi (9:1-18, esp. 9:18; cf. 2 Cor 11:7-11). Thus there seems to be a specific reason why he did not receive aid from the Corinthians. The reason might be simple. Perhaps it was not offered! Clearly Paul was in no mind to beg for support for himself and his mission. It may be that the churches in Macedonia offered to support him. It was another matter for him to ask for support for the poor saints in Jerusalem (see 2 Corinthians 8–9). That two chapters should be used to deal with the appeal to the Corinthians is indicative of the sensitivity of the issue. Indeed, Paul found it necessary to establish a strong christological and soteriological basis to encourage the Corinthians to respond to his appeal (8:9). This differs somewhat from the reasons for participation in the collection given in Romans 15:25-28. There, the basis for the gift of the Gentile churches is their spiritual debt to the Jerusalem church. This debt could only be repaid

[12] It was characteristic of the cities of the Roman Empire of the time that both the very rich and masses of the very poor were to be found in them. This is likely to be mirrored in the profile of the Corinthian church.

in material terms. Paul's account in 2 Corinthians is more deeply theological, grounding the motivation for the collection in thankfulness to Christ for his gracious self-giving (8:9) and to God for his inexpressible gift (9:15). Here there are grounds for thinking that the Corinthians trusted in their own giftedness and abilities, and despised those who seemed to be less well endowed. Paul's aim was to cut away any ground for human boasting (1 Cor 1:31; 4:7).

The critique of boasting in the Corinthian letters is deeply ironical. Paul often sets his own boast against his construction of the position of those who boast at Corinth (see 2 Cor 11:1–12:13, esp. 11:16-30; 12:5, 7-10). In 1 Cor 4:6-13 Paul adopts much the same strategy, inverting the values of those superior Corinthians in depicting the mission of Christ's apostles in the world. But there is bitterness in the irony he uses, making it seem unlikely that he would win over the powerful group whose values he criticizes. Perhaps that was not his intent, although he says, "I do not write this to make you ashamed, but to admonish you as beloved children" (4:14). Alternatively, those used to clashing with others in the struggle for honor and to avoid shame might have expected a vigorous debate. It is possible that, in their terms, this show of self-assertion by Paul was precisely the sort of behavior they could honor. Possibly Paul adopted this method in the hope of winning them over. But he seems to be aware that, in winning them by using their methods, they might indeed have won him! Thus, three things distinguish his boasting from the Corinthians' boasting. First, he indicates that boasting, self-commendation means nothing (2 Cor 10:13-18). Then he emphasizes that, in adopting this approach, he speaks as a fool (11:1, 16-33; 12:1, 11). Finally, in boasting Paul inverts the values of the Roman world which were accepted by his Corinthian dialogue partners. While he cannot resist matching them on their own terms (11:21-23), and for him this is speaking as a madman, he goes on to boast of labors, imprisonments, beatings, shipwrecks, journeys, dangers, toil and hardship, hunger and thirst, cold and exposure, but above all, weakness (11:23-30). This inversion of values grows out of Paul's understanding of the gospel in terms of Christ crucified.

In chaps. 3 and 4 Paul sets out to show how his alternative understanding of wisdom should work out. In doing this he uses as an example his relationship to Apollos and the contrast of the apostles with the self-understanding of the Corinthians. It turns out that the

way Paul has framed the gospel in chap. 1, as the preaching of the cross and of Christ crucified, enables him to attack the values of those who considered themselves to be wise, perfect and spiritual at Corinth. Their gospel seems to avoid the implications of the cross. Their focus was on resurrection power and an eschatology that affirmed that the promises of God were already and completely fulfilled. Already they reigned with Christ (4:8). Against this position Paul asserted the relevance of the cross in a world where sin and evil still prevail in the lives of people. The reality of life means that believers suffer in the world. God's grace is not understood as a way out of struggle and suffering but a way through it (2 Cor 12:6-10). But more than this, the gospel of Christ crucified provides Paul with the theological foundation for understanding God's character, his values and the motivation for and direction of Christian ethics (2 Cor 8:9; 9:15).

While this reversal of values is distinctively Pauline, it echoes the teaching of Jesus at points where it also intersects the Epistle of James. James' use of the boasting terminology (1:9; 2:13; 3:14; 4:16 [x2])[13] is consistent with the Pauline use in frequency and theme. In 1:9 the boasting commended expresses the reversal of worldly values.

> Let the lowly brother boast (καυχάσθω) in his exaltation,
> and [let] the rich [brother boast] in his humiliation,
> because like the flower of the grass he will pass away. (1:9-10)[14]

This reversal of values is not rooted in James' understanding of the gospel of the cross. Rather it arises from the common observation of the Wisdom literature that time cuts down the rich and powerful with the rest of humanity. On this see Eccl 1:2-4, 18-20. James does not appeal to the Wisdom literature but to Isa 40:6-8, where a similar observation is made from the world of nature.

The use of κατακαυχᾶσθε in 3:14 is in the contrast between the wisdom from above with earthly wisdom (3:13-18).[15] The *"earthly"* wisdom is characterized as *"unspiritual"* and *"demonic"* (ἐπίγειος, ψυχική, δαιμονιώδης) and manifests itself in "jealousy, selfish

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[13] In 2:13 κατακαυχᾶται is used to express "triumph," "mercy triumphs over judgment." Thus this is not a negative use as is the case with the other uses in James.

[14] The words in square brackets in the second line are implied by the parallelism with the first line.

[15] See also the contrast of the two ways of life, the one that leads to friendship with God and the other to friendship with the world (James 4:4).

ambition, disorder, and every vile practice," "bitter jealousy, boasting and being false to the truth." Opposed to this is the wisdom from above (ἄνωθεν). It "is pure, peaceable, gentle, open to reason, full of mercy and good fruits, without uncertainty or insincerity, and the harvest of righteousness is sown in peace to those who make peace." At one level this contrast of the boasting wisdom of the world with the wisdom from above is comparable to Paul's contrast of the wisdom of the world with the wisdom of God in 1 Cor 1:18-31. Actually, for James as much as for Paul, only the wisdom from above, the wisdom of God, is truly wisdom. It is set over against earthly wisdom, what the world calls wisdom. Here James and Paul are in agreement. But Paul's treatment is more paradoxical. It is driven by the gospel of the crucified Messiah who is proclaimed as the wisdom of God in the face of the wisdom of the world. There is also a similarity between James 3:13-18 with Paul's teaching about the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit in Gal 5:16-26. In each case the catalogues are designed to encourage the readers to choose respectively, the wisdom from above and the fruit of the Spirit. In this they function in a similar way. Distinguishing them however is the set of different "virtues" in each list and, more importantly for Paul, the appeal to the role of the Spirit in enabling the fruit of virtue in the life of faith. Nevertheless, the exhortation of Paul to believers is that they should, "*Walk* in the Spirit." To this theme we will return in discussing Paul and James on the life of faith. All of these references seem to be related to the Jewish teaching of "The Two Ways" derived from the Deuteronomic code which promises blessing (life) for obedience and curse (death) for disobedience (11:26; 30:19). The two ways of life and of death are set out in a number of works such as the Rules from Qumran, the first six chapters of the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. See especially Matt 6:24; 7:13-14, 24-27.

The final two references to boasting in James occur in 4:16. This context (4:13-17) introduces the treatment of the rich in 5:1-6. The references to boasting (4:16) concern those who plan their business for gain, showing no awareness that their lives are in God's hands. The theme is reminiscent of the parable of the rich fool of Luke 12:13-21. James says:

> But now you boast in your arrogance (καυχᾶσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις ὑμῶν); All such boasting (καύχησις) is evil.

In addition to the boasting language, James uses the term ἀλαζονείαις that describes the characteristic behavior of the ἀλαζών. This figure is portrayed as the buffoon, whose arrogant boasting is transparently false. From the perspective of James, those who plan their lives without taking God into account are arrogant fools and their boasting is evil. In their boasting they despise the poor, unaware that their judgement is near (5:7-11). Here James again makes use of conventional criticism from the perspective of Jewish Wisdom. But does this critique of boasting also relate to James' view of the gospel?

THE GOSPEL AND THE LAW IN JAMES

We now need to explore the way James understands the gospel. The explicit "gospel" vocabulary used by Paul is not found in James. But then it is not found in John either. Indeed, the verb is concentrated in Paul and the Lukan writings, and the noun is concentrated in Paul and Mark. The absence of this vocabulary from James need not mean that what Paul means by gospel has no place in James. But does it?

Two important uses of "word" (λόγος) in James 1:18, 21 call for our attention. Here it is said of God that,

> of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth (λόγῳ ἀληθείας) that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures (1:18).

Then the readers are exhorted to put away all impurity (ῥυπαρίαν) and overflowing evil (κακίας) and

> with meekness, receive the implanted word (ἔμφυτον λόγον) that is able to save your lives (ψυχὰς, 1:21).

Are these two expressions, "word of truth" and "implanted word" references to "the word of the gospel?" If in each case it is, then James and Paul may draw near to each other and we might conclude that only the brevity of James precludes a fuller discussion of the gospel. We might also suggest that James is preoccupied with issues that allow only oblique references to the gospel. Alternatively, "word of truth" could be a reference to the *Torah* (see Ps 119:43; Jer 23:28; Deut 22:20). In the New Testament, however, this expression is frequently the description of the gospel (2 Cor 6:7; Eph 1:18; Col 1:5; 2 Tim 2:15; 1 Pet 1:25). Thus, it seems likely that the imagery of creation by the word of God has been used by James to express recreation by the word of truth, that is the gospel, "the implanted word that is able to save our lives."

Because the reader is called on to "*receive* the implanted word with meekness" (1:21), it is clear that this word is not innately present but is implanted through reception. The context also makes clear that this call to "receive" is at the same time a call to reject contrary ways of life. To receive this word as implanted is to receive what can "save your lives." Again, this makes best sense if taken to be the word of the gospel. Thus, for James as for Paul, the word of the gospel is the power of God to save. But how did James understand the word of the gospel? There is nothing to suggest that it was conceived in terms of the Pauline "word of the cross" or the preaching of "Christ crucified."

For James, the word of the gospel may not be far removed from the word of the law, especially Jesus' interpretation of it, for he continues, "Be doers of the word and not only hearers" (1:22).[16] "If anyone thinks he is religious (θρησκὸς), and does not bridle his tongue, this person's religion (θρησκεία) is vain (μάταιος)" (1:26). "Pure religion (θρησκεία καθαρὰ) that is undefiled (ἀμίαντος) before God and the father is this, to visit the orphans and widows in their affliction (ἐν τῇ θλίψει), and to keep oneself unspotted (ἄσπιλον) from the world" (1:27). Four points are worth commenting on in relation to Paul.

First, Paul also understands that faith is intimately related to obedience. If faith comes by hearing the word of the gospel, faith manifests itself in obedience to the gospel, which not all have obeyed (Rom 10:16). Faith in response to the gospel is described as coming "through the word of Christ" (δία ῥήματος Χριστοῦ, Rom 10:17).[17] The use of the genitive Χριστοῦ here indicates the content of the message. Thus faith comes through the preaching of the message concerning Christ, and for Paul, that means "Christ crucified."[18] Thus Paul understands his calling as an apostleship to the nations to lead them to "the obedience of faith" (εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν

[16] See Jesus' emphasis on "doing" at the end of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 7:24-29). Only those who do what they hear and receive are established. The rest are swept away.

[17] Paul asserts that faith comes through hearing "the word of God" or, more likely, "the word of Christ." The latter is more strongly attested and is the more difficult reading in that "the word of Christ" is more likely to be changed to "the word of God" than vice versa.

[18] The use of the genitive Χριστοῦ is ambiguous. Understood as a subjective genitive it means, "through the word Christ preached." But understood as an objective genitive the meaning is "through the word which has Christ as its content," the word that preaches Christ. This is the meaning here.

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Rom 1:5).

Second, in the New Testament, the word translated "religion" (θρησκεία) is used just four times, of which two are in James 1:26-27. Elsewhere the noun is used only in Acts 26:5 where Paul asserts his membership of the "strictest sect (αἵρεσιν) of our religion (Judaism)," and Col 2:18 where reference is made to the "worship" (θρησκείᾳ) of angels.[19] The adjective "religious" (θρησκός), is used only in James 1:26 and not in the rest of the Greek Bible. The use of these words, and the connection with the use of θρησκεία in Acts 26:5, might suggest that what James has in mind is a true expression of the Jewish religion. This is certainly consistent with what follows in 1:27.

Third, the emphasis on the control of the tongue is characteristic of James (1:19, 26; 3:1-12). An encounter with false teachers may be the context that made this emphasis prominent. In developing it, James draws on the Wisdom tradition and the words of Jesus the Sage.[20]

Fourth, with the moral and ritual elements in 1:27, priority is given to visiting the orphans and widows. This is an indication of the importance of the moral demands for James.[21] In this regard James follows in the steps of the great prophets (Hos 6:6 and Mic 6:8) and Jesus who, according to the Gospels, showed himself to be responsive to human need even where he seemed to be blocked by Sabbath or ritual purity laws. Nevertheless, in James, while the moral demands are stressed, the language of 1:27 (καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμιάντος) reflects the ritual purity demanded by the law. This language, and the call for the reader to "keep himself unspotted (ἄσπιλον) from the world," has a ring about it that includes ritual purity in whatever form was applicable in *diaspora* Judaism after 70 C.E.

Modern interpreters of James have been reluctant to allow that his language includes reference to ritual elements of the law.[22] Even when

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[19] See Wis 14:18, 27; Sir 22:5; 4 Macc 5:6; Josephus, *Ant* 4.74; 5.339; 9.273-74; Philo *Spec Leg* 1.315; *1 Clem.* 45.7.

[20] See Ben Witherington III, *Jesus the Sage* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); and Richard Bauckham, *James* (London: Routledge, 1999) 93-108.

[21] In the ancient world, care of the orphans and widows is a mark of care for those in no position to care for themselves (Deut 10:16-19; 14:29; 16:3; 24:17-22; 26:7; Isa 1:10-17; Jer 5:28; Ezek 22:7; Zech 7:10; Job 29:16; Sir 4:10; Acts 6:1-6; 1 Tim 5:3-16).

[22] See Patrick Hartin, *A Spirituality of Perfection: Faith and Action in the Letter of James* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999); Robert Wall, *Community of the Wise: The Letter of James* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1997) 87, says: "Especially important to James is the social role of the law, which draws moral boundaries around the faith community to keep it pure from outside contaminants (1:27)." Although "Especially"

1:27 is noted, appeal is made exclusively to the moral boundaries drawn by the law for the community of James. The same is true of James' appeal to "the whole law" in 2:10, and the perfect law of 1:25. This easy separation of the moral and ritual elements in the law is nowhere suggested by the letter of James and is not supported by evidence from the first century. Indeed, there was no characteristic linguistic distinction to describe ritual and moral elements of the law. The assertion of the necessity to keep the whole law does not suggest exemption from certain aspects of it. The language of 1:27 includes vocabulary directly related to ritual purity alongside language concerning social and moral responsibilities. It is unjustifiable to assume, without any indication from James, that the language of ritual purity should be understood metaphorically of moral purity. Rather, 1:27 expresses both moral and ritual obligations arising from the law.[23] For James this was a ritual of the heart with a sharp ethical edge with concern for the poor.

THE GOODNESS OF GOD IN JAMES

James affirms the positive goodness of God (1:17-18). In this passage, James continues to respond to the challenge thrown down by the experience of trials and temptations. First, he denies that God tempts anyone (1:13). His denial suggests that this was a common view. He makes no attempt to appeal to the devil as the source of temptation either. Rather, he asserts that each person is tempted when lured and enticed by his own desire (ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας) which produces sin, and sin produces death (1:13-15). The causal chain is desire, sin, and death. James makes no attempt to go behind desire to find the source of sin. He continues in a way that suggests that a view contrary to his own is commonly held.

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formally allows a secondary place for ritual elements, in practice these authors do not give the ritual elements a place in James. The same is true of the work of Wachob, *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James*, 39, 201. Wachob argues that in James "we find the same view that we find in the pre-Matthean SM; the Christians who are addressed are viewed as 'belong[ing] to law-abiding Israel, and the fulfillment of the law, though without any emphasis upon circumcision and ritual law, is the appropriate interpretation of the teaching of Jesus'." Rather, it is argued that the language of ritual purity is interpreted in moral terms.

[23] Even an interpreter of the law like Philo, who was concerned with the spiritual and allegorical meaning of the law, was committed to the actual observance of the law in all its detail. He was critical of Jews who were lax in their observance. See *Migration* 89-93.

> Do not be led astray, my beloved brothers, every good gift (δόσις) and every perfect gift (δώρημα) is from above coming down from the father of lights, with whom there is no variation or shadow of turning. By his will he begot us by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruit of his creation (1:16-18).

The opening suggests that not all readers would readily accept this position. James has already repudiated the notion that God tempts people to evil actions. He now leaves no doubt that any attempt to find the source sin in any way with God is mistaken. Rather, God is the source of all goodness. This teaching is fundamental to the creation story of Genesis 1. At the end of each day, except the second, God declares what he has made to be good and at the end of the sixth day God declares everything that he has made to be "very good" (Gen 1:4, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31, and see 1 Tim 4:4). Out of this understanding of the goodness of the creation there emerges the strong affirmation of the positive goodness of God (Pss 106:1; 107:1; 118:1; 136:1).

IMPARTIALITY IN JAMES AND PAUL

From his understanding of the goodness of God, from whom all good gifts come, James asserts the imperative of impartiality (2:1, 9). In James, the prohibition of partiality (μὴ ἐν προσωπολημψίαις), and the identification of it as sin (εἰ δὲ προσωποληπτεῖτε, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθε), is illustrated by reference to the treatment of rich and poor in the assembly of believers. Paul takes this theme further backwards and forwards than James. First, he affirms, unequivocally, the impartiality of God (see Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; 3:25),[24] that is, God does not show partiality. Paul (Rom 3:29-30) also takes the implications of impartiality in a direction not found in James.

> Or is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not (οὐχὶ)[25] the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also, since God is one who will justify the circumcised on the ground of (ἐκ) faith and the uncircumcised through (διὰ) faith.

The use of the two different prepositions in relation to the faith of the

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[24] In these references and James 2:1 the noun προσωπολημψία is used, and nowhere else in the New Testament. James 2:9 contains the only use of the verb προσωπολημπτεῖν in the New Testament, and προσωπολήμπτης is used only in Acts 10:34.

[25] The use of this form of the negative in a question implies the answer, "Yes!" But Paul continues, and leaves the reader in no doubt.

circumcised and uncircumcised is clearly stylistic variation that does nothing to undermine the impartiality of God in his treatment of all people on the same basis, that is, faith.

How is this teaching on impartiality in Paul and James related to the teaching of Jesus? Clearly, Jesus does not use this language. But the teaching is not bound to this rather limited use of terms, as is shown by the presence of the teaching in Rom 3:29-30 where the terms do not appear. By privileging the poor Jesus was, in effect, affirming the principle of impartiality (Luke 6:20, 24 and see also James 2:1-13; 5:1-6; and note James 5:1 in relation to Luke 6:24, "Woe to you rich!").

INTERTEXTUALITY IN JAMES AND PAUL

What, then, can we learn about the use of sources by James and Paul? In their use of words, to what extent is the power of their words drawn from authoritative sources? To what extent do they draw on scriptural authority? To what extent do they draw on identifiable words of Jesus?[26] There is widespread agreement that James draws on the Jesus tradition known to us in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew) / Sermon on the Plain (Luke).[27] Indeed, it has been argued that every pericope finds its focus in an allusion to a saying of Jesus.[28] Given the pervasive influence of the Jesus tradition in James, it is remarkable that he nowhere cites Jesus as the source of a particular tradition. James also has frequent allusions to scripture though there are only three appeals to particular scriptural passages 2:8 (Lev 19:18); 2:23 (Gen 15:6); 4:5-6 (Prov 3:34). None of these identifies the specific text, naming the source generically as γραφή.

In addition to three identified quotations (using γραφή in some

[26] There are important exceptions to the common view that Paul was little interested in the historical Jesus and his teaching. In 1982 Dale Allison ("The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels," *NTS* 28 [1982] 1-32) argued that Paul's letters provide evidence that he drew on blocks of pre-Synoptic tradition already known to his readers. See more recently the work of V. P. Furnish, *Jesus According to Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993).

[27] See especially P. H. Davids, "James and Jesus," in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels* (Gospel Perspectives 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 63-84. See also my *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Colombia: University of South Carolina, 1997) 261-62. Item 2 in the second list on p. 261 has been mis-set as 1:45:48. When the columns are correctly aligned, James 1:4 is related to Matt 5:48, which is identified as M.

[28] Davids, "James and Jesus," 66-70.

form) from particular scriptural passage, there are numerous other possible scriptural allusions.[29] These are spread through every chapter and where something like a quotation is identifiable, it seems to be drawn from the LXX. But more often, as with the sayings of Jesus, we appear to be dealing with allusions, not quotations. The question is thus raised whether James drew his allusions directly from the scriptures or via some other tradition. In the case of the quotation of Gen 15:6 in 2:23, Wiard Popkes argues that this was drawn from a knowledge of the Pauline tradition known to us in Rom 4:3, 9.[30] Given that the quotation occurs in an argument with Pauline tradition, the argument is convincing in this case. Does it follow that James had no direct knowledge of the scriptures, as Popkes (p. 227) argues?

Given that James three times makes reference to specific scriptures, but nowhere actually appeals to the teaching of Jesus as the source of his own teaching, does this imply that allusions to the tradition of Jesus' teaching were also known to James indirectly? While I think the case for a secondary use of Gen 15:6 is strong, it need not follow that the use of all other allusions is secondary. James fits the genre of a work shaped rhetorically in an oral culture. In this context we should not expect a scribal use and quotation of texts. For James, a text is not so much a source to be reproduced, as a resource to be used as fitting in a new context.[31] Thus both the scriptural allusions and the Jesus tradition are used to convey the teaching of James. The identifiable quotations occur in controversy and have the added task of asserting authority in the face of opposition.

In addition to the Jesus tradition and scriptures,[32] James also draws on a number of other works including Ben Sira.[33] None of these works is referred to as scripture. James draws only on those aspects that suit his purpose (see James 4:13ff and Sir 39:16-35). Because allusion of

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[29] See Wiard Popkes, "James and Scripture: An Exercise in Intertextuality," *NTS* 45 (1999) 213-29.

[30] See Popkes, "James and Scripture," 222-24.

[31] Fifty years ago C. Goodwin ("How did John treat his sources?" *JBL* 73 [1954] 61-75) argued that John quoted his sources freely and from memory. This suggests the sort of rhetorical culture that is presupposed by James. Here the use by James determines the use of allusions rather than the original context.

[32] See especially the use of Leviticus 19 in James 2:1, 8, 9; 4:11; 5:4, 9, 12, 20; and L. T. Johnson, "The Use of Leviticus 19 in the Letter of James," *JBL* 101 (1982) 391-401.

[33] See H. Frankemölle, *Der Brief des Jacobus* (ÖTKNT 17; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994), and Richard Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) 74-93.

this sort uses only what serves the author's purpose, arguments for dependence are difficult to establish. A case can be made for seeing James as a teacher like Ben Sira, though his relation to Jesus the Sage is also a question that needs to be answered.[34]

THE VOICE OF JESUS IN THE SOCIAL RHETORIC OF JAMES

An excellent study of James' use of tradition is to be found in Wesley Hiram Wachob's *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James.* The book provides evidence of the author's close attention to rhetorical handbooks, epistolary handbooks and the *progymnasmata.* One fundamental conclusion is as relevant to the study of Paul as it is for James. These writings need to be looked at in terms of both the conventions of letter writing and of rhetoric. The influence of the latter was not confined to oral communication but impacted on literature and letters also. Rhetoric has implications for the way argument is shaped and reinforces the freedom with which texts might be used as was taught in the *progymnasmata.*

A second conclusion concerns the importance for James of the Jesus tradition known to us in Q^{Matt}. Wachob accepts Hans Dieter Betz's view that a pre-Matthean Sermon on the Mount (SM) was shaped from a version of Q (Q^{Matt}) different from the form used in Luke's Sermon on the Plain. The redactor of the pre-Matthean SM and James belong to the same Jewish-Christian milieu and affirm that followers of Jesus belong to law-abiding Israel, understood from the perspective of the teaching of Jesus (pp. 39, 142, 201). Indeed, it is argued that pre-Matthean SM (Q^{Matt}) 5–7 is a rich source of Jesus sayings drawn on by James.

James is said to be pseudonymous (p. 201), though its adscript, from "James servant of God and Lord Jesus Christ" implies a Jewish character for a book associated with James the brother of Jesus, the representative figure of Jewish-Christianity in the first century. The expectation associated with the name James is confirmed by the prescript which is addressed to "the twelve tribes of the diaspora." That Jewish character is further confirmed by the intertextual relationship between James and the pre-Matthean SM.[35]

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[34] See Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James*, 74-93.

[35] The view of James' relationship to the pre-Matthean Sermon on the Mount is supported by Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 171. The

> In the pre-Matthean SM salvation is achieved by obeying the Torah as Jesus interprets it (5:17-20; 7:24-28); this is suggested in the exordium (Q^{Matt} 5:3-16), indicated in the central proposition (Q^{Matt} 5:17-20), elaborated in the confirmation (Q^{Matt} 5:21–7:20), and recapitulated in the conclusion (Q^{Matt} 7:21-28). In the Epistle of James salvation (James 1:21 and 5:19-20) is achieved by obeying the Torah (2:10; 2:9, 11), and the Torah is summarized in the love commandment (2:8; cf. 2:12-13). We recall Betz's observation (1985b, pp. 37-39) that early Christianity understood that Jesus taught the fulfillment of the law in obedience to the love commandment. And we conclude that, in a derived sense, one may say that in James, too, Jesus' understanding and interpretation of the Torah finds yet another voice (p. 148).

With these words we begin to find what is meant by the title, *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James.* We also move the discussion to the point where a brief account can be given of the relevance of James 2:1-13.

First, Wachob gives a rationale for the choice of James 2:5 as the narrow focus of his study. It is an agreed allusion to a saying of Jesus that occurs as an integral part of one of three rhetorical units or treatises (2:1-13 on "partiality"; 2:14-26 on "faith and works"; 3:1-12 on "the tongue") that Dibelius identified as the core of James (p. 36). Thus 2:1-13 has great potential to reveal the thought, piety and style of James. In this unit (2:1-13), a definite pattern of argument reveals Graeco-Roman rhetorical strategies. James 2:5 addresses the social issue of conflict between rich and poor, a theme which is found in about a quarter of James (1:9-11; 2:1-13, 15-16; 4:13–5:6). The importance of this theme is reinforced by its place in the Jesus tradition and early Christian literature, reminding us that the division between the minority rich and powerful and the masses of powerless poor was a huge problem in the Mediterranean world of the Roman Empire. In this way the book brings into sharp focus the relation between rhetoric and its social function. To do this it is necessary to show the relation between James' epistolary format and Graeco-Roman rhetoric.

The work of G. A. Kennedy is used to provide a basis for recognizing that, before the first century C.E., oral rhetoric was influencing the analysis and writing of literature (see the

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relationship to the Jesus sayings in Matthew is widely recognized as is the concentration in Q and M. See my *Just James*, 85-95, 260-65, and Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus.*

Progymnysmata of Theon of Alexandria and pp. 8-9 of the book under review) as well as the literary epistle. It is argued that James complies with the encyclical form of the literary epistle. Recognition of the letter is sufficiently established by the form of address which, it is shown, is the one necessary feature of a letter. The evidence shows that almost anything might be addressed to readers as a letter and the form of James fits the function of an encyclical letter, in this case, a Jewish encyclical letter.

Martin Dibelius recognized the literary quality and rhetorical character of James. Thus there is a combination of Semitic and Biblical characteristics alongside Greco-Roman rhetorical features. It is one of the strengths of Wachob's work that he systematically takes account of both (pp. 11-12). Wachob accepts the threefold division of rhetoric derived from Aristotle, epideictic, deliberative and forensic or judicial. He recognizes that features of the three forms often appear in a single discourse. Nevertheless, there is a heuristic value in the categories, and classification ultimately depends on the way a discourse functions. Thus exhortations that "inculcate belief without calling for action . . . are epideictic" while those that exhort readers to a particular course of action are deliberative (p. 17). From this perspective, James is a Jewish encyclical letter utilizing deliberative rhetoric.

James is also a document making rich use of the Jesus tradition. Yet the writer nowhere appeals to the words of Jesus. Rather his use of Jesus' words is allusive and, in the process, the words of Jesus the Sage have become the words of James the Sage. The same is true of the use of the words from Scripture and other Jewish writings such as Sirach. Wachob argues that the use of the tradition provides clues as to the social location of the discourse of James. Thus rhetorical criticism aims to reveal the social context or situation of rhetorical discourse. Wachob argues that James "is perhaps the most directly socially oriented text in the New Testament" (p. 22). The social orientation and ethical outlook of James is clarified by the relocation of a saying of Jesus in James 2:5.

Wachob's thesis is that "the Epistle of James is a deliberative discourse in the guise of a letter that uses sayings of Jesus to persuade an audience to think and act in ways that have significant social consequences" (pp. 22-23). James 2:5 in the context of 2:1-13 is a test case. In this verse, words concerning conflict between rich and poor,

otherwise attributed to Jesus, are attributed to James in a rhetorical performance on an issue that is central to the Epistle. Thus, the discovery of the intertextuality of the words of James with the words of Jesus corresponds to the identification of the social context of this rhetorical discourse which has been shaped to persuade the readers to act in a particular way in relation to the rich and the poor. The body of the thesis is contained in chaps. 3–5.

Chapter 3 (The inner texture of James 2:1-13) sets out the rhetorical structure of the passage in order to show that it conforms to the expectations of the rhetorical handbooks and *Progymnasmata.* In justifying this structure, a detailed treatment is given of textual and exegetical issues. Overall, the treatment provides a convincing case for the rhetorical reading of this passage. The theme is stated in 2:1; an argument from comparison (2:2-4) is followed by an argument from example with its opposite and social example (1:5-7); and an argument from judgement based on the written law (2:8-11). The *conclusion* follows in 2:12-13. Thus Wachob says, "I conclude that James 2:1-13 is a very persuasive rhetorical argument against 'acts of partiality' among 'the twelve tribes of the diaspora'" (p. 113).

Chapter four (The intertexture of James 2:1-13) focuses attention on the intertexture of James 2:5. Intertextual reference is used to remind the reader that language is a social phenomenon and no speaker or writer begins from nothing. Wachob first examines the five (or six, if the two in 2:11 are counted separately) references to earlier texts in 2:8, 11, 23; 4:5, 6. Four of these are allusions to texts in the LXX, 2:8 (Lev 19:18); 2:23 (Gen 15:6. Cf. Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6); 4:5 (perhaps Exod 20:25); 4:6 (Prov 3:34. Cf. 1 Pet 5:5). It is notable that the allusion to Lev 19:18 stands close to the reference to partiality in 19:15 (see James 2:1, 9). Thus Wachob argues that James has reformulated the language of Lev 19:15 in 2:9 and that other allusions are to be found in 2:10-11. James 2:8-11 is set out as a four-part argument based on the written law. Then it is argued that an interesting parallel occurs between 2:10 and the "pre-Matthean Sermon on the Mount (Q^{Matt} 5:19) which, like James, is an example of deliberative rhetoric." Wachob also thinks that the author of James and the redactor of the pre-Matthean Sermon on the Mount belong to the same Jewish-Christian milieu (pp. 39, 142) for whom Matt 5:17-20 provides the four hermeneutical principles for the interpretation of the Torah. Thus the sayings of Jesus color the understanding of "*all* of

Torah" (p. 127) and "the rhetoric of the pre-Matthean SM is intertextually significant for the author of James" (p. 129). This seems to be confirmed in that, in James, the statement about the whole law is followed by reference to the commands not to commit adultery or to murder (James 2:10-11). In Matthew, the statement about the binding nature of the whole law (5:17-20) is followed by reference to the same two commandments. James 2:10-11 echoes the dimensions of the rhetoric of Matt 5:19, 27, 21. In the treatment of Lev 19:18, 15 in James 2:8, 9, James is not a scribal copyist but a rhetorical composer of a speech where the text is used for the purpose of its new context as in *progymnastic* composition. Obviously James can reproduce the text when he wishes, as in 2:8. He can also adapt the text to his own rhetorical purpose (2:9, 11). In doing this James also makes use of the *topoi* of the broader Hellenistic culture.

In James 2:5 James echoes the words of Jesus found also in Matt 5:3; Luke 6:20; *Gos. Thom.* §54; Pol. *Phil.* 2:3. But James does not quote Jesus. That an allusion is intended is argued on the basis of widespread use of Jesus tradition evidenced by common use of language, topic, and religious perspective in James and especially drawing on what Wachob takes to be the pre-Matthean SM (Matt 5–7), especially Matt 5. Thus James 2:5 finds its closest echo in Matt 5:3 and Wachob argues that the form in James 2:5 is very early (p. 142). Both Q^{Matt} 5:3 and James 2:5 are deliberative rhetoric. In the allusion to the words of Jesus and the ascription of them to James the Epistle assumes for James the prestige of Jesus because, like Jesus he taught the wisdom of God. James 2:5 is a *progymnastic* composition in which the words of Jesus are recast, just as texts from the written Torah were recast in 2:9, 11 (p. 151). The texts are used in a new context for a new purpose. The place of 2:5 is crucial because it draws the teaching of the written Torah under the interpretation of the words of Jesus, reiterated now by James. For both Q^{Matt} 5 and James, salvation depends on hearing and doing the law as interpreted by Jesus (p. 143). For Wachob, neither James nor Q^{Matt} SM understands the gospel in terms of the kerygma of the cross (pp. 39, 65). Rather the gospel (James does not use this term) is identified with the words (teaching) of Jesus (pp. 39, 65).

The address of the Epistle identifies the author as "James servant of God and Lord Jesus Christ." Almost all scholars think this is a reference to the brother of the Lord also known as James the Just (p.

165). Many today think the reference to be pseudonymous (p. 201). Whether true or pseudonymous, appeal to James, who was the representative figure of Jewish Christianity in the first century (p. 165), implies a Jewish Christian perspective for the book. The book itself confirms this expectation. The Epistle is addressed to "the twelve tribes in the diaspora." Wachob argues for a literal reference to Jews in the diaspora but argues that the Epistle elsewhere identifies the readers as believers. Thus it is addressed to Jewish-Christians.

The Epistle identifies the rhetorical situation as the conflict between rich and poor. It is addressed to the humble poor, even though there were some wealthy persons in the community (pp. 166-67). Reference to the poor is fundamentally a material description but, as with the use in Matt 5:3, it refers to the humble poor, God's chosen poor, "the poor in Spirit" (*anawim*). The rhetoric in James and the SM is drawn from subcultural Judaism and is counter-cultural to the dominant culture of Greco-Roman value structures (p. 195). To do this James, and some others, "had no hesitation in performing Jesus' sayings in ways that justified their own views of how their communities should appropriate Jesus' interpretation of the Torah. James 2:1-13 is a very fine rhetorical elaboration that demonstrates this phenomenon; and James 2:5 is an artful performance of the principal beatitude in the pre-Matthean Sermon on the Mount."

If this understanding of James' use of the Jesus tradition in an interpretation of the role of the written law is somewhere near the truth of the matter, then we would expect significant points of difference with Paul. At the same time, it may be important to note difference within overlapping agreement. There is some difference in the way James and Paul describe the saving message. Does this imply a different perception of the problem of sin for the followers of Jesus? Is there overlapping language concerning sin which, nevertheless, gives expression to seriously different approaches to the way in which James and Paul call on believers to deal with sin?

THE SEAT OF SIN IN JAMES AND PAUL

Both James and Paul relate human sinfulness to "desire," "covetousness," see James 1:14-15; 4:1-3;[36] Rom 7:7. According to James 1:14-

[36] In James 4:2-3 the verbs ἐπιθυμεῖτε and ζηλοῦτε are used, apparently distinguishing "desire" from "covet." But this may not be the case if James has used the verbs synonymously.

15, "each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire." Thus "desire" is, for James, the source of temptation.

The specific form in which evil is confronted is "temptations" or "testings" (πειρασμοῖς, 1:2, 12). Part of the complexity of this discussion is that the same term is capable of these two quite different meanings. The idea of temptation implies attraction, which arises from ones own desires while testing implies hostile external circumstances. What connects these two apparently different issues is that, either by attraction or by hostile forces, the believer is under pressure to deviate from the will and purpose of God. It may even be that James was not conscious of the clear-cut distinction our analysis has revealed. Certainly James has not dealt with "testing" in 1:2-8 and "temptation" in 1:12-16. Indeed, the reference to "a double minded man" in 1:8 fits more appropriately in a discussion of temptation, though it cannot be said to be irrelevant to the theme of testing.

The reference to "a double minded man" has generated an interesting discussion concerning the milieu of the expression, which occurs only here and in 4.8, where it appears without "man." There is little merit in the suggestion that the expression is the manifestation of Essene psychology,[37] or that 1QH 4:14 shows that what is in mind is a hellenistic-gnostic dualistic view of man as a combination of body and soul.[38] An excellent comparison of *thought* is found in the rabbinic comment on Deut 26:16. "When you make your prayer to God, do not have two *hearts*, one for God and one for something else."[39] We need to allow for the transformation from an Hebraic setting, where "heart" is the appropriate term, to a genuinely Greek way of thinking where we would expect to find "double-minded" using δίψυχος or some alternative. From this perspective it seems right to treat 1:2-8 and 1:12-15 as two aspects of the one theme, that testing is a form of temptation and temptation is a particular kind of test.

Even though James exhorts his readers to "Count it all joy whenever you fall into many and varied temptations," the notion that such temptations come from God as part of his purposeful creation is rejected. Rather, this is a case of seeking to join in God's work of

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[37] Thus W. I. Wolverton, "The Double-minded Man in the Light of Essene Psychology," *ATR* 38 (1956) 166-75.

[38] See O. J. F. Seitz, "Antecedents and Significance of the Term δίψυχος," *JBL* 66 (1947) 211-19; idem, "Afterthoughts on the Term 'Dipsychos'," *NTS*4 (1958) 327-34.

[39] See *b. Ta'anit* 23b in Str-B 3:751.

bringing good out of evil. Thus the testing of faith is the opportunity for the development of endurance and, in the process of testing, those who lack are to ask God for what is needed and God, who is positively good, gives freely and without recriminations. The language of James 1:2-4 resonates with Rom 5:2-5. James writes:

> Count it all joy, my brothers[and sisters], when you fall into various trials, knowing that the testing (τὸ δοκίμον) of your faith produces (κατεργάζεται) steadfastness (ὑπομονήν). And let steadfastness have its perfect work (ἔργον τέλειον), that you may be perfect and complete, lacking nothing. (James 1:2-4)

In a similar vein, Paul writes:

> And we boast (καυχώμεθα) in the hope of the glory of God. And not only [this], but we also boast in afflictions, knowing that affliction produces (κατεργάζεται) steadfastness (ὑπομονήν), and steadfastness [produces] character (δοκιμήν), and character [produces] hope. And hope does not shame us, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which he has given to us. (Rom 5:2-5)

The overlapping language used in relation to testing that produces steadfastness is striking. It is likely that both Paul and James drew on a paranetic tradition in which this language was prominent and the positive value of testing was taught. Nevertheless, whereas James saw this testing producing the perfect person, Paul turned to the hope that is essential to his understanding of the life of faith. Hope is directed towards the glory of God (5:2). What ever else this refers to, it includes the "glorious resurrection." According to Paul, Jesus "will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body" (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, Phil 3:21). This hope of future transformation is grounded in the experience of the love of God in the present. That experience is double sided. It is the experience of God's love for us. It is also the endowment of the believer with the love that comes from God that is the evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer. That presence, with the evidence it brings, is what he calls the down payment that guarantees the complete transformation. Thus, although there is a degree of overlap between James and Paul, the Pauline treatment of this theme goes beyond James in relating it to the teaching about the Spirit in the life of the believer and the relationship of this to the final transformation.

James declares the person who endures in faith in the face of temptation to be blessed (1:12). The blessedness consists in that such

a person is perceived as one who loves God and who will receive a crown of life. Again, this might appear to suggest that temptation is part of the strategy of God. This James explicitly denies. "Let no one who is tempted say, 'I am tempted by God'; for God is not tempted by evil, nor does he tempt anyone." Not only does James reject the notion that God is responsible for this testing, no suggestion is made that the devil is the source of this testing. Rather James asserts that the source of testing comes from each ones own "desire" and that sin is the result of giving in to "desire" (ἐπιθυμία).

Here we have no reference to the *two* inclinations (the evil inclination and the good inclination) between which each person is called to choose, such as we know from the Qumran Texts and the rabbinic literature. Rather, it seems that "desire" is an essential part of the make up of every person without any mention of a balancing inclination to good. Such evil desire "lures" and "entices." The imagery is suggestive of the way the baited hook lures the fish so that it is dragged off. Thus there is a sense of entrapment and "desire" takes those who are enticed into situations in which they have no desire to be. Because "desire" is a feminine noun the lure may be thought of as the "allure" and seduction of the person. The close though not exclusive relationship of "desire" to sexual desire suggests this line of thought. The consequence of this liaison then is that "desire" conceives and brings forth sin, and sin, when it is fully grown, brings forth death.

According to Paul, "desire" has its stronghold in "the flesh" (σάρξ, Rom 7:18, 25). In Rom 7.7-23, "desire" has the negative sense of an evil desire or lust.[40] It is an expression of the σάρξ, in which dwells no good thing. The σάρξ is set over against the "inner man" (ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, 7:22), the "mind" (νοΐ, 7:25), which delights in and serves the law of God. But the flesh serves the law of sin. Who then is "the wretched man" of Rom 7:24? A variety of answers are given to this question, from a retrospective reference by Paul to his life under the law, to a statement of the human predicament from the perspective of the gospel, to the cry of Paul in the awareness of the ongoing struggle with the flesh.[41]

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[40] See R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 114-16.

[41] See Rudolf Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul" (1932), now in *Existence and Faith* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961) 147-57; J. I. Packer, "The

That this is a retrospective reference to Paul's life under the law has an intrinsic appeal. It allows us to read Romans as a progressive account from predicament to salvation. Salvation too is dealt with progressively, from justification , through deliverance from the power of sin, to the deliverance from the power of death. It seems to be supported by the relationship of 7:24 to 7:25a. The wretched man is taken to be Paul, under the law, before belief in Christ; and 7:25a identifies Paul the believer. But there are problems with this view. Philippians 3:4-11 does not suggest that Paul under the law saw himself as a "wretched man." Rather he says, "as to rightousness under the law, blameless (ἄμεμπτος)" (Phil 3:6). It may be said that 7:24 is Paul's present evaluation of his life under the law. Even this fails to carefully note *what* it is from which Paul ask deliverance, τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου; "Who will deliver me from *the body of this death*?" We will return to the question of *what* this means. The question is explicitly about "*Who* will deliver me?" The answer is clearly given in 7:25a. Deliverance is "through Jesus Christ our Lord."

It can be argued that here we reach the climax in Paul's present experience of deliverance through Jesus Christ our Lord. The problem, for this view, is that 7:25b follows 7:25a. "Therefore then (ἄρα οὖν)[42] I myself with the mind serve the law of God but with the flesh [I serve] the law of sin." To deal with this "setback," to the argument that Romans 7 moves progressively from the situation under the law to the situation under faith in 7:25a, 7:25b may be treated as a resumption of the argument at the end of 7:6 so that 7:7-25a is an interlude. The point that is reached in 7:6 is taken up again in 8:1.[43] Nevertheless, "8:1 is as much the answer to the question raised in 7:24 as it is the resumption of 7:6."[44] Surely this means that the answer of 7:25a is more ambiguous than it seems. This is already signaled by 7:25b in it connection to 7:25a, and noted more fully by taking 8:1 as the beginning of an answer to 7:24 as well as the resumption of 7:6.

Romans 7:7-25a relates the problem of sin to "desire," "to covet"

'Wretched Man' Revisited: Another look at Romans 7:14-25," in S. K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (eds.), *Romans and the People of God* (G. Fee Festschrift; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 70-81.

[42] This construction implies that 7:25b is closely (causally) connected to 7:25a.

[43] See Bultmann, "Romans 7," 153.

[44] See Bultmann, "Romans 7," 154.

(7:7-11). "Desire" has its seat in "the flesh" (7:14, 18). The "flesh" seems to be related to "this mortal body," this body subject to death, from which Paul cries out for deliverance (τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου; 7:24b). Thus it seems that, for Paul, the problem of "desire," which has its seat in the "flesh," is related to this mortal body. The struggle against "desire" will only be resolved in the transformation of the resurrection of the body.[45] Hence Paul, speaking of the present situation asks, "Who *will deliver* me from this mortal body?"

In the light of this, how are we to read Romans 8? Does this chapter address the problem of "desire" and the way it is to be overcome? Or does Paul address the life of faith from an altogether new perspective? The latter seems to be the case. If Romans 7 looked at the life of faith in terms of the believer's inner struggle, Romans 8 now addresses the outer struggle with hostile forces, especially in 8:18-30. Rather than progress beyond the believer's struggle with desire and the overcoming of it, Paul returns to the beginning. That "there is no condemnation" is a resumption of Rom 5:1. It is true that this leads on to the contrast of life in the Spirit and life in the flesh (8:4-17). Life in the flesh is characterized in terms of "death" and "enmity with God" while life in the Spirit is "life and peace" (8:6-7). Clearly, for the believer, life is lived with the dilemma of life in the flesh or life in the Spirit. Paul assumes that his readers are in the Spirit (8:9). This is by definition the life of the believer. This being true, then,

> the one who raised Christ [Jesus] from the dead *will make alive* (ζωοποιήσει) also your mortal bodies (τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν) through his Spirit which dwells in you. (8:11)

It is notable that the problem of the mortal body, raised in 7:24b, remains unresolved here. The one who raised Jesus *will* make alive! The resolution of that problem remains for the future though the presence of the Spirit it taken to be the guarantee of the fulfillment (see 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14). Further, although Paul assumes the readers walk (τοῖς περιπατοῦσιν) in the Spirit (8:4, 9), he exhorts them not to live according to the flesh but according to the Spirit (8:12-17). The consequence of the one way is death while the other is life.

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[45] See Phil 3:11 where the resurrection is the goal of Paul's life of faith as set out in 3:7-11.

At this point the argument in Romans resonates with an earlier discussion in Gal 5:16-26. In this passage Paul is dealing precisely with the problem of sinful desires which he locates in the flesh. "I say, Walk in the Spirit and you will not fulfill the desire of the flesh (ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς)." This opening exhortation makes clear that Paul sees an ongoing struggle with the desires of the flesh in the lives of believers. In this passage Paul uses "desire" in a neutral sense. What makes desire good or bad depends on its origin. Desire that has its origin in the flesh is bad and has outcomes in the works of the flesh listed in 5:19-21. Desire that has its origin in the Spirit is expressed in the fruit of the Spirit, 5:22-24. That this passage overlaps with Romans 7 is clear in the way both set out the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit in terms of the dilemma of one who wills but cannot do and does what is not willed (Rom 7:15, 18; Gal 5:17). The Galatians passage concludes, as it began, with an exhortation to "Walk in the Spirit" (5:25). What this means in context is set out in a series of more specific exhortations, "Let us have no self-conceit, no provoking of one another, no envy of one another" (7:26). These are all obvious works of the flesh. Thus it is clear that Paul regarded "fleshly desire" as a pervasive problem in the community of faith and not something miraculously overcome in the lives of believers simply by the presence of the Spirit. Much of his rhetoric is designed to galvanize his readers against the flesh and for the Spirit.

For James, "desire" is part of the human make up. This seems to imply that God is responsible for the source of temptation and ultimately responsible for evil. Just how James can deny this is unclear, but deny it he does! Responsibility for sin does not belong to God but to the human person who gives in to "desire." The reason for introducing teaching about "desire" is to assert the human responsibility for sin and to provide instruction on the way to overcome it. This defense of the *goodness* of God could be called the argument from human responsibility. Whether the human person, subject to "desire," has free will in any meaningful sense is open to serious question. It can be argued that the will, subject to "desire," *submits* to the allure rather than being *unwillingly* overpowered. To enter such a discussion is, however, to become more philosophically inclined than James had any intention to be. His aim was to place the responsibility for sin firmly on the head of the sinner and, in so doing, to affirm the unwavering goodness of God.

James 4:1-3 connects ἐπιθυμεῖτε with ζηλοῦτε. Here the terms are translated "you desire" and "you covet." Very likely the two terms are used as synonyms because, turning to Rom 7:7-12, we find ἐπιθυμίαν used in the sense of "covetousness." This is confirmed by the use of the verb in the tenth commandment, Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. The use of Οὐκ with the future indicative is unusual to express a negative command and functions like an aorist subjunctive with μὴ.[46] Thus Paul's treatment of "desire" is identified with covetousness and the command not to covet. In this discussion Paul treats the prohibition of covetousness as such, without reference to particular objects of covetousness, as expressed in the commandment. Interestingly, James (1:14-15) also treats "desire" as such without reference to the object of desire.[47] Consequently, both James and Paul appear to see desire in itself as the source of sin. That seems to identify "desire" (ἐπιθυμία) with the "evil impulse," but there is nothing about the "good impulse" in James or Paul. We may say that "desire" for self-satisfaction is set over against obedience to the will and purpose of God.[48] Therefore, the use of "desire" or "covet" by James and Paul is the desire to possess. It is what Paul calls in Gal 5:16-17, "fleshly desire," "the desire of the flesh," desire that has its origin in the flesh.

While both James and Paul treat "desire" as the source of sin, Paul's treatment of the subject suggests it is a more deeply rooted problem than is apparent in James. It is a struggle to be carried on throughout mortal life and then only successful in the reality of the Spirit. At the same time, the believer also needs to be fully committed and active. The believer is exhorted to walk in the Spirit. Ultimately the problem is resolved when the mortal body is raised to new life.

James also is full of exhortation to the readers. But there is no analysis of the sense of division or conflict within human life, including the lives of believers. Rather, James implies that the "double-minded" person (δίψυχος) is excluded.[49] The first use of this

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[46] Here it is derived from the LXX where οὐκ with the future indicative is regularly used to translate prohibitions (BDF §362).

[47] See C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: A & C Black, 1957) 141, and J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1—8* (WBC 38A; Dallas: Word Books, 1988) 379-80.

[48] When Paul writes of the way he commends he says, "For I delight (συνήδομαι) in the law of God according to the inner man (κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον)" (7:22). He does not say, "I desire (ἐπιθυμέω) the law of God," because that would imply the will to possess it, take control of it.

[49] Only in James is this term (δίψυχος) used in the New Testament.

expression is found in James 1:8 which deals with asking in faith, without doubt:

> for the one who doubts is like a wave of the sea driven and tossed by the wind. That person should not suppose that a double minded man (ἀνὴρ δίψυχος) will receive anything from the Lord (1:6-8).

The second use occurs in an exhortation (4:8):

> Draw near to God and he will draw near to you.
> Sinners, cleanse [your] hands,
> and you double minded (δίψυχος), purify [your] hearts.

Interestingly the final line combines the Greek δίψυχος with the Hebraic use of the heart (καρδία). Perhaps there is no easy expression for a double or divided heart while δίψυχος lay ready to hand. Yet the duplicity of "mind" is dealt with by cleansing the heart. This seems to be a manageable process for James. Thus the divided self does not seem to be such a radical problem for him. In this context it seems that Jesus' interpretation of the law is the gospel according to James, that which delivers the believer.

JAMES AND PAUL: INTERTEXTUALITY IN JAMES 2:14-26[50]

Given this perspective on James and Paul, we can hardly overlook the second treatise in James (2:14-26) on faith and works. Intertextually this passage is related to Gen 15:6 and to the Epistles of Paul. Here James seeks to set out his understanding of the appropriate relationship between faith and works. There is no attempt to deny the importance of faith. What is denied is that a person is justified by faith alone (ἐκ πίστεως μόνον, 2:24). This terminology is significant. We must suppose that James would not deny this position unless it was affirmed, at least by someone. Further, this denial comes at the end of the first and longer of two illustrations of the principle of justification by works. The second concerned Rahab but the first and more important of the two is introduced by the words,

> Will you not learn, you foolish person, that faith apart from works is useless? Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered Isaac his son on the altar? You see that faith was working with his works and from his works faith was completed, and the scripture was fulfilled which says, "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness" and he was called a friend of God. See that from works a

[50] For the following section see *Just James*, 266-69.

person is justified and not from faith alone. (James 2.20–24)

Two points of focus in this passage are diametrically opposed to the teaching of Paul, at least in the words in which they are formulated. First, James has asserted that Abraham was justified by works and has quoted Gen 15:6 to make his point. Second, on the basis of this illustration the principle of justification by works is asserted against the position of justification by faith alone.

In Rom 4:2 Paul rhetorically asserts that Abraham was not justified by works:

> For if Abraham was justified by works, he has a basis upon which to boast, but not in relation to God.

He continues by quoting Gen 15:6 to the effect that "Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness." The whole of the chapter is developed by Paul to show that Abraham was justified as a consequence of his belief and not on the basis of his works. In Rom 4:6 Paul summarizes the teaching of Ps 32:1-2, which he attributes to David.

> Even as also David speaks of the blessedness of the man to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works (χωρὶς ἔργων).

Here Paul teaches justification by believing (faith) apart from works. In the development of the theme, the focus turns to the situation in which this occurred, and it is important for Paul to show that Abraham was reckoned righteous *while he was uncircumcised.* The reason for this is that, in Paul's time, the demand for circumcision had become the symbolic marker for Jewish identity expressed in the demand to keep the whole of the Mosaic law (see Acts 15:1, 5).

James, on the other hand, also in rhetorical mode, asserts that Abraham was justified by works! The question "Was not Abraham our father justified by works . . .?" implies the answer "Yes!" as is clear from the use of οὐκ in the formulation of the question. James then goes on to quote Gen 15:6 to make his point, quoting the text in exactly the same words as Paul did in Rom 4:3. Paul twice more, later in the argument, quotes the same text in a more fragmentary way (Rom 4:9, 22 and again in Gal 3:6). Obviously both authors are making use of the LXX. James' choice of text is peculiar because it says, "Abraham *believed God* and it was reckoned to him for righteousness." Yet James concludes, "See then that a person is justified by works and not by faith alone." In Romans Paul, having

quoted from Gen 15:6, continues, "To the one who works the payment is not reckoned as a gift but as a debt . . ." It seems that James' use of Gen 15:6 to show that Abraham was justified by works is directly opposed to the language of the teaching as formulated by Paul.

Two lines of approach unsuccessfully attempt to deflect this conclusion. The first argues that in Rom 4:2, 6, although Paul has written that Abraham was reckoned righteous apart from works, he really meant, "works of the law."[51] But this is to miss the point, as Rom 4:4 shows. It is not that Paul devalues works. He asserts that a person is not *justified* by works, works of the law or any other kind of works which build up credit as a basis for standing before God. Paul does not use the term "justified" in Romans 4. Because of the influence of the wording of Gen 15:6 he uses the terms "reckoned" and "righteousness." The language of justification is not far away, however. We find it in Rom 3:28, "For we maintain a person to be justified by faith apart from the works of the law" and in Rom 5:1, "Therefore, being justified by faith . . ."

Why has *James* 2:21 used the language of justification (ἐδικαιώθη)? It is not in the text of Genesis, quoted to prove that Abraham was justified by works. What is more, James 2:18 is concerned to refute the validity of faith apart from works (τὴν πίστιν σου χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων, compare Rom 4:6 and 3:28). An attempt is being made to refute what is understood to be the Pauline teaching of justification by faith alone, which is *James'* way of summing up the Pauline teaching in an attempt to refute it. That need not mean that the author of *James* had read and understood Romans.[52]

A pervasive tradition of Jewish teaching focused on Abraham as an example of the *faithful* Jew.[53] His story provided excellent examples of obedience under all sorts of constraints. Abraham provided evidence of one who acted faithfully, who obeyed God. But James chose to quote Gen 15:6 in a similar context to that used by Paul and to prove exactly the opposite, at least in linguistic terms, to the conclusion Paul sought to establish. On face value, the text quoted supports Paul's position. Why did *James* use this text, especially when

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[51] Thus J. A. Fitzmyer, in J. Reumann, J. A. Fitzmyer, and J. D. Quinn, *Righteousness in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; New York: Paulist Press, 1982) 220.

[52] Wiard Popkes thinks that the best explanation is that "James presupposes Paul or a tradition coming from Paul." See "James and Scripture," 222-23.

[53] See especially the excursus "The Abraham Example," in Dibelius, *James*, 168-74.

it was the offering of Isaac (Gen 22:9, 12), to which James also appeals, that provided the evidence he wanted? *James* was responding to a use of Gen 15.6 that asserted that Abraham was justified by faith. Consequently he used the same text but tapped into the characteristic Jewish teaching about the faithfulness of Abraham as the archetypal Jew. It was precisely this tradition, that was known to Paul, that led him to use the primary example of Jewish piety to demonstrate his distinctive teaching of justification by faith apart from works and he found, almost made to order, the text of Gen 15:6. All that was missing was Paul's precise and characteristic terminology, in place of "faith," "believed"; and in place of "justified," "reckoned . . . for righteousness."

James' answer (in 2:14-17) to the Pauline teaching of justification by faith alone, as he *perceived* it, was to respond in terms of a hypothetical person. Such a person says that he has faith but has no works. James asks, "Surely faith is not able to save him is it?" This question, introduced by μὴ, implies a negative answer. "No!" Faith cannot save him. Apparently faith without works is equated with words without actions, to say to the naked and starving brother or sister, "Go in peace, be warmed and filled," but to do nothing effective. Such words are powerless. Such faith is worthless. Faith without works is dead. Of course this critique is very wide of the mark if aimed at Paul's teaching. That is not the point. Rather it is clear that the critique is aimed at the Pauline formulation, that is, what is perceived to be his teaching. The beginnings of the critique may come from a time contemporary with Paul but the formulation in this letter reflects a time long after Paul and in the context of continuing Christian Judaism.

The critique continues (2:18–26) with another hypothetical person (2:18, see 2:14). As in 2:14 we would expect to find the position of the opponent. "But someone will say, 'You have faith and I have works; show me your faith apart from works and from my works I will show you my faith.'" This however appears to be the position advocated by James. The point of the argument was then made by using the case of the offering of Isaac by Abraham to show that faith was operative in his works (James 2:22). The quotation of Gen 15:6 appears to be intended to lead logically to the conclusion that a person is justified by works and not by faith alone (2:24), that as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith apart from works is dead (2:26).

Certainly Paul would have agreed that faith was active in the performance of good works. So far Paul was in agreement with the Jewish tradition concerning faithful Abraham. Where he radically parts company with James is in the assumption that a person is justified by the works performed, however those works are understood. Paul also rejected the notion that faith is a justifying work. Rather faith in Paul is essentially the recognition of God as the one who justifies the ungodly and the grateful acceptance of that justification freely given. Works involve payment. Justification is the gift of grace, freely given to those who have no grounds to deserve this (Rom 4:4). Thus, while Paul and *James* are not as far apart as the author of *James* supposed, they have radically different understandings of justification. The word of the gospel, for Paul, is implicitly more powerful than the word for James because it needs to overcome what Paul understands as the divided self in the struggle with the "flesh." For Paul, what the law could not do, because of the weakness of the flesh, the seat of ἐπιθυμία, Christ achieved for those who believe.

RHETORIC AND THE POWER OF THE WORD IN PAUL AND JAMES

Although there is a broad area of agreement between Paul and James in their use of rhetoric, Paul's rhetoric is deeply ironical. The irony is a manifestation of his paradoxical presentation the gospel of the cross, of Christ crucified. There is no evidence of a comparable understanding of the gospel in James. Nevertheless, both Paul and James have a severe critique of human boasting. Whereas James and Paul both use scriptural texts to critique boasting (James 1:10 uses Isa 40:6-8, and Paul appeals to Jer 9:24 in 1 Cor 1:31), James' critique is rooted firmly in the wisdom tradition which reminds all humans that "all flesh is grass." Paul's critique is rooted in the gospel of the crucified Messiah.

If Paul's gospel concerns the crucified Messiah, James' gospel is understood as Jesus' interpretation of the law as the way of life for those who follow and obey his word. At this point it is clear that James sees no impediment preventing any one from following and obeying the complete law. Only instruction, encouragement, and exhortation are needed to make the implications clear. Although both James and Paul recognize "desire" as the root of human failure to live as the law requires, James implies that it is within human ability to

overcome desire, to live virtuously and keep the whole law. In stark contrast Paul understands the human self to be deeply divided. As a consequence Paul's gospel involves the deliverance of the believer from desire rooted in life in the flesh which is related to the mortal body.

In spite of these differences, both James and Paul use the techniques of persuasion to move their readers to respond appropriately to the message of the gospel as each understands it. We can say that each uses rhetoric powerfully to elicit the desired response from their readers. For each the response is to what is presented as a saving word (James 1:21 and Rom 1:16; 1 Cor 1:21). But the word of the gospel as understood by Paul is more powerful than the gospel as understood by James. It needs to be because Paul understands all humans to be in the grip of the flesh enslaved by desire. The preaching of Christ crucified, as God's act to redeem the world and reconcile it to himself, is the power of God to save.

For James, the human predicament is not so dark. Primarily what is needed is the guide for those who do not know the way to life. This Jesus is as the interpreter of the law. With Jesus as interpreter of the law as guide, the way to life is open to all.

James and Paul are powerful users of persuasive speech, of rhetoric. But the word Paul proclaims is a more powerful word than the word of James. It needs to be because the human predicament, according to Paul, is more serious. Indeed, it is beyond human remedy. The remedy comes only through God's grace, his act of grace in Christ that is linked to the continuing work of God's life-giving Spirit. All of this is made accessible to the believer in the gospel of Christ crucified, the powerful word of the cross.

WHAT, EXACTLY, IS ISRAEL'S GENTILE PROBLEM? RABBINIC PERSPECTIVES ON GALATIANS 2

Jacob Neusner

All Judaisms have to define the "Israel" of which they speak—that is, that social entity of which Scripture speaks and which is embodied in that very Judaism's social order—and, in consequence, each Judaism has also to propose a final solution to the gentile problem. It has, in other words, to explain to itself who gentiles are and why they matter. And that explanation will embody the deepest systemic concerns, the generative commitment, of that Judaism. For in the account of who "we" are and who "they" are the system identifies what counts. Not only so, but when we wish to compare one Judaism with another, we may take as our arena for comparison and contrast the doctrines of Israel and the gentile set forth by each, for these will attest to the character of the whole of the respective Judaisms.

A certain logic will guide thought on the matter. If the system focuses upon issues of sanctification, as is the case at Qumran and for the Pharisees represented by the Gospels and most of the Rabbinic traditions pertinent to the period before 70, then gentiles will represent the ultimate embodiment of uncleanness, the opposite of the holy. If the system focuses upon issues of salvation, as in the case of Paul's system and that of the sages of the Rabbinic documents seen whole, then gentiles will come to be classified as the un-saved, Israel, those en route to salvation. And, it will follow, a Judaic system that concerns itself with sanctification will identify the final solution of the gentile problem as a matter of exclusion, especially from meals, where issues of sanctification come to realization. A Judaic system of salvation will dismiss as inconsequential the matter of eating with gentiles. That is gentiles bear consequences of another kind altogether; they stand for different things; they form a counterpart and opposite of Israel on different grounds altogether.

I

The initial Christian systems within the Israelite framework—

systems that appeal to the Scriptures of ancient Israel and that deem the social category, "Israel" of the ancient Scriptures to be realized in the community of Christ formed in the here and now—follow suit.[1] They realize the same dichotomy and replicate the same consequences. The one system defines the gentile problem in terms of uncleanness because at stake is Israel's sanctification, the other, in terms of sin and atonement, because the issue is salvation. This we see in the framing of the gentile problem by the principals, James and Paul. When, in his letter to the Galatians, Paul reviews the three positions on eating with gentiles—James', Peter's, and his own—I shall show, Paul frames Israel's gentile problem in a manner quite coherent with the Rabbinic sages' later definition of the same matter. What renders the gentiles an issue defines what is at stake in the larger systemic formations adumbrated in Paul's account of matters: gentiles matter at meals, gentiles matter at the end of days—with strikingly different consequences in the here and now.

James stresses that Israelites are not to eat with gentiles, and we do not assume too much if we explain his position by appeal to purity-laws. Gentiles are cultically unclean, on a continuum with corpses, and anyone who wishes to eat his ordinary meals in a manner befitting the kingdom of priests and the holy people will not sit at table with them. Peter's position is ambiguous. It is Paul's formulation of the matter that entirely shifts the ground of argument, away from purity altogether and toward the matter of salvation, so in a famous passage:

> We . . . know that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus in order to be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the law, because by works of the law shall no one be justified. (Gal 2:15-16)

Now if we ask what keeping cultic cleanness has to do with salvation ("being reckoned righteous"), the answer is, nothing. The two Christian systems scarcely intersect; each works out the dialectics of its own logic: the oppositions of Israel and gentiles on its own grounds. If uncleanness counts, then the gentiles form an ontological, not an eschatological category, having to do with sanctification in the here and now. Paul's gentile problem has to do with salvation, whether

[1] The present formulation accommodates Catholic Christianity and eliminates the Gnostic.

for Israel or for gentiles, because Paul's system is a salvific system, and not because it is an alternative, within the same category-formation, to James' (or Peter's, whatever that can have been). In Galatians we have no argument between persons who share the same premises and differ as to detail—that is to say, a true argument. We witness, rather, a collision of closed systems, the one unable to comprehend the category-formations that define, for the other, the selection and interpretation of the facts to begin with.

Then in shifting the focus from relationships to gentiles to salvation, Paul has simply re-categorized the matter of keeping cultic cleanness. Relationships to gentiles no longer define the focus of discourse, as James and Peter maintain, because in the most material terms possible, eating with them bears no consequence. What counts is salvation, and in that framework, gentiles and Israelites share a common past and a common future. To state matters more simply, there is no reading Galatians 2 outside of the framework of Romans 9–11, where Paul presents a final solution to the gentile problem in his definition of Israel: "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel, and not all are children of Abraham because they are his descendants. It is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are reckoned as descendants" (Rom 9:6-8, among many passages).

II

For the theological system that animates the Rabbinic writings of antiquity, Mishnah, Tosefta, Yerushalmi, Bavli, and Midrash-compilations, in response to the Written Torah, Israel stands for those who will stand in judgment and enter eternal life, and gentiles stand for those who will not. The systemic logic concerns itself with the salvation of Israel in the end of days through the sanctification of Israel in the here and now. When the Mishnah states, "All Israel has a portion of the world to come" (with some minor exceptions), it invites a transposition of predicate and subject: "those who have a portion in the world to come" are encompassed within Israel. They are those who acknowledge one God, who is made manifest in the Torah. Paul and the Rabbinic sages concur that birth within Israel, not only coming under the wings of God's presence and accepting God's dominion in the Torah, counts too, Paul's formulation in

Romans exploring the logical requirements of the problem he has taken for himself. But if those who have a portion in the world to come are Israel, then who and what are gentiles? For the sages, the gentiles are those who have rejected the Torah. And that matters because it is through the Torah that God has made possible the regeneration of Adam. The Torah addresses the flaw in Adam that Eden revealed and announces the remedy: "The All-Merciful desires the heart."

III

Let me then state the Rabbinic doctrine of the gentiles. My exposition will leave no doubt of the systemic congruity of Paul's and the sages' definition of the category-formation, Israel/gentiles. For both systems, to be a gentile is to be a sinner, in the model of Adam and Eve, and to require a medium of regeneration from the human condition of rebellion against God. Paul in so many words refers to himself and Peter in the language: "We ourselves who are Jews by birth and not gentile sinners." Where Paul and sages part company it is whether or not the Torah serves as the medium of regeneration, which is to say, attaining that condition that will mark the person as "reckoned righteous." Sages will not use the language of justification, but their entire system is aimed at the transformation of humanity into Israel: those who know God and obey him. That is what embodies God's grace: the revelation of the Torah to Israel.

The Rabbinic doctrine of God defines Gentiles as idolaters, and Israelites worship the one, true God, who has made himself known in the Torah. What makes Israel Israel is the Torah. In the Oral Torah, that is the difference—the only consequential distinction—between Israel and the gentiles. Still, there is that and one other, Israel stands for life, the gentiles for death. That is because Israel will stand in judgment—the Rabbinic counterpart to the language of justification —and the gentiles will not. Before proceeding, let us consider a clear statement of why idolatry defines the boundary between Israel and everybody else. The reason is that idolatry—rebellious arrogance against God—encompasses the entire Torah. The religious duty to avoid idolatry is primary; if one violates the religious duties, he breaks the yoke of commandments, and if he violates that single religious duty, he violates the entire Torah. Violating the prohibition

against idolatry is equivalent to transgressing all Ten Commandments:

Sifré to Numbers CXI:I.1ff.

1. A. "But if you err and do not observe [all these commandments which the Lord has spoken to Moses" (Num 15:22-26):

2. A. "But if you err and do not observe":

B. Scripture speaks of idolatry.

Now we test the proposition, as sages commonly do, by proposing other readings of the evidence that is adduced besides the one offered as normative. Here is a sequence of options:

C. You maintain that Scripture speaks of idolatry. But perhaps Scripture refers to any of the religious duties that are listed in the Torah?

D. Scripture states, ". . . then if it was done unwittingly without the knowledge of the congregation." Scripture thereby has singled out a particular religious duty unto itself, and what might that be? It is the prohibition against idolatry.

E. You maintain that Scripture speaks of idolatry. But perhaps Scripture refers to any of the religious duties that are listed in the Torah?

F. Scripture states, "But if you err and do not observe," indicating that all of the religious duties come together to give testimony concerning a single religious duty.

G. Just as if someone violates all of the religious duties, he thereby breaks off the yoke [of the commandments] and wipes out the mark of the covenant and so treats the Torah impudently, so if one violates a single religious duty, he thereby breaks off the yoke [of the commandments] and wipes out the mark of the covenant and so treats the Torah impudently.

H. And what might that single religious duty be? It is idolatry, for it is said [in that regard], ". . . to violate his covenant" (Deut 17:2). [Thus the covenant refers in particular to the rule against idolatry, which then stands for the whole.]

I. "Covenant" moreover refers only to the Torah, as it is said, "These are the words of the covenant" (Deut 28:69).

The systematic proof having been completed, we now pursue a different path to the same goal:

J. [Providing a different proof for the same proposition as D-I], Rabbi says, "Here the word 'all' is used, and elsewhere the word 'all' is used. Just as in the word 'all' used elsewhere Scripture refers to idolatry, so in the word

'all' used here Scripture refers to idolatry."

Now we show that idolatry requires the denial of the Ten Commandments:

3. A. ". . . which the Lord has spoken to Moses":

B. How do you know that whoever confesses to belief in idolatry denies the Ten Commandments?

C. Scripture says, ". . . which the Lord has spoken to Moses," and elsewhere, "And God spoke all these words, saying" (Exod 20:1). "God spoke one word . . ." (Ps 62:12). "Are not my words like fire, says the Lord" (Jer 23:29). So too in respect to that concerning which Moses was commanded Scripture says, ". . . all that the Lord God commanded through the hand of Moses."

D. How do we know that that same rule applies also to all matters concerning which the prophets were commanded?

E. Scripture says, ". . . from the day that the Lord gave commandment [and onward throughout your generations]."

F. And how do we know that that is the case also concerning the commandments entrusted to the patriarchs?

G. Scripture says, ". . . and onward throughout your generations."

H. And whence did the Holy One, blessed be he, begin to entrust commandments to the patriarchs?

I. As it is said, "And the Lord God commanded Adam" (Gen 2:16).

J. Scripture thereby indicates that whoever confesses to belief in idolatry denies the Ten Commandments and rejects all of the commandments entrusted to Moses, the prophets, and the patriarchs.

K. And whoever denies idolatry confesses to belief in the entirety of the Torah.

Violating the religious duties in general means breaking the yoke of the commandments, but there is one that carries in its wake the violation of the entire Torah or all Ten Commandments. Idolatry is that one. And that is what defines gentiles, that is, the whole of humanity that does not know God.

To state matters in more general terms: in the theology of the Rabbinic sages, the category, the gentiles or the nations, without elaborate differentiation, encompasses all who are not-Israelites, that is, who do not belong to Israel and therefore do not know and serve God. That category takes on meaning only as complement and

opposite to its generative counterpart, having no standing—self-defining characteristics—on its own. That is, since Israel encompasses the sector of humanity that knows and serves God by reason of God's self-manifestation in the Torah, the gentiles are comprised by everybody else: those placed by their own intention and active decision beyond the limits of God's revelation. Guided by the Torah Israel worships God, without its illumination gentiles worship idols. At the outset, therefore, the main point registers: by "gentiles" sages understand, God's enemies, and by "Israel" sages understand, those who know God as God has made himself known, which is, through the Torah. In no way do we deal with secular categories, but with theological ones.

The gentiles hate Israel and therefore hate God. What accounts for the logic that links the one to the other? The answer to that question fully spells out the doctrine of the gentiles that the Oral Torah constructs, and everything else is commentary. What defines the gentiles—the lack of the Torah—explains also why their very character requires them to hate Israel, the people of the Torah. The gentiles' hatred of Israel came about because of the revelation of the Torah at Sinai:

Bavli tractate Shabbat 9:3-4 I.45-6/89a

A. Said one of the rabbis to R. Kahana, "Have you heard the meaning of the words 'Mount Sinai'?"

B. He said to him, "The mountain on which miracles [nissim] were done for Israel."

C. "But then the name should be, Mount Nisai."

D. "Rather, the mountain on which a good omen was done for Israel."

E. "But then the name should be, Mount Sinai."

F. He said to him, "So why don't you hang out at the household of R. Pappa and R. Huna b. R. Joshua, for they're the ones who really look into lore."

G. For both of them say, "What is the meaning of the name, Mount Sinai? It is the mountain from which hatred [sinah] descended for the gentiles."

The key to the entire system—the Torah—opens the lock at hand. Israel accepts the Torah, gentiles reject it, and everything follows from that single fact. Israel knows God, gentiles deny him, and

relations between the two sectors of humanity are determined by that fact.

Who, speaking categorically not historically, indeed are these "non-Israelites," called gentiles ("the nations," "the peoples," and the like)? The answer is dictated by the form of the question: who exactly is a "non-Israelite"? Then the answer concerning the signified is always relative to its signifier, Israel? Within humanity-other-than-Israel, differentiation articulates itself along gross, political lines, always in relationship to Israel. If humanity is differentiated politically, then, it is a differentiation imposed by what has happened between a differentiated portion of humanity and Israel. It is, then, that segment of humanity that under given circumstances has interacted with Israel: (1) Israel arising at the end and climax of the class of world empires, Babylonia, Media, Greece, Rome; or (2) Israel against Egypt; or (3) Israel against Canaan. That is the point at which Babylonia, Media, Greece, Rome, Egypt, or Canaan take a place in the narrative, become actors for the moment, but never givens, never enduring native categories. Then, when politics does not impose its structure of power-relationships, then humanity is divided between Israel and everyone else.

Gentile-idolaters and Israelite worshippers of the one and only God part company at death. Israelites die and rise from the grave, gentiles die and remain there. The roads intersect at the grave, each component of humanity taking its own path beyond. Israelites—meaning, those possessed of right conviction—will rise from the grave, stand in judgment (along with some gentiles, as we shall see in a moment), but then enter upon eternal life, to which no one else will enjoy access. So, in substance, humanity viewed whole is divided between those who get a share in the world to come—Israel—and who will stand when subject to divine judgment and those who will not. These are extreme propositions. How do sages say what I impute to them, which is, to be Israel is to live forever, and to be gentile is to die once and for all time, so that, at the end of days God will save Israel and destroy idolatry? Here is one such formulation:

Bavli tractate Abodah Zarah 1:1 I:7-8, 10/4a

I.7 A. R. Hinena bar Pappa contrasted verses of Scripture: "It is written, 'As to the almighty, we do not find him exercising plenteous power' (Job 37:23), but by contrast, 'Great is our Lord and of abundant power' (Ps

147:5), and further, 'Your right hand, Lord, is glorious in power' (Exod 15:6).

B. "But there is no contradiction between the first and second and third statements, for the former speaks of the time of judgment [when justice is tempered with mercy, so God does not do what he could] and the latter two statements refer to a time of war [of God against his enemies]."

I.8 A. R. Hama bar Hanina contrasted verses of Scripture: "It is written, 'Fury is not in me' (Isa 27:4) but also 'The Lord revenges and is furious' (Nah 1:2).

B. "But there is no contradiction between the first and second statements, for the former speaks of Israel, the latter of the gentiles."

C. R. Hinena bar Pappa said, "'Fury is not in me' (Isa 27:4), for I have already taken an oath: 'would that I had not so vowed, then as the briars and thorns in flame would I with one step burn it altogether.'"

I.10 A. That is in line with what Raba said, "What is the meaning of the verse, 'Howbeit he will not stretch out a hand for a ruinous heap though they cry in his destruction' (Job 30:24)?

B. "Said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Israel, 'When I judge Israel, I shall not judge them as I do the gentiles, for it is written, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it" (Ezek 21:32), rather, I shall exact punishment from them as a hen pecks.'

C. "Another matter: 'Even if the Israelites do not carry out a religious duty before me more than a hen pecking at a rubbish heap, I shall join together [all the little pecks] into a great sum: "although they pick little they are saved" (Job 30:24)

So I cannot over-stress the given on which all else is built: to be a gentile is to practice idolatry and to die, and to be Israel is to serve the one true God and to rise from the grave. That principle governs throughout. Everything else flows from it, and, in due course we shall see, upon that basis the present condition of the world is shown to cohere with the principle of the moral order of justice that prevails.

How does this conviction, already adumbrated in my definition of Israel play itself out? That the world to come opens before Israel is explicit, as in the opening statement of the Mishnah-treatise on the subject, seen in *m. Sanh.* 11:1A: "All Israelites have a share in the world to come, as it is said, 'Your people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified' (Isa 60:21)." But in that

very context we recall, not even all Israel enters in. The ones who do not find definition in the logic of the Rabbinic sages viewed whole: those who deny the normative principles of the faith—that the Torah comes from Heaven, that the teaching of the resurrection of the dead derives from the Torah—lose out, for by their own word they do not know God, so, while remaining Israel, join the gentiles before the very gate of the world to come. So too the principle of measure for measure furthermore applies: those who deny resurrection as a principle of the Torah—the sole source of truth so far as sages are concerned—also do not get it.

This brings us from the principles to the details of sages' theology of the gentiles. What specifically do we know in the Torah about the gentiles? First, all those prior to Noah simply are wiped out, do not get a share in the world to come, and do not stand in Judgment. As to those after the flood, while they have no share in the world to come, they will stand in judgment. Justified, they still do not enter the world to come:

Mishnah-tractate Sanhedrin 11:3A-CC

A. The generation of the flood has no share in the world to come,
B. and they shall not stand in the judgment,
C. since it is written, "My spirit shall not judge with man forever" (Gen 6:3)
D. neither judgment nor spirit.

Once the generation of the flood enters, it draws in its wake the generation of the dispersion and the men of Sodom:

E. The generation of the dispersion has no share in the world to come,
F. since it is said, "So the Lord scattered them abroad from there upon the face of the whole earth" (Gen 11:8).
G. "So the Lord scattered them abroad"—in this world,
H. "and the Lord scattered them from there"—in the world to come.
I. The men of Sodom have no portion in the world to come,
J. since it is said, "Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly" (Gen 13:13)
K. "Wicked"—in this world,
L. "And sinners"—in the world to come.
M. But they will stand in judgment.
N. R. Nehemiah says, "Both these and those will not stand in judgment,
O. "for it is said, 'Therefore the wicked shall not stand in judgment [108A],

nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous' (Ps 1:5)

P. 'Therefore the wicked shall not stand in judgment'— this refers to the generation of the flood.

Q. 'Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous'—this refers to the men of Sodom."

R. They said to him, "They will not stand in the congregation of the righteous, but they will stand in the congregation of the sinners."

Now we shift to Israelite sinners, three classes of persons, with the same result: here too, some stand in judgment but will not enter the world to come. The spies who rejected the Land, the generation of the golden calf, condemned to die in the wilderness, and the party of Korah define the Israelites who lose out. They are those who rejected the restoration to the Land do not reenter the land at the restoration that commences with resurrection, those who opted for an idol instead of God, and those who rejected the Torah of Moses. So these classes of Israelites match the gentiles, for they deny the three principal components of salvation and redemption: restoration, service of one God, and acceptance of the authority of the Torah of Sinai; we note that some opinion differs, but the anonymous opinion represents the consensus of sages, as always:

S. The spies have no portion in the world to come,

T. as it is said, "Even those men who brought up an evil report of the land died by the plague before the Lord" (Num 14:37)

U. "Died"— in this world.

V. "By the plague"—in the world to come.

W. "The generation of the wilderness has no portion in the world to come and will not stand in judgment,

X. "for it is written, 'In this wilderness they shall be consumed and there they shall die' (Num 14:35)." The words of R. Aqiba.

Y. R. Eliezer says, "Concerning them it says, 'Gather my saints together to me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice' (Ps 50:5)."

Z. "The party of Korah is not destined to rise up,

AA. "for it is written, 'And the earth closed upon them'—in this world.

BB. "'And they perished from among the assembly'—in the world to come." The words of R. Aqiba.

CC. And R. Eliezer says, "Concerning them it says, 'The Lord kills and resurrects, brings down to Sheol and brings up again' (1 Sam 2:6)."

The Mishnah then takes up special cases of particular classes of gentiles singled out by Scripture.

What about gentiles in general? All depends upon their own actions. Since the point of differentiation is idolatry as against worship of the one God, gentiles may enter into the category of Israel, which is to say, they recognize the one God and come to serve him. That means, whether now or later, some, perhaps many, gentiles will enter Israel, being defined as other Israelites are defined: those who worship the one and only God. The gentiles include many righteous persons. But by the end of days these God will bring to Israel:

Yerushalmi Berakhot 2:8 I:2:

A. When R. Hiyya bar Adda, the nephew of Bar Qappara, died Resh Laqish accepted [condolences] on his account because he [Resh Laqish] had been his teacher. We may say that [this action is justified because] a person's student is as beloved to him as his son.

B. And he [Resh Laqish] expounded concerning him [Hiyya] this verse: "My beloved has gone down to his garden, to the bed of spices, to pasture his flock in the gardens, and to gather lilies" [Song 6:2]. It is not necessary [for the verse to mention, 'To the bed of spices']. [It is redundant if you interpret the verse literally, for most gardens have spice beds.]

C. Rather [interpret the verse as follows:] My beloved—this is God; has gone down to his garden—this is the world; to the beds of spices—this is Israel; to pasture his flock in the gardens—these are the nations of the world; and to gather lilies—these are the righteous whom he takes from their midst.

Now a parable restates the proposition in narrative terms; having chosen a different mode of discourse from the narrative one that dominates in the Authorized History, Genesis through Kings, sages reintroduce narrative for an other-than-historical purpose, as here:

D. They offer a parable [relevant to this subject]. To what may we compare this matter [of the tragic death of his student]? A king had a son who was very beloved to him. What did the king do? He planted an orchard for him.

E. As long as the son acted according to his father's will, he would search throughout the world to seek the beautiful saplings of the world, and to plant them in his orchard. And when his son angered him he went and cut down all his saplings.

F. Accordingly, so long as Israel acts according to God's will he searches throughout the world to seek the righteous persons of the nations of the

> world and bring them and join them to Israel, as he did with Jethro and Rahab. And when they [the Israelites] anger him he removes the righteous from their midst.

It follows that Israel bears a heavy burden of responsibility even for the gentiles. When Israel pleases God, the righteous among the gentiles are joined to them, and when not, not. So while gentiles as such cannot inherit the world to come, they too can enter the status of Israel, in which case they join Israel in the world to come.

This the gentiles will do in exactly the way that Israel attained that status to begin with, which is by knowing God through his self-manifestation in the Torah, therefore by accepting God's rule as set forth therein. In this way the theology of the Rabbinic sages maintains its perfect consistency and inner logic: the Torah determines all things. That point is made explicit: If a gentile keeps the Torah, he is saved. But by keeping the Torah, the gentile has ceased to be gentile and become Israelite, worth even of the high priesthood. First comes the definition of how Israel becomes Israel, which is by accepting God's dominion in the Torah:

Sifra CXCIV:ii.1

> 1. A. "The Lord spoke to Moses saying, Speak to the Israelite people and say to them, I am the Lord your God":
>
> B. R. Simeon b. Yohai says, "That is in line with what is said elsewhere: 'I am the Lord your God [who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage]' (Exod 20:2).
>
> C. "'Am I the Lord, whose sovereignty you took upon yourself in Egypt?'
>
> D. "They said to him, 'Indeed.'
>
> E. "'Indeed you have accepted my dominion.'
>
> F. "'They accepted my decrees: "You will have no other gods before me."'
>
> G. "That is what is said here: 'I am the Lord your God,' meaning, 'Am I the one whose dominion you accepted at Sinai?'
>
> H. "They said to him, 'Indeed.'
>
> I. "'Indeed you have accepted my dominion.'
>
> J. "'They accepted my decrees: "You shall not copy the practices of the land of Egypt where you dwelt, or of the land of Canaan to which I am taking you; nor shall you follow their laws."'"

I cite the passage to underscore how matters are defined, which is by appeal to the Torah. Then the true state of affairs emerges when the

same definition explicitly is brought to bear upon the gentiles. That yields the clear inference that gentiles have the power to join themselves to Israel as fully-naturalized Israelites, so the Torah that defines their status also constitutes the ticket of admission to the world to come that Israel will enter in due course. Sages could not be more explicit than they are when they insist, the gentile ceases to be in the status of the gentile when he accepts God's rule in the Torah:

Sifra CXCIV:ii.15

15. A. ". . . by the pursuit of which man shall live":

B. R. Jeremiah says, "How do I know that even a gentile who keeps the Torah, lo, he is like the high priest?

C. "Scripture says, 'by the pursuit of which man shall live.'"

D. And so he says, "'And this is the Torah of the priests, Levites, and Israelites,' is not what is said here, but rather, 'This is the Torah of the man, O Lord God' (2 Sam 7:19)."

E. And so he says, "'open the gates and let priests, Levites, and Israelites will enter it' is not what is said, but rather, 'Open the gates and let the righteous nation, who keeps faith, enter it' (Isa 26:2)."

F. And so he says, "'This is the gate of the Lord. Priests, Levites, and Israelites . . .' is not what is said, but rather, 'the righteous shall enter into it' (Ps 118:20).

G. And so he says, "'What is said is not, 'Rejoice, priests, Levites, and Israelites,' but rather, 'Rejoice, O righteous, in the Lord' (Ps 33:1)."

H. And so he says, "It is not, 'Do good, O Lord, to the priests, Levites, and Israelites,' but rather, 'Do good, O Lord, to the good, to the upright in heart' (Ps 125:4)."

I. "Thus, even a gentile who keeps the Torah, lo, he is like the high priest."

That is not to suggest God does not rule the gentiles. He does—whether they like it or not, acknowledge him or not. God responds, also, to the acts of merit taken by gentiles, as much as to those of Israel. The upshot is, "gentile" and "Israel" classify through the presence or absence of the same traits; they form taxonomic categories that can in the case of the gentile change when that which is classified requires reclassification.

Clearly, the moral ordering of the world encompasses all humanity. But God does not neglect the gentiles or fail to exercise dominion over them. For even now, gentiles are subject to a number of commandments or religious obligations. God cares for gentiles as

for Israel, he wants gentiles as much as Israel to enter the kingdom of Heaven, and he assigns to gentiles opportunities to evince their acceptance of his rule. One of these commandments is not to curse God's name, so *b. Sanh.* 7:5 I.2/56a: "Any man who curses his God shall bear his sin" (Lev 24:15): It would have been clear had the text simply said, "A man." Why does it specify "Any"? It serves to encompass idolaters, who are admonished not to curse the Name, just as Israelites are so admonished. Not cursing God, even while worshipping idols, seems a minimal expectation. But, in fact there are seven such religious obligations that apply to the children of Noah:

Tosefta-tractate Abodah Zarah 8:4-6

A. Concerning seven religious requirements were the children of Noah admonished:

B. setting up courts of justice, idolatry, blasphemy [cursing the Name of God], fornication, bloodshed, and thievery.

We now proceed to show how each of these religious obligations is represented as applying to gentiles as much as to Israelites:

C. Concerning setting up courts of justice—how so [how does Scripture or reason validate the claim that gentiles are to set up courts of justice]?

D. Just as Israelites are commanded to call into session in their towns courts of justice.

E. Concerning idolatry and blasphemy—how so? . . .

F. Concerning fornication—how so?

G. "On account of any form of prohibited sexual relationship on account of which an Israelite court inflicts the death-penalty, the children of Noah are subject to warning." The words of R. Meir.

H. And sages say, "There are many prohibited relationships, on account of which an Israelite court does not inflict the death-penalty and the children of Noah are [not] warned. In regard to these forbidden relationships the nations are judged in accord with the laws governing the nations.

I. "And you have only the prohibitions of sexual relations with a betrothed maiden alone."

The systemization of Scripture's evidence for the stated proposition continues:

8:5 A. For bloodshed—how so?

B. A gentile [who kills] a gentile and a gentile who kills an Israelite are

liable. An Israelite [who kills] a gentile is exempt.

C. Concerning thievery?

D. [If] one has stolen, or robbed, and so too in the case of finding a beautiful captive [woman], and in similar cases:

E. a gentile in regard to a gentile, or a gentile in regard to an Israelite—it is prohibited. And an Israelite in regard to a gentile—it is permitted.

8 :6 A. Concerning a limb cut from a living beast—how so?

B. A dangling limb on a beast, [which] is not [so connected] as to bring about healing,

C. is forbidden for use by the children of Noah, and, it goes without saying, for Israelites.

D. But if there is [in the connecting flesh] sufficient [blood supply] to bring about healing,

E. it is permitted to Israelites, and, it goes without saying, to the children of Noah.

As in the case of Israelites, so the death penalty applies to a Noahide, so *b. Sanh.* 7:5 I.4-5/57a: "On account of violating three religious duties are children of Noah put to death: 'on account of adultery, murder, and blasphemy.'" R. Huna, R. Judah, and all the disciples of Rab say, "On account of seven commandments a son of Noah is put to death. The All-Merciful revealed that fact of one of them, and the same rule applies to all of them." But just as Israelites, educated in the Torah, are assumed to exhibit certain uniform virtues, e.g. forbearance, so gentiles, lacking that same education, are assumed to conform to a different model.

The gentiles thus sustain comparison and contrast with Israel, the point of ultimate division being death for the one, eternal life for the other. If Israel and the gentiles are deemed comparable, the gentiles do not acknowledge or know God, therefore, while they are like Israelites in sharing a common humanity by reason of mythic genealogy—deriving from Noah—the gentiles do not receive in a meritorious manner the blessings that God bestows upon them. God blesses the gentiles, but they do not respond properly. God gives the gentiles prophets, but the prophets to the gentiles do not measure up. So God favors the gentiles with blessings and with prophets. Not only so, but each party to humanity, Israel and the gentiles, forms its own piety as well. But with what result!

Now let us see how the gentiles are characterized in this-worldly

terms, as we have noted how "being Israel" is assumed to mean a given set of virtues will mark the Israelite individual. When God blesses gentile nations, they do not acknowledge him but blaspheme, but when he blesses Israel, they glorify him and bless him; these judgments elaborate the basic principle that the gentiles do not know God, and Israel does. But what emerges here is that even when the gentiles ought to recognize God's hand in their affairs, even when God blesses them, they still deny him, turning ignorance into willfulness. What is striking is the exact balance of three gentiles as against three Israelites, all of the status of world-rulers, the common cluster, Pharaoh, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, vs. the standard cluster, David, Solomon, and Daniel:

Pesiqta deRab Kahana XXVIII:I.1

A. "On the eighth day you shall have a solemn assembly. [You shall do no laborious work, but you shall offer a burnt-offering, an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the Lord . . . These you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed feasts in addition to your votive-offerings and your freewill-offerings, for your burnt-offerings and for your cereal-offerings and for your drink-offerings and for your peace-offerings]" (Num 29:35-9):

B. But you have increased the nation, "O Lord, you have increased the nation; [you are glorified; you have enlarged all the borders of the land]" (Isa 17:25):

The proposition having been stated, the composer proceeds to amass evidence for the two contrasting propositions, first gentile rulers:

C. You gave security to the wicked Pharaoh. Did he then call you "Lord"? Was it not with blasphemies and curses that he said, "Who is the Lord, that I should listen to his voice" (Exod 5:2)!

D. You gave security to the wicked Sennacherib. Did he then call you "Lord"? Was it not with blasphemies and curses that he said, "Who is there among all the gods of the lands" (2 Kgs 18:35).

E. You gave security to the wicked Nebuchadnezzar. Did he then call you "Lord"? Was it not with blasphemies and curses that he said, "And who is God to save you from my power" (Dan 3:15).

Now, nicely balanced, come Israelite counterparts:

F. ". . . you have increased the nation; you are glorified":

G. You gave security to David and so he blessed you: "David blessed the Lord before all the congregation" (1 Chr 29:10).

H. You gave security to his son, Solomon, and so he blessed you: "Blessed

is the Lord who has given rest to his people Israel" (1 Kgs 8:56).

I. You gave security to Daniel and so he blessed you: "Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God" (Dan 2:20)

Here is another set of opposites—three enemies, three saints, a fair match. In each case, the Israelite responded to God's favor with blessings, and the gentile with blasphemy. In this way the gentiles show the price they pay for not knowing God but serving no-gods instead.

So now the question becomes urgent: how has this catastrophic differentiation imposed itself between Israel and the gentiles, such that the gentiles, for all their glory in the here and now, won for themselves the grave, while Israel, for all its humiliation in the present age, inherits the world to come? And the answer is self-evident from all that has been said: the gentiles reject God, whom they could and should have known in the Torah. They rejected the Torah, and all else followed. The proposition then moves in these simple steps:

(1) Israel differs from the gentiles because Israel possesses the Torah and the gentiles do not;

(2) because they do not possess the Torah, the gentiles also worship idols instead of God; and

(3) therefore God rejects the gentiles and identifies with Israel.

And where do considerations of justice and fairness enter in? Here, at a critical turning, the system reaches back into its fundamental and generative conception, that the world is ordered by justice. The Oral Torah then has to demonstrate that the same justice that governs Israel and endows Israel with the Torah dictates the fate of the gentiles and denies them the Torah. And, predictably, that demonstration must further underscore the justice of the condition of the gentiles: measure for measure must play itself out especially here.

The gentiles deprived themselves of the Torah because they rejected it, and, showing the precision of justice, they rejected the Torah because the Torah deprived them of the very practices or traits that they deemed characteristic, essential to their being. That circularity marks the tale of how things were to begin with in fact describes how things always are; it is not historical but philosophical. The gentiles' own character, the shape of their conscience, then, now, and always, accounts for their condition—which, by an act of

will, as we have noted, they can change. What they did not want, that of which they were by their own word unworthy, is denied them. And what they do want condemns them. So when each nation comes under judgment for rejecting the Torah, the indictment of each is spoken out of its own mouth, its own-self-indictment then forms the core of the matter. Given what we know about the definition of Israel as those destined to live and the gentile as those not, we cannot find surprising that the entire account is set in that age to come to which the gentiles are denied entry.

When they protest the injustice of the decision that takes effect just then, they are shown the workings of the moral order, as the following quite systematic account of the governing pattern explains:

Bavli tractate Abodah Zarah 1:1 I.2/2a-b:

A. R. Hanina bar Pappa, and some say, R. Simlai, gave the following exposition [of the verse, "They that fashion a graven image are all of them vanity, and their delectable things shall not profit, and their own witnesses see not nor know" (Isa 44:9)]: "In the age to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring a scroll of the Torah and hold it in his bosom and say, 'Let him who has kept himself busy with it come and take his reward.' Then all the gentiles will crowd together: 'All of the nations are gathered together' (Isa 43:9). The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them, 'Do not crowd together before me in a mob. But let each nation enter together with [2B] its scribes, 'and let the peoples be gathered together' (Isa 43:9), and the word 'people' means 'kingdom': 'and one kingdom shall be stronger than the other' (Gen 25:23)."

We note that the players are the principal participants in world history: the Romans first and foremost, then the Persians, the other world-rulers of the age:

C. "The kingdom of Rome comes in first."

H. "The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them, 'How have you defined your chief occupation?'

I. "They will say before him, 'Lord of the world, a vast number of marketplaces have we set up, a vast number of bathhouses we have made, a vast amount of silver and gold have we accumulated. And all of these things we have done only in behalf of Israel, so that they may define as their chief occupation the study of the Torah.'

J. "The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them, 'You complete idiots! Whatever you have done has been for your own convenience. You have set up a vast number of marketplaces to be sure, but that was so as to set up whorehouses in them. The bathhouses were for your own pleasure. Silver

> and gold belong to me anyhow: "Mine is the silver and mine is the gold, says the Lord of hosts" (Hag 2:8). Are there any among you who have been telling of "this," and "this" is only the Torah: "And this is the Torah that Moses set before the children of Israel' (Deut 4:44)." So they will make their exit, humiliated.

The claim of Rome—to support Israel in Torah-study—is rejected on grounds that the Romans did not exhibit the right attitude, always a dynamic force in the theology. Then the other world rule enters in with its claim:

> K. "When the kingdom of Rome has made its exit, the kingdom of Persia enters afterward."
>
> M. "The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them, 'How have you defined your chief occupation?'
>
> N. "They will say before him, 'Lord of the world, We have thrown up a vast number of bridges, we have conquered a vast number of towns, we have made a vast number of wars, and all of them we did only for Israel, so that they may define as their chief occupation the study of the Torah.'
>
> O. "The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to them, 'Whatever you have done has been for your own convenience. You have thrown up a vast number of bridges, to collect tolls, you have conquered a vast number of towns, to collect the corvée, and, as to making a vast number of wars, I am the one who makes wars: "The Lord is a man of war" (Exod 19:17). Are there any among you who have been telling of "this," and "this" is only the Torah: "And this is the Torah that Moses set before the children of Israel" (Deut 4:44).' So they will make their exit, humiliated.
>
> R. "And so it will go with each and every nation."

As native categories, Rome and Persia are singled out, "all the other nations" play no role, for reasons with which we are already familiar. Once more the theology reaches into its deepest thought on the power of intentionality, showing that what people want is what they get.

But matters cannot be limited to the two world-empires of the present age, Rome and Iran, standing in judgment at the end of time. The theology values balance, proportion, seeks complementary relationships, and therefore treats beginnings along with endings, the one going over the ground of the other. Accordingly, a recapitulation of the same event—the gentiles' rejection of the Torah—chooses as its setting not the last judgment but the first encounter, that is, the giving of the Torah itself. In the timeless world

constructed by the Oral Torah, what happens at the outset exemplifies how things always happen, and what happens at the end embodies what has always taken place. The basic thesis is identical—the gentiles cannot accept the Torah because to do so they would have to deny their very character. But the exposition retains its interest because it takes its own course.

Now the gentiles are not just Rome and Persia but others; and of special interest, the Torah is embodied in some of the ten commandments—not to murder, not to commit adultery, not to steal; then the gentiles are rejected for not keeping the seven commandments assigned to the children of Noah. The upshot is that the reason that the gentiles rejected the Torah is that the Torah prohibits deeds that the gentiles do by their very nature. The subtext here is already familiar from Chapter Three: Israel ultimately is changed by the Torah, so that Israel exhibits traits imparted by their encounter with the Torah. So too with the gentiles, by their nature they are what they are; the Torah has not changed their nature.

Once more a single standard applies to both components of humanity, but with opposite effect:

Sifré to Deuteronomy CCCXLIII:IV.1ff.:

1. A. Another teaching concerning the phrase, "He said, 'The Lord came from Sinai'":

B. When the Omnipresent appeared to give the Torah to Israel, it was not to Israel alone that he revealed himself but to every nation.

C. First of all he came to the children of Esau. He said to them, "Will you accept the Torah?"

D. They said to him, "What is written in it?"

E. He said to them, "'You shall not murder' (Exod 20:13)."

F. They said to him, "The very being of 'those men' [namely, us] and of their father is to murder, for it is said, 'But the hands are the hands of Esau'" (Gen 27:22). 'By your sword you shall live' (Gen 27:40)."

At this point we cover new ground: other classes of gentiles that reject the Torah; now the Torah's own narrative takes over, replacing the known facts of world politics, such as the earlier account sets forth, and instead supplying evidence out of Scripture as to the character of the gentile group under discussion:

G. So he went to the children of Ammon and Moab and said to them, "Will you accept the Torah?"

H. They said to him, "What is written in it?"

I. He said to them, "'You shall not commit adultery' (Exod 20:13)."

J. They said to him, "The very essence of fornication belongs to them [us], for it is said, 'Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their fathers' (Gen 19:36)."

K. So he went to the children of Ishmael and said to them, "Will you accept the Torah?"

L. They said to him, "What is written in it?"

M. He said to them, "'You shall not steal' (Exod 20:13)."

N. They said to him, "The very essence of their [our] father is thievery, as it is said, 'And he shall be a wild ass of a man' (Gen 16:12)."

O. And so it went. He went to every nation, asking them, "Will you accept the Torah?"

P. For so it is said, "All the kings of the earth shall give you thanks, O Lord, for they have heard the words of your mouth" (Ps 138:4).

Q. Might one suppose that they listened and accepted the Torah?

R. Scripture says, "And I will execute vengeance in anger and fury upon the nations, because they did not listen" (Mic 5:14).

At this point we turn back to the obligations that God has imposed upon the gentiles; these obligations have no bearing upon the acceptance of the Torah; they form part of the ground of being, the condition of existence, of the gentiles. Yet even here, the gentiles do not accept God's authority in matters of natural law:

S. And it is not enough for them that they did not listen, but even the seven religious duties that the children of Noah indeed accepted upon themselves they could not uphold before breaking them.

T. When the Holy One, blessed be He, saw that that is how things were, he gave them to Israel.

What then does God hope to accomplish through exercising dominion over Israel by means of the nations? It is the medium for reestablishing his rule over humanity, embodied in Israel, through Israel's own intentionality. Israel is Adam's counterpart, only empowered by the Torah to bend its will to God's will. How does this take place? First of all, Israel will be lead through suffering in exile to repentance, at which point God will forgive them. That point sages learn at Leviticus Chapter Twenty-Six, as most of what they have to say they derive from Scripture in accord with their

governing hermeneutics, which, they would claim, they have to begin with derived from Scripture:

Sifra CCLXIX:II.1, 3

A. "But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers [in their treachery which they committed against me, and also in walking contrary to me, so that I walked contrary to them and brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised heart is humbled and they make amends for their iniquity; then I will remember my covenant with Jacob, and I will remember my covenant also with Isaac and my covenant also with Abraham, and I will remember the land. But the land shall be left by them and enjoy its Sabbaths while it lies desolate without them; and they shall make amends for their iniquity, because they spurned my ordinances, and their soul abhorred my statutes. Yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not spurn them, neither will I abhor them so as to destroy them utterly and break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God; but I will for their sake remember the covenant with their forefathers whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, that I might be their God: I am the Lord. These are the statutes and ordinances and laws which the Lord made between him and the people of Israel on Mount Sinai by Moses]" (Lev 26:40-46):

B. This is how things are as to repentance,

C. for as soon as they confess their sins, I forthwith revert and have mercy on them,

D. as it is said, "But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers in their treachery which they committed against me."

The second point is that God will never permit Israel to remove itself from his dominion; willy-nilly they will remain his kingdom:

3. A. ". . . and brought them into the land of their enemies":

B. This is a good deal for Israel.

C. For the Israelites are not to say, "Since we have gone into exile among the gentiles, let us act like them."

D. [God speaks:] "I shall not let them, but I shall call forth prophets against them, who will bring them back to the right way under my wings."

E. And how do we know?

F. "What is in your mind shall never happen, the thought, 'Let us be like the nations, like the tribes of the countries, and worship wood and stone.' 'As I live,' says the Lord God, 'surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you. [I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you out of the countries where you are scattered, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with

wrath poured out'" (Ezek 20:33-3).

G. Whether you like it or not, with or without your consent, I shall establish my dominion over you."

Israel subject to the gentiles then gains the opportunity to repent and reconcile itself with God, and that is the plan that God has devised to overcome the workings of strict justice; exile and subjugation then form acts of mercy on God's part, just as Abraham had foreseen when he wisely chose the rule of the nations over Gehenna.

The final question that requires attention returns us to our starting point, the comparison of Israel and the nations, in the present case, the Israelite with the gentile. That is framed in terms of Israel and Adam, meaning, the sector of humanity within, and the part of humanity outside of, the circle of the Torah. By reason of disobedience Adam sinned and was justly punished by exile from Eden; that represented an act of mercy, he was not wiped out, as Eve had said he and she would be. Because of disobedience Israel sinned and was justly punished by exile from the Land of Israel, counterpart to Eden. But then is Israel not just another Adam—rebellious and permanently punished on that account? There is a distinction, one that makes all the difference. The Torah, carrying with it the possibility of repentance, changes Israel's condition.

Israel is like Adam, but Israel is the Other, the Last Adam, the opposite of Adam. We shall now systematically compare Adam and Israel, the first man and the last, and show how the story of Adam matches the story of Israel—but with a difference:

Genesis Rabbah XIX:IX.1-2

2. A. R. Abbahu in the name of R. Yosé bar Haninah: "It is written, 'But they are like a man [Adam], they have transgressed the covenant' (Hos 6:7).

B. "'They are like a man,' specifically, like the first man. [We shall now compare the story of the first man in Eden with the story of Israel in its land.]"

Now the composer identifies an action in regard to Adam with a counterpart Action in regard to Israel, in each case matching verse for verse, beginning with Eden and Adam:

C. "'In the case of the first man, I brought him into the garden of Eden, I commanded him, he violated my commandment, I judged him to be sent away and driven out, but I mourned for him, saying "How . . ."' [which begins the book of Lamentations, hence stands for a lament, but which, as

we just saw, also is written with the consonants that also yield, 'Where are you'].

D. "'I brought him into the garden of Eden,' as it is written, 'And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden' (Gen 2:15).

E. "'I commanded him,' as it is written, 'And the Lord God commanded . . .' (Gen 2:16).

F. "'And he violated my commandment,' as it is written, 'Did you eat from the tree concerning which I commanded you' (Gen 3:11).

G. "'I judged him to be sent away,' as it is written, 'And the Lord God sent him from the garden of Eden' (Gen 3:23).

H. "'And I judged him to be driven out.' 'And he drove out the man' (Gen 3:24).

I. "'But I mourned for him, saying, "How . . . ".' 'And he said to him, "Where are you"' (Gen 3:9), and the word for 'where are you' is written, 'How . . . .'"

Now comes the systematic comparison of Adam and Eden with Israel and the Land of Israel:

J. "'So too in the case of his descendants, [God continues to speak,] I brought them into the Land of Israel, I commanded them, they violated my commandment, I judged them to be sent out and driven away but I mourned for them, saying, "How . . . ."'

K. "'I brought them into the Land of Israel.' 'And I brought you into the land of Carmel' (Jer 2:7).

L. "'I commanded them.' 'And you, command the children of Israel' (Exod 27:20). 'Command the children of Israel' (Lev 24:2).

M. "'They violated my commandment.' 'And all Israel have violated your Torah' (Dan 9:11).

N. "'I judged them to be sent out.' 'Send them away, out of my sight and let them go forth' (Jer 15:1).

O. "'. . . and driven away.' 'From my house I shall drive them' (Hos 9:15).

P. "'But I mourned for them, saying, "How . . . ."' 'How has the city sat solitary, that was full of people' (Lam 1:1)."

Here we end where we began, Israel in exile from the Land, like Adam in exile from Eden. But the Torah is clear that there is a difference, which we shall address in its proper place: Israel can repent.

So to conclude: the just world order is comprised by the division of humanity into Israel with the Torah, and the gentiles with their

idols. The one is destined to life eternal with God, the other to the grave, there to spend eternity. World order then finds its center and focus in Israel, and whatever happens that counts under Heaven's gaze takes place in relationship to Israel. That division yields rich and dense details but only a simple story, easily retold. In a purposeful act of benevolence, the just God created the world in so orderly a way that the principle of justice and equity governs throughout. Fair rules apply equally to all persons and govern all circumstances. God not only created man but made himself known to man through the Torah. But man, possessed of free will, enjoys the choice of accepting and obeying the Torah, therefore living in the kingdom of Heaven, or rejecting the Torah and God in favor of idolatry and idols.

Now we realize the full potentiality contained in the simple doctrines with which we began: that those who accept the Torah are called Israel, and the others are called gentiles. The gentiles hate Israel because of the Torah, and they also hate God. But the world as now constituted is such that the gentiles rule, and Israel is subjugated. Where is the justice in that inversion of right, with God's people handed over to the charge of God's enemies? Israel has sinned, so rebelled against God, and the gentiles then form God's instrument for the punishment of Israel. God's justice governs, the world conforms to orderly rules, embedded in the very structure of creation. Israel's own condition stands as the surest testimony of the world's good and just order. That guarantee is for now and all time to come.

IV

When Paul thinks of "Israel," he thinks about salvation, a position the sages' system maintained as well. That is why Paul treats the word "sinner" and the word "gentile" as synonymous: "Jews, not gentile sinners." And in that context, he frames the issue: Christ versus Torah ("works of the law"). If the one has solved the problem of the human condition and character, the solution of the other is not needed. But then Paul's argument is not with Peter, because to him, Peter's position is in the exact sense of the word, irrelevant. With Peter there can be no argument about salvation, only a political *modus vivendi*, which, Galatians indicates, has broken down.

Now Paul's stress on salvation not through the Torah but through Christ proves emblematic of his entire system and a counterpart to the congruent system of the Rabbinic sages. He concurs with the logic embodied, also, in the sages' Judaic system: the issue is the redemption of humanity from the human condition embodied by Adam and Eve. For the sages the narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures leads to the focus on Israel as Adam's counterpart, the Torah as the medium of regeneration (and consequent justification, I think we must agree to add). That is why for both Paul and sages the definition of who and what is Israel is critical; from that all else follows. No wonder, then, that, within his system's logic, Paul immediately focuses upon the figure of Abraham and identifies exactly the issue of systemic concern: "Abraham 'believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness'" (Gal 3:6; cf. Gen 15:6).

Since these remarks strike me as typical of an outsider to a field—self-evident and not surprising—let me justify making them by reference to a single, a current reading of the same passages of Galatians, one that has attracted a fair amount of attention, and even a prize from the National Jewish Book Council (as though Jewish book councils possessed the learning to give prizes in the New Testament field!). I refer to Mark D. Nanos, who takes the view:

> Paul turned to the gentiles with the gospel so that the 'stumbling' of Israel might reconsider the arrival of the promised times and the message of good news for themselves and for the world.
>
> We also found that when Paul argued for gentile inclusion in Christ without becoming Jews that he did not appeal to the nullifying of the Torah because of the supersession of Christ. He appealed instead to the inherent truth of monotheism and developed his position within the context of the Shema: "Or is God the God of Jews *only*? Is he not the God of gentiles *also*?" "Of course, for he is the one God of all" was Paul's uncompromising reply. The Paul of Romans believed that faith in Christ 'established' Torah; it certainly did not make it obsolete.[2]

As a consumer, not a producer, in this field, I must say, I find this claim counter-intuitive, and also contrary to two millennia of exegesis. But that judgment carries, and should carry, no weight.

Where my judgment may carry weight, it concerns the reading of the Judaic-systemic position before us: the system that equates

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[2] M. D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 337-38.

"Judaism" with what we learn in the Rabbinic documents about the recitation of the *Shema*, about monotheism. From the perspective of the Rabbinic sages as I understand them, this statement of Nanos is incomprehensible. If gentiles accept monotheism as embodied in the *Shema*, they become Israel. That is what is involved in reciting the *Shema*, as everyone knows: accepting God's unity and dominion is what the Israelite does morning and night in proclaiming that formula. And one who accepts God's unity and dominion is "Israel"—that is what "Israel" means. Where Nanos formulates matters in a category I do not think sages can have grasped (in the present context) is the use of "God of Jews/God of gentiles." That is not the appropriate category and violates the rules of category-formation. He needs to say "God of Israel," and then its opposite is, "the no-God of the gentile." Then the rest follows. Then Nanos's stress on Paul's "Monotheistic insistence that to do so [practice circumcision] would be to compromise God's oneness, for the One God of Israel was the one God of non-Israel too," is systemically incomprehensible. To accept the One God is *to be,* to constitute, Israel. "The circumcised" refers to "Israel," even those Israelites who are not circumcised, so the Mishnah maintains (*Ned.* 3:11):

> G. [If he said,] "Qonam if I derive benefit from the uncircumcised," he is permitted [to derive benefit] from uncircumcised Israelites but prohibited [from deriving benefit] from circumcised gentiles.
>
> H. "Qonam if I derive benefit from the circumcised"—he is prohibited [to derive benefit] from uncircumcised Israelites and permitted [to derive benefit] from circumcised gentiles.
>
> I. For the word "uncircumcised" is used only as a name for gentiles, as it is written, "For all the nations are uncircumcised, and the whole house of Israel is uncircumcised at heart" (Jer 9:26).
>
> J. And it says, "This uncircumcised Philistine (1 Sam 17:36).
>
> K. And it says, "Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph" (1 Sam 1:20).

So the focus on circumcision treats the metaphor for Israel as the very definition of that which is metaphorized! The emphasis on circumcision as monothetic taxon of "Israel" derives from the logic of Paul's system, Abraham having found God before, and without the condition of, circumcision. To say that sages will not have understood Paul in Nanos's reading of him is no criticism of Nanos's reading of Paul. It is only to call into question the systemic logic that

Nanos follows in his reading of Paul. If, as I maintain, the systemic issue is the antonyms, Israel/gentiles, and if gentiles by definition are idolaters, then sages' view follows. To understand Paul's position, we should have to have a much clearer picture of what he means by the Israel/gentile antonym than he gives us in the passage at hand. If a gentile is a monotheist and worships the God made known in Israel's Scripture, then he is an Israelite. And if not, then he is not a monotheist and does not know God. Who, then, can Nanos's non-Israelite monotheists be? They are none other than that Israel after the spirit of Romans, about whom Paul has thought so deeply. In that case, the received reading of Romans turns out to have much to recommend it.

V

What does systemic analysis, the inquiry into the coherence, balance, proportion, and order, of a religious account of the social order that concerns way of life, world view, and a theory of the social entity that realizes the one and explains matters through the other, contribute? In the present context, that approach, seeing a man's thought whole and in perspective, in Paul's, Peter's, and James's cases, in the model of a Judaism, a religious theory of the social order that privileges ancient Israelite Scripture, serves. Specifically, it allows us to understand the way the parts hold together, making a statement that transcends their sum. In simple terms, I mean to offer an explanation, out of the resources of a system kindred to his, of Paul's discourse with James and Peter in Galatians 2. In a word, Paul scarcely engages with James's system, and he treats Peter as a political problem, a charlatan, not a worthy contender over truth. James will not eat with gentiles. Peter will except when he won't. Paul evinces slight respect for either position, because (in my theory of matters) neither pertains. But Peter's is beyond all comprehension.

May I offer a modest proposal to explain matters. If the issue is salvific, then, as Paul frames matters, it also is eschatological in a perfectly personal sense: it is Christ who lives in Paul, who has died and come back to life: "It is not I who live but Christ who lives in me, and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the son of God." If we take as a given that the resurrection of the dead and the

judgment take place at the end of days, then we do not claim too much if we allege, for Paul the issue is not salvation in general terms —as the sages frame matters—but salvation at the critical moment in the story of humanity from Adam to Adam. For the very reason that Adam provides a systemic key, the realized eschatological moment provides a systemic key: it is the same lock, opened by the same key. Here the sages' system and Paul's clearly part company, for the sages, start to finish, look forward to the eschaton in future time, to be signaled by a Messiah, and for now, they find a place for sanctification, a critical task to be accomplished thereby.

The contrast between Paul's and the sages' reading of the salvific story—a difference in detail of which each system can make sense—yields a typology that may illuminate matters. The issue of Peter, James, and Paul in Galatians may be seen to turn on three readings of the *kairos*, the meaning of the moment, James's, Peter's, and Paul's. Within this theory, the end-time—resurrection, judgment, eternal life—has not taken place, and a Christology of an other-than-eschatological Christ must be aborning. Or the end-time—death, resurrection, judgment, eternal life—has taken place, and a Christology of a realized eschaton follows. Or, in the middle, the end-time of which the prophets spoke as "the end of days" has commenced but not come to fulfillment: an interstitial age has taken place.

The three positions are embodied, obviously, by James, Paul, and Peter. For James, the Torah remains man's medium of regeneration, sanctification his task, and Jesus the harbinger of what is to be. But James, by this theory, cannot speak of the end of days at all; it cannot be an issue within his logic. For Paul, the Torah no longer pertains, whether as to purity at table or even as to circumcision, for to be "Israel" is signaled not by circumcision, which is post facto as Abraham shows, but by Christ, through whom man is reborn (as Paul says in so many words right in the present context). That means, man has died and been raised from the dead, judged, and accorded eternal life. It is Peter's position that mediates. Within the present theory, Peter's theory of the kairos—Christ has come, but the hour has not yet reached fulfillment—will shape a position on the salvific promise of the works of the law of the Torah between James's and Paul's. For Peter, as for the rabbis, sanctification forms

a preparation for salvation, a condition, a means to an end—but only that.

James's and Paul's positions prove to be simply incompatible. Paul cannot accuse James of hypocrisy, because he finds his position unbelievable to begin with: systemically beyond all logic or comprehension, irrational. But while Paul can never agree with Peter, Peter can agree with Paul: eat with gentiles. The problem is, Paul cannot agree with Peter for reasons common to the system of each: an issue that can be joined, one with the other. And that is the crux of matters, lies in the exact meaning of the word "crux." In a simple phrase, Peter (within my proposed typology) should say: "Yet but not yet: begun, not realized and so not ended." To take a simple metaphor: the sun has risen, but it is not high noon. Then he can in full consistency agree that circumcision still serves but eat with gentiles: "let, but not yet." Within this theory of matters Peter's Christology should find in Christ the realization and fulfillment of the promises of the Torah about Adam's regeneration: he should be the last Adam. But while Paul has died and risen from the grave in the full realization of the resurrection and judgment—that is why he can speak so certainly of justification, meaning in Rabbinic language, "standing in judgment"—Peter has not. On what has commenced Paul and Peter then can and do concur (within this theory). They differ only on where matters now stand in the eschatological crisis.

With James Paul cannot argue, with Peter out of stupefaction he cannot even engage. Paul's and Peter's orbits do not quite intersect; they bring the other into range: hence the stupefaction. Accordingly, Paul dismisses as hypocritical, which is to say, willful and merely political, what is in fact a component of a perfectly rational system—a system whose rationality intersects with that of Paul. The positions of Paul and Peter are concentric, but not totally so; where they differ is on what from a distance appears minor, but what is systemically critical for Paul and contingent for Peter, the question of when: how long, O Lord? For Peter what is in yet a little while for Paul is fully present, at this hour. Hence the frustration of Paul at Peter's equanimity. And what of James? Peter can appear to accord with James' view of the task of the time, which is, sanctification, even while in fact sharing Paul's confidence in the salvific reading of matters. The upshot is, he takes a mediating position, but that is a happenstance, an effect of what animates his system, which is his own

rationality: a judgment as to where we now stand. At least, so matters appear to an outsider to the subject.

WISDOM AND GRACE

Bruce Chilton

In order to compare the issue of Wisdom in James and Grace in Paul, the first topic must be privileged. While Pauline theology is a well developed field, the theological orientation of James has sometimes been eclipsed by historical and literary concerns, as well as by the dominance of Paul since the time of Augustine. In this treatment, therefore, we will devote most of our attention (in part I) to how the Epistle of James treats of the entire question of Wisdom (particularly in contrast to Paul), and then contrast that with Paul's theology of Grace (in part II). That will permit us in a final section (part III) to consider how the New Testament suggests a synthesis of these divergent views might be achieved.

I.1. THE WISDOM OF JAMES AND THE ORIENTATION OF THE EPISTLE

"Who is wise and knowledgeable among you? From fine behavior let his deeds demonstrate that by Wisdom's gentleness!" (James 3:13). This challenge from the Epistle of James to the twelve tribes in the Diaspora (1:1) builds from a context we shall turn to in a moment, but its emphasis on testing true Wisdom by a standard of gentleness is instantly notable. A contrary "wisdom," characterized by bitter contention, is held not to come "from above," but to be "earthly, psychical, demonic" (3:14-16). In that James is written in a context of considerable controversy (for example, concerning the place of wealth [1:9-11; 2:1-7, cf. 1 Cor 7:29-31; 1:26-31), the origin of temptation [1:12-16, cf. 1 Cor 9:24-27 and Rev 2:10; Rom 7:14-25], faith and works [1:22-27; 2:14-26, cf. Rom 2:12-16; Gal 3:6-29], and the moral challenge of the *parousia* [5:7-11, cf. 1 Thess 5:1-11]), this emphasis upon the gentleness or meekness of true Wisdom is as unexpected as it is welcome.

When the letter goes on to describe Wisdom from above as "first of all holy, then peaceful, reverent, amenable, full of compassion and good fruits, impartial, guileless" (James 3:17) that has a twin impact in rhetorical terms. It aligns the Epistle with descriptions of Wisdom that were well known in Hellenistic Judaism, and also sets this

paragraph up for its climax: "Righteousness' fruit is sown in peace among those who make peace" (James 3:18).

So the gentle peace of Wisdom is grounded in her holiness, much as in the much more fulsome expression of the Wisdom of Solomon (see 6:1–8:21). The comparability of these works is scarcely surprising; they both articulate Wisdom's riches for Hellenistic readers within a comparable time period. The Wisdom of Solomon even makes its appearance in the Muratonian List among works of the New Testament, although its time of origin is probably nearer 1 C.E. than to 100 C.E. (still, the latter date has seriously been argued).[1] Whether James be regarded as pre-70 or post-70 C.E., a posthumous dating of the Epistle has become dominant,[2] and its address to the Diaspora in a Greek style which is elevated by New Testament standards (although not, it must be said, by the Septuagint's) corresponds to that point of view.

Indeed the foray of the Septuagint into the realm of Wisdom, and its echo in James, is one of the traits which made early Christian writers celebrate the publication of the Scriptures in Greek as providential in content as well as in language (see, for example, Tertullian, *Apology* 18.6-8, and Origen's letter to Africanus). This alignment of James with the Wisdom of Solomon (and with Philo, albeit in a very attenuated sense) has been used to strengthen the claim of the Hellenistic origin as well as the Hellenistic destination of the Epistle of James. Even on the basis of the biblical tradition in Hebrew alone, however, some caution in that regard is appropriate. After all, in James' advice regarding the tongue (3:6-12) and the treatment of social status generally, spells out orientations (and sometimes language) drawn from the book of Proverbs (see chaps. 16 and 17 for both themes in Proverb, where Wisdom's gentleness and other attributes are already praised in chapter 8). Although it may be going too far—as well as bifurcating "Judaism" and "Hellenism" too much—to conclude that "James is a traditional wisdom, and its sensibilities are more Jewish than Greco-Roman,"[3]

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[1] See D. A. deSilva, "Wisdom of Solomon," in C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter (eds.), *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000) 1268-76; idem, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002) 131-33.

[2] See Peter H. Davids, "Palestinian Traditions in the Epistle of James," in B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 33-57.

[3] So Robert W. Wall, "James, Letter of," in R. P. Martin and P. H. Davids (eds.),

that statement at least serves the purpose of questioning traditional wisdom of a different sort, which has identified James' orientation with "Hellenistic" Wisdom so completely that the eschatological dimension of the Epistle seems a mere artifact.

I.2. THE APOCALYPTIC EDGE OF JAMES

For a work that insists upon the divine *parousia* as so imminent as to transform its readers' emotional stance (so James 5:8), any interpretation that diminishes the force of this apocalypse must seem strange. Recently, Todd Penner has articulated a cogent, searching critique of a one-sidedly Hellenistic reading of James, arguing instead for the influence of works such as the *Manual of Discipline* and the Enochic literature. Moreover, James' attitude toward wealth is in fact much more radical than the Wisdom of Solomon's and appears to draw from the book of Enoch (from 5:1, for example) or from Enochic tradition. This apocalyptic strand of James is woven together with the strand of Wisdom from the outset of the Epistle, whose very argument both raises the issue of what true Wisdom is and relates that to the prospect of eschatological judgment (1:5-11).

This skillful weaving, which constitutes the literary achievement of the Epistle, is succinctly characterized by Penner:

> In light of the above discussion it is suggested that the relationship of James to wisdom must be paralleled to the manner in which sapiential themes and forms are taken up by *1* and *2 Enoch* and re-cast within prophetic/apocalyptic horizons. That is, James evinces that same combining and mixing of traditions which is widely attested in the Intertestamental literature. Thus, while there is no doubt whatsoever that James utilizes what have been traditionally understood as wisdom themes and forms, this fact in itself does not justify the designation of James as a "wisdom document." Rather, the sapiential content, consisting, for example, of ethical elements and the use of analogy from experience, must be viewed within the larger horizon of the eschatological and prophetic framework which undergirds the community instruction of the letter. This is not to de-emphasize the sapiential content of the epistle, only to place it within its larger literary context. The sapiential content of James thus takes on the nuance of eschatological wisdom provided to the community which awaits the impending judgment of God.[4]

Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1997) 545-61, here 552.

[4] Todd C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology: Re-Reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (JSNTSup 121; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 222-23. In a note which goes on to the next page, Penner characterizes James' wisdom in

The means of weaving these two strands together is the address of the issue of trial or temptation and what that means.

For James, those events are meant to prove one's integrity (1:2-4), so as to receive "the crown of life" promised by God (1:12).[5] Yet the author is careful—at first, it almost seems distractedly so—to specify that human desire and sin are the source of such tests, not God himself (1:13-15). But in fact that underlying concern stands behind the very opening of the Epistle, which scorns any human counsel which is divided—to be more precise, di-psychical (1:5-8). The author warns his readers away from a wisdom based on appearances, rooted in the divisions of the human soul rather than in God. That is why later, in the passage cited at the outset of this article, calling such wisdom "psychical" is no compliment at all.

This is where the Epistle of James makes the move that distinguishes its perspective within the Wisdom school as usually characterized on the basis of Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon (James 1:16-17):

> Do not be deceived, my beloved brothers. Every good gift and every period endowment is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is not a single variation or shadow of change.

Here the source of all gifts is in fact not Wisdom, but "the Father of lights." Although commentators are quite right to see an affinity between James 1:17 and Sir 1:1, it is equally remarkable that James does *not* go on to speak of Wisdom as an agent of creation, as occurs in what follows in Sirach. In fact, although James 1:17 definitely does take up what might be called a theme of the Wisdom literature, the absence of the actual word σωφία here is all the more notable in this context. Can it be that James' contribution to the Wisdom theology of the New Testament is to subordinate it to a clearer monotheism than is evident, say, in the Wisdom of Solomon?

I.3. DE-MYTHOLOGIZING WISDOM?

At first blush, the idea of even posing this question might seem bizarre. After all, James explicitly embraces the divine gift of

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terms of *1 Enoch* 1–5 and 42 (also citing 4 Ezra 5:9-10). But in formal terms, he compares the Epistle to the *Manual of Discipline* (pp. 234-41).

[5] The echo of Rev 2:10 is stunning, although oddly unobserved in the margin of Nestle-Aland 26. Could this be an example of the sort of faulty categorization of the Epistle, with which Penner is concerned?

wisdom as the way of salvation. Patrick J. Hartin has elegantly characterized the precise purpose of this divine giving:

> This gift from above, this wisdom, results in the Christian receiving the word of truth . . . which has as its purpose "that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures" (1:18). Although this phrase is interpreted in different ways, the more logical interpretation understands it as a reference to Christians who are the first to be reborn in the process of redemption.[6]

That Christian context will concern us in a moment; for the present the careful restriction of the definition of Wisdom *to what God alone gives* will take up our attention. That insistence prevents a confusion between human wisdom and God's that is just James' point here.

Moreover, the affiliation of the themes of temptation, Wisdom, divine gift, and prayer in James gives the Epistle its distinctive accent (again, we turn to Hartin's formulation):[7]

> The analysis of the Epistle has shown that the theme of steadfastness amidst trials occurs twice in the introductory sections (1.2-4, 12-18). It is not taken upon again in the body of the Epistle, but appears again in the concluding section of the Epistle (5.7-11). Taking these three passages together, one sees a theme progressively developing and a full picture ultimately emerging. Wisdom in James, as in Jewish wisdom literature, is the horizon for attaining perfection (1.5). Because wisdom is God's enabling one to stand the test, it is to be sought in prayer from God with firm confidence. This is a clear illustration of the gospel tradition of "ask and it will be given you" (Lk. 11.9).

Individually these elements are in no sense unique, but contexted in the Christian imperatives to become "first fruits" (1:18) and to "receive the implanted word which is able to save your souls" (v. 21), there is little doubt about their distinctiveness.

Yet all this shift in meaning is possible for one simple reason: James subordinates Wisdom entirely to the "Father of lights" to the point that she is herself no longer an agent but herself a gift, a charism of God's donation. At this point, I depart from Hartin's analysis and contradict the part of his argument that relates to James' use of the motif of Wisdom.

As Hartin conceives of the manner, seeing James within the lens of the Wisdom of Solomon, James 1:17 is a reworking of Luke 11:9-

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[6] Patrick J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 106.

[7] Hartin, *James*, 88.

13.[8] That is, an original reference to God's gift of Spirit in what Hartin takes to be "Q" has been converted into Wisdom.[9] Indeed, this is part of a general pattern as he sees the matter, "When James uses the concept of wisdom he is expressing what the New Testament traditions express elsewhere by means of the concept of the Holy Spirit."[10] Hartin expands this thought at some length:[11]

> In the prophets the gift of Spirit occurs as an eschatological gift leading to moral consequences (Isa. 11.2ff.). In the *Book of Enoch* this same concept is applied to Wisdom. "In those days...to the elect there shall be light, joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth...And then wisdom shall be given to the elect. And they shall all live and not return again to sin . . . but those who have wisdom shall be humble" (*1 En.* 5.6-9).

This intersection of Enoch and James is scintillating, and helped foster Penner's approach a few years later (as we have seen). But because Hartin defines Wisdom in James along the lines of the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach (despite his citation of Enoch), in my opinion a couple of his exegeses become tenuous.

The first example of this pair concerns James 3:15, which it seems to me is not patient of Hartin's claim when he says:[12]

> Nowhere in the text of James is the word wisdom used in the way in which Paul uses it when he refers to human wisdom and hence makes a comparison between two different wisdoms, one from above and one belonging to the world. Most commentators on James have failed to appreciate this point.

I had to look back over 3:15 (cited at the outset) several times to see what commentators had failed to appreciate, since the Wisdom which comes "from above" is there explicitly contrasted with "earthly, psychical, demonic" wisdom. Hartin's meaning only becomes clear when I read further in his analysis, to see that James' "aim is to emphasize that there is only one wisdom and it comes from above and is incompatible with a lifestyle that is characterized by jealousy, bitterness and party spirits."

Here it is plain that Hartin's exegesis is guided by his hermeneutical perspective, according to which James sees only one true

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[8] Hartin, *James*, 174-76.

[9] Obviously, the designation of the source is not a concern here, although I have taken the matter up elsewhere.

[10] Hartin, *James*, 104 (and cf. 242).

[11] Hartin, *James*, 103.

[12] Hartin, *James*, 104.

Wisdom, so that any apparent reference to another wisdom by commentators needs to be corrected. The pivot of this hermeneutic is the second passage where I have to express reserve in regard to his exegesis. Hartin directly—without qualification or remainder—identifies Wisdom and Christ on the basis of James 2:1:[13]

> Jesus as the Risen Lord is now cast as wisdom herself: no distinction to be drawn between the heavenly Jesus and heavenly wisdom.

The language that justifies this reading is James' reference to Jesus as the Lord of Glory. Verbally, only the term "glory" (δόξα) justifies this finding.

Contextually, James 2 indeed deals with issues also developed within the book of Proverbs, as we have already remarked, but the reference to glory alone hardly puts one in mind of Proverbs 8 or of Wis 6:1–8:21. Moreover the paraenetic in regard to status closes with a warning of final judgment (2:13). Here, if anywhere, we need to be aware of the hybrid of sapiential and eschatological motifs that characterizes James, as Penner's work has shown.

More specifically, the reference to Jesus as the Lord of Glory seems to link up with the climactic imperative of the Epistle (5:7-11), as observed by Penner:[14]

> The reference in 2.1, if read, as suggested earlier, to the revelation of Jesus Christ at the final judgment, would seem to connect Christ with the appearance of *kurios* in the final chapter of James.

It is perfectly true that the κύριος language of the Epistle is complex. Earlier in chapter 5, the usage of the phrase κύριος σαβαώθ is evidently to the God designated as "the Father of lights" in chap. 1 (cf. 5:4; 1:17). But it would be as unnatural to take the παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου in 5:7, 8 as a reference other than to Jesus, especially since a gradated relationship is posited with the prophets who spoke in the Lord's name (vv. 10, 11), and since Jesus' own teaching is then cited (5:12, cf. Matt 5:34-37). Indeed, in its received form the Epistle plays nicely in this final chapter with the ambivalence of meaning which characterizes κύριος in primitive and early Christianity, without absorbing one reference into the other.

Similar skill is evident in chapter 1, where the Father of lights' endowment culminates in the word of truth (1:18) or the implanted

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[13] Hartin, *James*, 241.

[14] Penner, *James and Eschatology*, 267.

λόγος (1:21) that is able to save souls. There, the possibilities of the Aramaic term *Memra* (מימרא) are exploited, so as to refer both to the aspect of God's own intention,[15] and to the famous parable of the sower which Jesus told (see Matt 13:1-9; Mark 4:1-9; Luke 8:4-8). Both those moves find rich precedents in the relevant literatures. The portrayal of the *Memra* as salvific has been traced in the Targumim among the other, distinct meanings that may be associated with divine intention.[16] In that connection, it is especially interesting that Jesus' answer to his disciples' question about the purpose of parables (Mark 4:10-12, cf. Matt 13:10-17; Luke 8:9-10) has been attributed particularly to the circle of James, and that the citation from Isaiah here best agrees with the Targum.[17]

The fact that terms such as κύριος and λόγος may refer both to God and to Jesus in the Epistle is by no means an inadvertent confusion. In this case, rhetoric is attesting an emergent theology, not yet systematic but nonetheless powerful. In these cases, however, James' theology should not be confused with Paul's. The Epistle does not identify Jesus with God's Wisdom directly as does 1 Cor 1:24, nor does it equate God's מימרא/λόγος bodily with Jesus (cf. Col 1:15-20, and the more famous case of John 1:14). James' theology is rather of the direct endowment by the Father of lights on the basis of Jesus' implanting of God's word.

Such a relative restriction in the function of "Wisdom" has also been argued to be apparent in the Dead Sea Scrolls by David Winston. His analysis is especially pertinent to ours, because he distinguishes Essene theology from that of the Wisdom of Solomon:[18]

> Although there is a similar emphasis on knowledge and insight in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the phrase "I know" and a large number of knowledge

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[15] See B. D. Chilton, "Typologies of memra and the fourth Gospel," in P. V. M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies. Volume One: Textual and Contextual Studies in the Pentateuchal Targums* (USF Studies in the History of Judaism 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 89-100; idem, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels:* International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 177-201.

[16] See B. D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSup 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982) 62-63.

[17] For a discussion, see B. D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible: Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (GNS 8; Wilmington: Glazier, 1984), also published with the subtitle, *Jesus' own interpretation of Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1984) 90-97.

[18] See D. Winston, "The Sage as Mystic in the Wisdom of Solomon," in J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (eds.), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 383-97, here 386.

> synonyms occurring in them very frequently, God's creative wisdom (cf. 1QH 1:14, 20) is never there personified or hypostatized. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the scrolls indicate humans come close to God in relation to wisdom and insight, the Book of Wisdom knows nothing of an esoteric reading of scripture divinely revealed to the elect, as in the Qumran *Pesharim*. The esoteric character of the mystical knowledge vouchsafed to the Qumranite is clearly articulated in the following lines from the *Rule of the Community*: "My eyes have gazed on that which eternal, on wisdom concealed from men, on knowledge and wise design hidden from the sons of men" (1QS 5:6). It is a revelation of the supernal realms and their divine mysteries, and of God's ultimate plan for human salvation, for which the Qumran psalmist is effusive in expressing thanks.

Discussion since Winston wrote, which has benefited from another decade of systematic analysis as well as the publication of more material, has qualified his generalization in one important respect.

As John Kampen points out in his recent survey of the evidence and scholarly discussion, Wisdom *is* "personified" at Qumran, but the principle of Winston's observation remains:[19]

> In these works, admittedly dominated by dualism and eschatology, we find an interest in creation, in the times and the celestial bodies. In fact their dualism and eschatology are rooted in creation and the cosmos. But in these texts the speculative character wisdom is no longer apparent. Wisdom has been placed in the service of the sect. This observation is important in the study of Christian origins.

The Christian origins Kampen has in mind are more Pauline than Jacobean; the resonance of Essene theology in recent discussion with the Epistle of James is perhaps more pertinent.

In the interests of this discussion, it will perhaps serve us well to dispense with the language of Wisdom "personified" or "hypostatized." After all, these terms derive directly from the christological debates of the fourth Christian century, so that their direct application to Judaic (and, come to that, Christian) literature of earlier periods will necessarily be awkward (and often anachronistic). The function of theologoumena such as "Wisdom" and *Memra* and "Kingdom" and "Spirit" is that they articulate aspects of God, and therefore distinctive divine activities within Israel. Sometimes—but by no means regularly—such concepts may also be used to refer to these activities as the agents which are themselves

[19] See D. Winston, "Wisdom Literature at Qumran," in Evans and Porter (eds.), *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, 1263-68, here 1267. For a case of "personified" Wisdom, see 11Qps[a] 18:5-8, 12-15.

active. So, Wisdom becomes the source of the sage's insight, *Memra* emerges as the help offered to God's people when they are imperiled, Kingdom is the realization of prophetic vision, just as Spirit motivates prophecy. The degree to which any such theologoumena are "personified" is less important than the consideration of what aspect of God they are held to convey, and whether this aspect functions as an agent. In the present case, James joins the community at Qumran in reducing a sense of the independent agency of Wisdom to the point that it is incidental to what comes with the implanted word (in James' case) or Essene eschatology (in the Qumran scrolls).

This overlap with Essene thought is of interest in the light of features of James' theology and practice as reflected in other texts. The similarity between the style of interpretation attributed to him in Acts 15 has already been discussed within the Consultation, as has his Nazirite practice in both Acts and (I have argued) Hegesippus, which put him in a position relative to the Temple comparable to some Essenes. Finally, the very term *episkopos*, first attributed to James by Clement of Alexandria, appears to reflect the role of the *mebaqqer* at Qumran. These overlaps by no means warrant identifying James with any figure within the Scrolls, but they do suggest that James' position within the Temple (where all the sources agree he occupied a prominent place) was critical of the authorities there who ultimately had him put to death.[20] For him, his brother truly was Israel's angel, the Son of Man who continued to implant the word that can save souls.

II. THE GRACE OF PAUL

We have already suggested that, unlike James, Paul does directly equate Wisdom with Christ in a way that comports well with emphasis upon agency in the Wisdom of Solomon. In his study of the relevant section of 1 Corinthians, James A. Davis convincingly sets out the importance of Sirach (and particularly Sir 39:1-11) in the

[20] See Chilton and Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins*, esp. Philip R. Davies, "James in the Qumran Scrolls," 17-31; Jacob Neusner, "Vow-Taking, the Nazirites and the Law: Does James' Advice to Paul Accord with Halakhah?" 59-82; Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and James: Martyrs of the Temple," 233-49; and "Conclusion and Questions," 251-67; as well as Bruce Chilton, "The Brother of Jesus and the Interpretation of Scripture," in L. V. Rutgers et al. (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998) 29-48.

development of this line of Paul's argument.[21] As Davis shows, the triad of Spirit, Wisdom, and Law becomes the governing concern in Sirach, while at Qumran the triad is Spirit, Wisdom, and the teaching of the community.[22] Paul's intent as depicted by Davis is to show that this earlier triad of Sirach has been replaced by that of Spirit, Wisdom, and Christ.[23] Davis moves beyond other interpreters of Paul, however, in identifying the reason for this replacement. In 1 Cor 2:6-16, Paul contrasts the Wisdom of this perishing world with the mysterious, apocalyptic wisdom which only the Spirit reveals and which only those who apprehend with the mind of Christ can fathom. So Paul in his own way harnessed a theology of Wisdom to particular ends, in accordance with his characteristic emphases.

Davis demonstrates Paul's identity as a theologian of Wisdom, but in doing so he also shows that in the end Paul's concern is not Wisdom, but insight into the final truth of Spirit which Wisdom enables. By the time he came to write his letter to the Romans (ca. 57 C.E.), Paul had fully developed a language of grace in order to express this truth. In an extremely helpful formulation, the late George B. Caird set out Paul's synthesis of "the sovereignty of grace," a paraphrase of Paul's statement in Rom 5:21. Caird then goes on to explain this sovereignty in Romans itself as it relates to earlier Pauline letters:[24]

> Through him believers "have secured access to the grace in which we stand" (Rom. 5:2). Paul's quarrel with the Judaizers was not over his interpretation of the Cross as God's act of salvation (with which they largely agreed), but over his claim that grace must govern every aspect of Christian life (2 Cor. 1:12). Whether from fear of Jewish reprisals (Gal. 2:14; 6:12), to gain personal ascendancy (Gal. 6:13)—as Paul suggests in the heat of controversy or out of a genuine moral concern—or from a belief in the permanent validity of the Law, they wanted to produce a synthesis of Law and gospel. Paul argued that the Law exercises its authority only over the old life, the Adamic life which in the representative figure of Jesus has been nailed to the Cross; thus to invoke its authority over the life which Christians enjoyed in union with the risen Christ was to nullify the grace of

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[21] James A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit: An Investigation of 1 Corinthians 1:18–3:20 against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Greco-Roman Period* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984) 16-26.

[22] See Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 31-44.

[23] See Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 67-74.

[24] G. B. Caird, *New Testament Theology* (ed. L. D. Hurst; Clarendon: Oxford, 1994) 186. Cf. the discussion on pp. 185-97 as a whole.

God (Gal. 2:21); and to fall away from grace was to be severed from Christ (Gal. 5:4).

Precisely because Caird relates Galatians and the Corinthian correspondence to Romans 5, he is able to show that grace is the grounding theme of Pauline soteriology and ethics.

This move of the realm of grace from salvation to ethics not only divided Paul from those he and Caird called Judaizers.[25] It also set him apart from James' commitment to the "royal law" (James 2:8, cf. 1:25; 2:9, 10, 11, 12; 4:11). This was a move whose motivation Caird also saw clearly: the grace of Paul necessarily "involves transformation, and it begins with a transformation of the mind."[26] This leads Caird to the further thought that "Where grace reigns, there is the kingdom of God."[27] He is, of course, fully cognizant of how Paul refers to the kingdom: sparingly, but with the assumption that it was a basic part of the primitive Christian catechesis.

Still, Caird does not take the next step, which I propose is appropriate for an understanding of Paul. As Caird observes, Paul is well aware of the intramural festivity of "the kingdom of God," as the designation of the eschatological mystery that Christians were baptized into and celebrated in eucharist (see Rom 14:17; 1 Cor 4:20; 6:9, 10; 15:24, 50; Gal 5:21; 1 Thess 2:12; Col 1:13; 4:11). Paul's usage indicates that this was an agreed understanding of the phrase among the communities he wrote to. At no point do his references appear controversial. What he does have to explain, of course, is what he means by grace. The step beyond Caird (but in his direction) that I propose is to say that, for Paul, grace occupies the place that the kingdom did in Jesus' theology.

This would explain the relative paucity of references to the kingdom in Paul's corpus, as well as his emphasis upon grace as *both* a soteriological *and* an ethical dynamic. Because grace is dynamic in its ethical operation, Caird contends that "there is no disagreement between James and Paul, only a slight variation of emphasis."[28] Even with the removal of the adjective "slight," I cannot agree with this aspect of his formulation. It is evident that the royal law remains regulative for James, and that the reign of grace has become the true sovereignty in Paul.

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[25] Whether both writers mean the same thing by this term is another matter.

[26] Caird, *New Testament Theology*, 187.

[27] Caird, *New Testament Theology*, 188-89.

[28] Caird, *New Testament Theology*, 190.

This is more than a distinction in emphasis. It corresponds to basic differences in christology. Where James conceived of Jesus as continuing to sow the *memra,* just as in the parable of the sower in the Gospels, so that it became the implanted word, for Paul the mind of Christ of which he spoke is actually the possession of every Christian. Part of the rule of grace was that the Lord was not only knocking at the door (as in James 5:9), but permeating the mind and spirit of the believer.

III. PAULINE-JACOBEAN SYNTHESIS: THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

Attempts at a synthesis of James and Paul must therefore seek to relate concepts which are not contradictory, but each of which relates to fields of meaning in the realms of salvation and of ethics which truly are of a different order. When Luke's Gospel presents the young Jesus as growing up both with wisdom and grace with God and men (Luke 2:52), that is more than a general assertion. The third Gospel and Acts together represent a considered treatment of the relationship between the church and Israel, as well as a rich resource for early circles of teachers such as James and Paul. (For this reason, I am more inclined to associate Luke with Antioch than with Corinth, the alternative to Antioch frequently mentioned in the literature.) In narrative terms, the desire for a resolution of differing perspectives may be reflected here.

More powerfully, the Epistle of James itself attests, not a rejoinder to Pauline theology, but an attempt at synthesis with its concerns. The basis of this synthesis was laid, again, by the literature of Wisdom, as described by J. Coert Rylaarsdam:[29]

> Just as we found that Wisdom was frequently equated with the Law,[30] so we now note that it is likewise equated with Spirit (Exod. 28:3; 31:3; 35:1;

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[29] See J. Coert Rylaarsdam, *Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 100. Note what he says on p. 112: "We have already noted a similarity of functions for Wisdom and Spirit. Both are cosmic principles playing similar roles in the creation of the world; both become special divine gifts to men, enabling them to know the divine purpose, which must be understood to such an extent that man's own life will have meaning and direction. But in this second function Wisdom avails itself primarily of the Law as a special gift, while the Spirit uses prophecy." He also notes that both Wisdom and Spirit can be thought of as eschatological gifts (p. 114).

[30] He earlier (*Revelation,* 31) cites Sir 1:14, 16, 18, 20, 27; 15:1; 19:20; 21:11; 40:27.

Deut. 34:9; Job 32:8; Wisd. of Solo. 1:7; 9:17; 11:20). Spirit is also equated with the concept of word (Pss. 33:6, 9; 104:30; 147:18; Ezek. 11:5; Mic. 3:8; Jth. 16:14; II Bar. 21:4). But we note that there is apparently no equation of the Spirit with the Law.

Paul had harnessed a theology of Wisdom's agency to his view of Christ as the fulfillment of the Law and the true source of Spirit, and therefore of Christ's grace as the sovereign principle of both salvation and ethics.

The Epistle of James skillfully deploys the language and logic of Wisdom, but steers clear of attributions of autonomous agency. A rigorous monotheism coordinates the gifts of the implanted word and the royal law. At the beginning of this article, I referred to the controversies the Epistle freely enters into (the place of wealth [1:9-11; 2:1-7, cf. 1 Cor 7:29-31; 1:26-31], the origin of temptation [1:12-16, cf. 1 Cor 9:24-27 and Rev 2:10; Rom 7:14-25], faith and works [1:22-27; 2:14-26, cf. Rom 2:12-16; Gal 3:6-29], and the moral challenge of the *parousia* [5:7-11, cf. 1 Thess 5:1-11]). These are not only issues raised within the Pauline corpus and addressed vigorously by Paul (as indicated here, although far from exhaustively). They are also topics that define framing concerns of the Epistle of James.

So my argument for the resonance of James' theology with the scrolls of Qumran is by no means intended to limit the Epistle to a "Palestinian" setting. Indeed, its intriguing and elusive reference to the jealousy of God's Spirit (see James 4:5) may be an index of the Epistle's provenience and purpose.

Targeted as it is on the Diaspora, the way for this rigorous assertion of the Spirit's jealousy had been prepared. In reference to Acts 15 Kirsopp Lake called attention to the requirements made of Gentiles within a work of Hellenistic Judaism, the fourth book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (4:24-34):[31]

Happy will be those of earthly men who will cherish the great God,

[31] Kirsopp Lake, "The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem," in Kirsopp Lake and F. J. Foakes Jackson, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (5 vols., London: Macmillan, 1920–33; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 5:195-212, here 208-209, with a citation of the Greek text. For an English rendering and fine introductions and explanations, see John J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles: A New Translation and Introduction," in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols., ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) 1:317-472. Collins dates this work within the first century, but after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E. (pp. 381-82). With due caution, he assigns book four a Syrian provenience.

> blessing before eating, drinking and having confidence in piety. They will deny all temples and altars they see: purposeless transports of dumb stones, defiled by animates' blood and sacrifices of four-footed animals. But they will behold the great renown of the one God, neither breaking into reckless murder, nor transacting what is stolen for gain, which are cold happenings. They do not have shameful desire for another's bed, nor hateful and repulsive abuse of a male.

What is especially striking about this prophecy is that it is directed to the people of Asia and Europe (*Sib. Or.* 4:1) through the mouth of the Sibyl (*Sib. Or.* 4:22-23), the legendary oracle of mantic counsel. Her utterance here is explicitly backed up by the threat of eschatological judgment for all (*Sib. Or.* 4:40-48).

A growing body of opinion has found that the emphasis upon prophecy in Luke-Acts accords with the perspectives of Hellenistic historians such as Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[32] The place of Sibylline prophecies, deriving from a prophetess whose origin "was already lost in the mist of legend by the fifth century" C.E.,[33] is prominent in both. But while Luke-Acts invokes the motif of prophecy (literary and contemporary), the Sibyl makes no appearance in the Christian work that is, after all, the largest in the New Testament. That suggests that the way for the synthesis of Hellenistic oracles and Hebrew prophecy had been prepared, especially by works such as the *Sibylline Oracles* of Hellenistic Judaism, but also that Luke-Acts insists upon the attestation of Jesus' coming (directly or indirectly) as an indispensable criterion of true prophecy.

Like Luke-Acts, the Epistle of James is not about to portray the Sibyl as Noah's prophetic daughter-in-law, as in *Sib. Or.* 3:823-29. Rather, the Epistle is even more laconic in its reference to Spirit than it is in respect of Wisdom. But James 4:5 suggests that the competition of that Spirit with others is an important issue, as in the *Sibylline Oracles*. The search for the source of such language, however, should not be limited to the Diaspora. Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel clearly showed that, at Qumran as well, it was acknowledged that "there is no spirit who can answer against your judgment, and no one stand before your wisdom" (1QH 7:28-29).[34]

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[32] See John T. Squires, *The plan of God in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 121-54.

[33] See Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 317.

[34] See Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary*

Judgment is the key term of reference at Qumran, as it is for James. For that reason, Spirit as well as Wisdom are strictly relegated to the place of gifts, rather than agents. They are not transformative principles, such as Paul's Grace, but endowments that aid in a struggle. They resist the way of the world, and yet are derived from God alone, effective through his implanted word. The relationship of James to Paul is not best defined (as Martin Luther's famous remark that it is "an epistle of straw" would suggest) as a straw man vainly insisting upon justification by works,[35] but as an insistence upon Judaic monotheism (cf. James 2:19) in an environment in which divine entities were—to James' mind at least—being needlessly multiplied.

(SSBLDS 50; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) 99-109.

[35] For cautions against this reading, which she cites from Luther's 1522 preface to the New Testament, see Sophie Laws, "James, Epistle of," in D. N. Freedman et al. (eds.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols., New York: Doubleday, 1992) 3:621-28. Her argument for Roman provenience, however, seems weak. The possible allusions to the Epistle in the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mandates* 5, 9, 12 shows the work may have been known in Rome, not that it originated there. If they allude to James' language, they fill it out so considerably as to suggest that the Epistle had been received and expanded upon.

LEADERSHIP: JAMES, PAUL, AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY BACKGROUND

Wiard Popkes

I. THE ISSUE

Remarkably few studies have been written on the issue of leadership in the ancient world, including Judaism in its various forms and early Christianity.[1] For one reason or another the topic does not stand in the forefront of research.[2] The question in this study concerns: To what an extent is leadership an issue for both James and Paul, for discerning a distinction between them, and for defining their place in the Graeco-Roman and Jewish[3] traditions? How do we find access to what leadership may have meant to these two (and other) New Testament authors? The Christian tradition has often had difficulties in accepting leadership; frequently the issue has been treated according to the principle in 1 Cor 7:29-31 "leading as though they were not." However, already the very fact of writing a text for others, intended to be studied carefully and to be transferred into action, as both James and Paul do, is inherently an act of leadership. In this sense both authors do perform leadership. Any society or community knows and needs leadership in order to achieve organisation, to safeguard

[1] Cf. Clarke, Fiore, Wagenvoort, Walton.

[2] On Zvi Yavetz's contributions cf. Malkin's survey (*Leaders*, ix-xiii) and the bibliography ibid., xiv-xvii. Yavetz's particular interest has been with the plebs and their relation to the rulers (as already his book *Plebs and Princeps* [Oxford 1969] indicates). "The Roman masses knew exactly who loved them and who did not. They may have been wrong, sometimes, but their heroes were not people who gave them just bread and circuses. They needed more . . . , for the sake of their politial survival, senators and especially emperors could not underestimate the masses and therefore tried to flatter them" (Malkin, *Leaders*, xii-xiii). Equally, Yavetz empasizes the personality, contextualizing the concept of charisma. "It was the personality of the individual emperor which made the difference between the days of Tiberius and Nero" (Malkin, *Leaders*, xii). Cf. also F. W. Walbank's study "Polybius' Perception of the One and the Many" (in: Malkin, *Leaders*, 201-22).

[3] This distinction need not be abandoned in my regard, despite the strong reservations expressed in Troels Engberg-Pedersen (ed.), *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (Louisville: Westminster, 2001).

security, and to provide direction for common convictions and activities, i.e., for the common good (Latin: *bonum commune, res publica*).[4] Religious communities are no exception to this general rule. Societies have developed different forms of leadership; but even in collective types certain individuals have been endowed with special authority and power to perform tasks within and for their constituencies. How is leadership defined and formulated? Terminology is an issue of no little importance. Here is a differnce to be noted between the New Testament authors and the Graeco-Roman literature. According to general contemporary semantics, to lead means in the first place: to rule (Greek: ἡγεῖσθαι, ἄρχω, Latin: *regere*).[5] We shall record later that such terminology is virtually absent from the New Testament. Regardless of the terminological issue though, the observation holds true that leadership cannot be performed without some degree of installed power.[6] Equally we observe that, according to ancient (and perennial) opinion it must not be done without ethical standards, as any community is organized according to laws and moral perspectives. The issue thus pertains to attitudes towards power[7] and and to ethical principles.

The historical background usually plays an essential role in the preference or rather predominance of leadership models. Agricultural societies tend to follow models like shepherd/flock[8]; sea-faring

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[4] Cf. already the defintions of society/state by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1160a (συμπορεύονται γὰρ ἐπί τινι συμφέροντι, καὶ ποριζόμενοί τι τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον) or by Cicero, *Rep. I* 39.41 (*Est igitur ... res publica res poluli, populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus, sed coetus multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis commmunione sociatus ... Omnis ergo populus, ... omnis civitas, ... omnis res publica ... consilio quodam regenda est, ut diuturna sit*). Furthermore V 5: ... *sic huic moderatori rei publicae beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit; huius enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.*

[5] The Hebrew equivalent is not as clear. Gesenius/Buhl (in their *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, reprint Berlin [Springer] 1959) list under "leiten" several verbs, none of them really characteristic, and nothing relevant under "Leiter, Leitung." "Regieren, Regierung" lists derivates from מלך ("king").

[6] Cf. Clarke, *Serve*, 233.

[7] Cf. Bengt Holmber, *Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (CBNT 11; Lund: Gleerup 1978). Critical remarks on the use of power-terminology for the New Testament are expressed by Günter Röhser, *Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde: Antike Sündenvorstellungen und paulinische Hmartia* (WUNT 2/25; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1987) 1-5.

[8] Cf. Israels's tradition. In the early parts of history there are several different models, even in in conflict with one another: guidance in the wilderness, judges of the tribes, shepherd of the flock, kingship. In the Old Testament tradition the image of a good

nations use models of navigation and *kybernesis*. Military leadership is of some importance as well. Models have also been developed from smaller units of society, in particular the house, as the very term "economy" still indicates. In systematic terms, types of leadership have been derived from (1) history, especially "ideal figures,"[9] (2) experiences in certain circumstances (such as war, walking in the wilderness, crises or even catastrophes), or (3) analogies (such as shepherd/flock or navigation). The imagery and metaphors express the varieties of leadership types.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT EVIDENCE IN GENERAL

Deriving concepts of leadership from the various New Testament documents involves sensitivity to their literary character: Do they concentrate on narrative, on theological argumentation, on transmitting logia, are they more informing or prescriptive and hortatory?

1. Although a number of Christian leaders find mention in the narrative books, especially in Acts, there are no epideictic presentations of outstanding people or their leadership qualities. The only "ideal figure" known to the New Testament is Jesus Christ himself. At some instances he is mentioned as the perfect leader of his people, using, e.g., the image of the true shepherd who does not spare his own life (John 10). He is the allround person (Hebrews: guide, forerunner, saviour, high priest). In particular the term ἀρχηγός denotes leadership qualities. Hebrews,[10] using exodus tradition, depicts Jesus as a kind of new Moses.[11] Jesus is the ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας (Heb 2:10), i.e., the founder of and leader towards salvation, just as (in 12:2) the "leader/ pioneer of faith." He leads into salvation.[12] Jesus has qualified

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shepherd is a peaceful metaphor, expressing active concern and care for the "flock" (people), often used of God. Cf. 1 Kgs 22:17; Pss 23; 80:2; Isa 13:14; 40:11; Jer 3:15; 23:1; 25:34; 31:10; Ezek 34; Zech 11:17; also in Matt 9:36; John 10.

[9] The title is well chosen by Collins and Nickelsburg.

[10] The only other instances in the New Testament are Acts 3:15 and 5:31.

[11] C. Spicq, "Le philonisme de l'Épitre aux Hébreux," *RB* 57 (1950) 217-18; Mary Rose D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 42; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), who concentrates on other aspects of the Moses-Christ-typology, however, such as Moses the martyr, Heb 3:1-6, Moses the mystic, glory, function of the law. Harald Hegermann (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [ThHK 16; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988] 72) remarks that Hebr does not depict Jesus as the new Joshua at the head of the wandering people of God.

[12] Incidentally, also Philo of Alexandria makes use of the motif that really God himself is the ἀρχηγέτης (originator and chief leader) of Israel out of Egypt; however, Philo transfers the imagery to the soul's journey from earth to God (*Migr. Abr.* 170-75), the

himself by becoming equal with his "brothers" (taking on flesh and blood), by suffering, overcoming temptation, learning obedience and becoming faithful and merciful (Hebrews 2, and 4–5). Occasionally we find traces of apostles (mostly Paul) being presented (or presenting themselves) as paradigmatic—with an emphasis on suffering and faithful service (e.g., 2 Cor 11:5-33; Phil 3:4-17; Gal 4:12ff.; 1 Thess 2:1-12). Good examples are presented e.g., in 3 John 3-8; 2 Petr 5:1-3. To a certain extent the catalogues of virtues (such as Gal 5:22-23; 1 Cor 13:4-7), emphasizing personal qualities, reflect the general direction of Christian behaviour, hence also of leadership.

2. Among the farewell discourses, Acts 20:18-35 is a clear example of essential qualities of church leadership, using inter alia the metaphor of responsible shepherds, just as 1 Peter 5:1ff. does. Paul, according to Acts 20, is a paradigm because of his "doing and teaching what Jesus taught and did,"[13] his servanthood, suffering, and care for the flock. Together with further material from Luke's Gospel, it can be said that for Luke "there is a clear concept of Christian leadership . . . focused on the manner and 'conditions of service' . . . rather than being taken up with considerations of 'office' . . . For Luke the heart of Christian leadership is to be like Jesus . . ."[14] Another farewell discourse is, at least to a large extent, 2 Timothy. In combination with the other two Pastoral Epistles, which take up Hellenistic traditions of "rules for young rulers,"[15] the emphasis lies on keeping the "household" in order, being a good personal example, securing the "healthy traditions," and on willingness to suffer.[16] The leader is very much the educator of his community (cf. 1 Tim 4:6). He has to regulate the relations between and/or to various groups both inside and outside the church.

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soul (Moses) asking "God himself to guide him the way that leads to Him" (171), with reference to Exod 33:15. See Fred W. Burnett, "Philo on Immortality: A Thematic Study of Philo's Concept of παλιγγενεσία," *CBQ* 46 [1984] 447-70. Certainly Philo's anthropology (cf. *Migr. Abr.* 168-69) is different from that in Hebr; but the metaphor is the same: the heavenly saviour leads the way from bondage to "enter the sanctuary" (Heb 10:19). Philo applies the term also to Adam (founder of mankind, *Op.* 79, 136, 142; *Mut.* 64) as well as to Abraham as the "founder of the nation" (*Abr.* 276); equally to Jacob as the "founder of the entire people of the Jews" (*Mos.* 1.7; cf. 34, 242), furthermore to Noah's generation (*Mos.* 2.65 "leaders of the regeneration, inaugurators of a second cycle"; cf. *Abr.* 46).

[13] Walton, *Leadership*, 184.

[14] Ibid., 135.

[15] Cf. Fiore, *Function* passim; Wolter, *Pastoralbriefe*, 161ff.

[16] Cf. Popkes, *Paränese*, 98-102. Ethics of duty.

3. In the case of the New Testament epistles the concept of leadership can be inferred only indirectly, (1) from what such persons (mainly Paul) do, indicating their own attitudes, aims and methods, and (2) from what they expect others to do or not to do, including God, the recipients or opposing people. Both in Paul and in James we find quite a bit of hortatory material, but the leadership issue is wider. Of course, in Paul's letters we have more material available than in James; in view of the the variety of the Pauline correspondence, though, we should also keep in mind that the letters display some flexibility and variety in leadership issues.

Before investigating the evidence in James and Paul in detail, their general contempory setting will be taken into consideration, both in the Graeco-Roman and the Jewish context. This will help better discern where each of them is rooted primarily.

III. THE GRAECO-ROMAN BACKGROUND

As was noted above with regard to terminology, leadership meant for Greeks and Romans first of all "to rule." How did they conceive of leadership in detail?

1. Being related to history, leadership is not an unchangeable system. The Graeco-Roman world was quite aware of this fact; philosophers analysed the changes in types of leadership and constitutions.[17] Questions of legitimacy[18] were of lesser importance, although not without impact in certain cases.[19] In Graeco-Roman times the predominant form of leadership was conceived of as "from above,"[20] even in voluntary associations[21] which in this regard mirror

[17] Especially Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 1160b), who mentions three forms (βασιλεία, ἀριστοκρατία, τιμοκρατία or πολιτεία) of which he prefers the first as best; their distortions are: τυραννίς, ὀλιγαρχία, δημοκρατία. Similarly Cicero's version, *Rep.* I 65ff.; he points out that the stability depends on the ethos of the persons or the leading groups.

[18] Max Weber's famous distinction of governments follows very much this aspect, in particular in cases of transmission after the termination of a certain period: (1) hereditary, as in monarchies and partiarchal systems, (2) bureaucratic, following constitutional rules of organization, (3) charismatic, determined by outstanding persons: M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 5th ed. 1980) 541-868.

[19] Cf. below on Paul's controversies, as in 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

[20] This finds expression, e.g., in the simile used by Polybios: The masses are like the sea, whose appearance is governed entirely by the winds playing over it. Cf. F. W. Walbank (in Malkin, *Leaders*, 203, 222).

[21] Cf. Clarke, *Serve*, 59-77.

the official system of the state. The emphasis on "leadership from above" reflects an authoritative system, based on power, dominion and *potestas*.[22] Since partition of powers was unknown in antiquity, the supreme ruler was also the supreme judge.[23]

2. Several forms of literature serve as sources for leadership concepts. (1) Accounts of history, especially of heroes and other oustanding persons, depict more or less "ideal figures." (2) Another form is epideictic, i.e., the *laudatio*, praising rulers, benefactors and other leaders. The *panegyricus* became a kind of standard form for the praise of the Roman emperors, among them the one by Pliny about Trajan. Such laudations often contained wishful thinking, of course; nevertheless they portray the ideal ruler. (3) There are also symbouleutic versions of treating the topic of good leadership, such as Plutarch's essay "To an uneducated ruler."[24] (4) Advice is given to subordinate rulers in, e.g., the *mandata principis*[25] or other royal letters.[26]

3. Leadership was generally bound to status and wealth. It was a domain of the affluent, the élite.[27] Only people of high enough legal, social and financial standing would fit for public offices; such offices were costly, not the least in making benefactions to the local or regional communities. The social system was bound up with networks of patrons and clients, establishing constituencies of dependence and

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[22] For Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca et alii, it was self-evident that ruling was a prerogative of the "better" (or "best," hence aristocracy). Humanity was divided into those who (are qualified to) rule and those (who need) being ruled; cf. Neil Elliott, in: Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics* 29-30. Cicero, *Rep.* III 37: *An non ... cernimus optimo cuique dominatum ab ipsa natura cum summa utilitate infirmiorum datum?* In Roman understanding "nature" (Cicero can also say: the gods) bestowed dominion on their nation and empire. Cf., however, also the description of the Roman princeps by Wagenvoort, *Studies*, 43-79: in Cicero the idea of princeps "constantly fluctuates between superioriy and priority, between 'higher political power' and 'salutary initiative'" (p. 57); the concept then takes the direction: ". . . of what in subequent years will gradually become stronger: an ever feebler stressing of the superiority factor, an ever stronger coming to the fore of a man who, if need be simply as a private person, will seize the initiative to rescue the state from some tyranny" (p. 79).

[23] Paul appeals to Caesar in Acts 25:10-11; 26:32.

[24] Plutarch, *Moralia* 779D–782F. He starts off with the remark "It is difficult to give advice (σύμβουλον) to rulers (ἄρχουσι) in matters of government (περὶ ἀρχῆς), for they are afraid of accepting reason as a ruler (ἄρχοντα) over them, lest it curtail the advantage of their power by making them slaves to duty (τῷ καθήκοντι)" (779E).

[25] Cf. Wolter, *Pastoralbriefe*, 164ff.

[26] Cf. Welles; Wolter op. cit. 170ff.

[27] Clarke, *Serve*, 33; idem, *Secular*, 36.

loyalty.[28] Often people were leaders simply by tradition and status.

4. Standards of leadership in antiquity mostly pertain to ethics; other aspects, such as skills in management, were less well developed.[29] Ethics was important both for the overall direction or purpose of any government and for the personal performance in leadership. The ruler has to work for the common good, for prosperous conditions[30], exerting his power wisely, continuing good traditions.[31] He should set a good example; character formation is important. The good ruler is a benefactor, an εὐεργέτης.[32] This is reflected also in the typology of a good emperor, portraying a royal standard of leadership. According to this standard[33] the ideal ruler[34] is discernible in relation (1) to power; he should exert it to make and secure peace; he should be magnanimous to his enemies, practicing what became proverbial as *clementia Caesaris*[35], and meekness

[28] Schmeller, *Hierarchie*, on Corinth; Kloppenborg, on James; deSilva, *Honor*, 95ff.

[29] In terms of a modern popular phrase that "leadership means to do the right things, management to do things right," the emphasis in antiquity clearly fell on the first aspect.

[30] Hence peace is of supreme importance; e.g., in *Augustus Res gestae* 34.1-3. Cf. Faust, *Pax Christi*, 280ff.; Horsley, *Paul and Politics*, 81.

[31] This is the background for philosophical treatises on the polis; cf. Plato, Aristotle et al. They regularly include considerations about what a good state looks like. Plutarch, *Moralia* 780D: "rulers serve god for the care and preservation of men"; 781E "Kings fear for [ὑπέρ] their subjects [ἀρχομένων], but tyrants fear their subjects." Dio Chrysostom or. 4.95 "depicts an ideal ruler in diametrical opposition to one who behaves greedily, using the verb ἁρπάζειν ('snatch') to express improper ways of ruling. Alexander the Great is warned for covetousness . . ." (Tellbe, *Paul*, 257).

[32] Cf. the sarcastic remark in Luke 22:25: "The kings of the nations exercise lordship [κυριεύουσιν] over them, and those in authority over them are called benefactors [καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται]." The only other New Testament instance of the term is Acts 10:38, positively used in a summary about Jesus' activity (parallel: "healing all who were oppressed by the devil"). On the importance of "benefactor" (also in connection with the goddes Roma), e.g., in the Thessalonian situation cf. Karl Donfried, in: Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Empire*, 218-19; on "beneficial ideology," cf. Neil Elliott, in: Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics*, 31. On Polybios, cf. Walbank, in: Malkin, *Leaders*, 208.

[33] Theissen, *Jesusbewegung* 348ff.; Bleicken, *Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*, 83ff.

[34] They could be called "sons of god," which would give "from above" a special flavour of priviledge. Cf. Clauss, *Kaiser*, 217ff. The ideal king according to Polybios is distinguished from the tyrant by moral categories: "It is the tyrant's role to do evil so as to make himself master of men by fear against their will, but that of a king to do good to all and so to rule and preside over a willing people, earning their love by his beneficence and humanity [διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀγαπώμενον]"; cf. Walbank, in Malkin, *Leaders*, 208.

[35] Seneca, *De clementia ad Neronem*, calls it a cardinal virtue of the emperor. Bleicken, op. cit. 89f.: the term is at home in criminal law; the emperor is in the position to correct the law-order. This is regarded as an expression not only of his power but also of his wisdom and *philanthropia*. The law system of the Republic had no such institution.

(ἐπιείκεια)[36]; (2) to property: generosity, *liberalitas*, i.e., giving freely to people in need[37]; and (3) to education and culture: wisdom, comprising insight, moderatism and knowledge.

5. It is not by chance that family imagery is used also for the state and for the emperor. A prominent imperial title is *pater patriae.*[38] Just as the *paterfamilias* he is both the dominant and the caring figure on top of the "household,"[39] the state being conceived as a large family or house, having its own *oikonomia.* A good ruler must be a good steward of his/her house (cf. the Pastoral Epistles; Rom 16:1-2).

6. In ancient societies we observe an overlap between civil and religious dimensions of leadership.[40] Duties had to be followed here and there; this made it difficult for Jews[41] and Christians to hold any public offices.[42] Public authority was endorsed by some religious status. Rulers were regarded even as "image of god who orders all things."[43] The growing Roman emperor cult is just one indication of

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Caesar himself, the first monarch, introduced *clementia* as a new political term by exerting mercy over his enemies. Cf. Cicero, *Rep.* V 5: . . . *rei publicae rectorem summum virum et doctissimum esse debere, ita ut sapiens sit et temperans et eloquens.*

[36] In Hellenistic understanding, also χαρίς is an expression of grace from rulers, Hans Conzelmann, *ThWNT* 9:367; deSilva, *Honor* 121ff.

[37] Cf. Polybios' emphasis on μεγαλοψία (generous spirit) for a good king: Walbank, in: Malkin, *Leaders*, 209

[38] Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 60. Pliny appreciates that Trajan accepted the title: *Panegyricus* 21. Cf. Clauss, *Kaiser*, 221.

[39] Pliny writes: "And now that you bear the name, how kind and considerate you show yourself, living with your subjects as a father with his children ... knowing your subjects as you are known to them." Also Jews could use the title *pater* or *mater synagoges*; cf. Clarke, *Serve*, 134 (for *patron*).

[40] Clarke, *Serve*, 23 for the Graeco-Roman city, 58 for the Roman colony and city. This holds true also for the household, the father (parents) performing the cult. Cf. Clarke, *Serve*, 101, with reference to E. M. Lassen, "The Roman Familiy: Ideal and Metaphor," in Halvor Moxnes (ed.), *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor* (London: Routledge, 1997) 103-20. Jews and Christians had no problems in this regard.

[41] The situation in the diaspora synagogues varies. Cf. Clarke, *Serve*, 110ff.; John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Dispora. From Alexander to Trajan (323 B.C.E – 117 C.E.)* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996); Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage*; Margaret H. Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (London: Duckworth, 1998); Tellbe, *Paul*, 46ff.

[42] Jews had their two "states," living on the one hand in a pagan politeia (such as Alexandria), on the other hand in their religious community (with Jerusalem as capital); cf. Faust, *Pax Christi*, 89ff.; on the Jewish πολιτεία; Tellbe, *Paul.* Christians regarded themselves as citizens of heaven in the last resort (Phil 3:20; Eph 2:16). This created different allegencies, commitments, loyalties and priorities. Cf. later Augustin's "two cities."

[43] Plutarch, *Moralia* 780D-E: The rulers distribute some of the gifts of god to the

this aspect.[44] Public religion was a matter of the *raison d'état*; state and city officers were supposed to take care of the cult as well.

7. The traditional Greek context of leadership was the *polis*. Both civil and military qualities were needed, i.e., statesmanship and strategy. Although each area required its own skills, basically the qualities here and there coincide. In the course of time, when the polis lost much of its political power; leadership became increasingly a matter of the Caesar and of his subordinates. Of course, local and/or regional leadership was still needed as well; but in terms of governmental power this became a delegated matter only.[45] On the other hand, honorary offices and posts in voluntary associations became a kind of stubstitution to real authority and influence. Already the Hellenistic world was a system of associations,[46] on all sorts of basis—ethnic, economic, religious etc. Roman politics exerted considerable suspicion towards such groups, trying to keep potential opposition down. On the other hand, in Roman times such associations grew in importance due to the decreasing political importance and power of the polis.[47] Their structure and terminology reflect their substitute character; leadership issues mirror those of political life.[48]

8. Honour played an essential role in Graeco-Roman society, in particular in voluntary leadership.[49] Why should someone devote reputation, time, energy, money and status to any common cause, if he or she could gain little actual power or financial reward? The recompense was honor. Any benefactor expected public appreciation; no honour, no benefaction, and vice versa. Hellenistic authors, Jewish dispora congregations and Christian leaders were aware of the

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people, safeguarding others. "These gifts and blessings, so excellent and so great, which the gods bestow cannot be rightly enjoyed nor used without law and justice and a ruler. Justice is the aim and end of law, law is the work of the ruler, and the ruler is the image of god who orders all things [ἄρχων δ' εἰκὼν θεοῦ τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦντος]."

[44] Cf. for the West: Clauss, *Kaiser*, 356ff. ("Divinisierung und Konsekration"); for the East: Price, *Rituals*. The cult was leading up to the deification of emperors. For e.g., Thessalonica; cf. Karl Donfried, in Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Empire*, 218-19; on imperial propaganda, see Neil Elliott, in Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics*, 24-26.

[45] A vivid illustration is found in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan.

[46] Cf. F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 1967 (= 1909); E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896; W. Popkes, "Gemeinschaft," *RAC* 9 (1976) 1100-1145, here 1106-7; Clarke, *Serve*, 59-77.

[47] Plümacher, *Identitätsverlust* on losing and regaining identity.

[48] Pilhofer, *Philippi* I on Philippi, even the Christian church; esp. 140ff.

[49] Clarke, *Serve* passim; deSilva, *Honor*, 23ff.

negative implications and tried to counter-balance them.[50] However, this wide-spread sentiment was hardly surmountable and remained a constant challenge also to Christian leadership motivation.

IV. JEWISH VOICES

It is neither posssible nor necessary to describe here all the facets of the contemporary Jewish practice and understanding of leadership. A few flashlights will suffice.

1. At the end of his book, Ben Sira has a long section praising the "famous men," "our fathers" (44ff.[51]). In substance there is little new to the Biblical reports; but there are some selected emphases. Various figures are presented; at the outset (44:2ff.) Ben Sira states that these men were endowed with glory from God; they were outstanding as kings and wise rulers. The series begins with Henoch (44:16: he gave "an example of piety" to the subsequent generations)[52] and Noah, being "totally righteous" (44:17). Then follows Abraham, a faithful man and bearer of blessing (19ff.). Moses is praised because of how he appeared before Pharaoh (45:1ff.), because of his faithfulness and humility (45:4: ἐν πίστει καὶ πραΰτητι). Aaron receives rather much attention as a Levite (45:6ff.). Joshua is praised as a martial hero, but also as a prophet (like Moses: 46:1ff.). The laudatious description does not always follow the historical sequence; David, e.g., is mentioned right after Pinhas (45:23ff.), underlining the parallel between kingdom and priesthood,[53] but also again at length in 47:1ff. Of course, figures like Elijah receive an outstanding position (48:1ff.) in his zeal for God and his miracles. It is easy to observe what Ben Sira regarded as important for the Jewish ancestry of leadership: faithfulness to God and his covenant,[54] care for the people of God, justice, courage and resistance in dangerous situations. The ruler must be a truely religious person.

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[50] Cf. my commentary *Der Brief des Jakobus*, on Jas 4:16-17; Thomas Schmeller, in *BZ* 38 (1993) 296-298, esp. 298 (critical review of Clarke, *Secular*).

[51] On the enumeration of chapters, see Georg Sauer, *Jesus Sirach* (JSHRZ III/5; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981) 487.

[52] LXX: ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας. Cf. Sauer, op. cit. 615.

[53] Sauer, op. cit. 620 note on 25b. Cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 4.214, with reference to Deut 26:18: "As rulers let each city have seven men long exercised in virtue and in the pursuit of justice; and to each magistracy let there be assigned two subordinate officers of the tribe of Levi."

[54] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historial and Literary Introduction* (London: SCM Press, 1981) 61.

2. Philo defines Moses as the combination of a variety of leadership qualities. In his book on the *Life of Moses* he writes: "It has been said . . . that states can only make progress in well-being if either kings are philosophers or philosophers kings. But Moses will be found to have . . . combined in his single person, not only these two faculties—the kingly and the philosophiocal—but also three others, one of which is concerned with the law-giving, the second with the high priest's office, and the last with prophecy."[55] Moses thus is the ideal figure of leadership[56], comprising all aspects in one allround figure. The description attests several aspects which are found in the Hellenistic world[57]: (1) the overlap of state and religion, (2) the common good as ethical purpose, (3) the importance of universal wisdom and insight in God's ways. The person is decisive, being not only a leader of the people but also the mediator between God and the people.

3. According to Ps.-Philo, *LAB*, a number of characters are depicted as ideal figures,[58] among them Noah (because of his righteousness), Daniel (as seer, philosopher, holy man), the martyrs according to 4 Maccabees, including women (as Jephthah's daughter). The profile of good leaders consists in their obedience to the covenantal laws,[59] in their implementation of God's purposes, setting good public examples, in military activity against an oppressive enemy; leadership finds expression not only in deed but also in word. The emphasis in *LAB* thus falls rather much on the personal religious commitment in relation to God and to his people, similarly as in Ben Sira.

4. In commenting on Deut 17:14ff., Josephus (*Ant.* 4.223ff.) has Moses say that "aristocracy and the life thereunder" are "indeed the best." The king is supposed to have "a perpetual care for justice and any other virtue. Let him concede to the laws and to God the possession of superior wisdom, and let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators (γερουσιαστῶν)." In his

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[55] *Vit. Mos.* 2.2-3.

[56] A similar point is made by Philo in *Opif. Mundi* 1.1: Moses places lawgiving in an appropriate context by first giving "an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observes the law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world, regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself also is administered" (translation by G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classical Library).

[57] Understandably this is intended by a Jewish-Hellenistic writer as Philo is.

[58] According to Collins and Nickelsburg, *Ideal Figures*, 59-59.

[59] Ibid., 60-61: Trust in God, who will not allow his people to be totally annihilated, but will deliever them.

reports about military and other activities, Josephus is concerned not only about right or wrong opinions but even more so about virtues, using examples from Jewish history.[60] Needless to say that Josephus records the sufferings experienced by the Jews throughout their history.[61]

5. The texts considered so far exhibit some influence of Hellenistic thinking. The Qumran community formulates a clear picture of what leadership is meant to be according to their convictions, as we read in 1QS 8:1-4 about the "twelve men and three priests."[62] Their duty is "to exercise truth, righteousness and justice, and charity and humility in human relations; and to maintain faithfulness in the country with a firm mind and a contrite spirit, and to atone iniquity by performing justice and (in) afflictions of cleansing; and to walk with all people in the way of truth and in the order of time. If all of this happens in Israel, then the council of the community stands firmly rooted in truth for an everlasting plant." The organization of the community in general reflects traits of Israel of old, walking through the wilderness.[63] The comparable passage 1QS 6:3ff., mentioning ten men, among them one priest, concentrates on matters of internal procedures. Their office is to find clarity in matters of justice (6:9). On the whole then, leadership according to Qumran encompasses (1) ethical orientation (truth, justice and the like), (2) responsibilty for the well-being of the people, (3) a combination of priestly and non-sacerdotal figures, (4) an appropriate religious spirit.

6. The "organization of the synagogues often paralleled that of non-Jewish communities and reminds one of Greco-Roman collegia or guilds,"[64] the leading positions being "largely filled by laypeople."[65] A

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[60] Günter Mayer, "Josephus Flavius," *TRE* 17 (1988) 258-64, here 262.

[61] Much of Josephus' historiography is of an apologetic nature, therefore. He is eager to record laws issued by pagan governments in favour of their Jewish population.

[62] Usually this passage has found attention in comparison with New Testament texts (such as Matt 16:17-19; Gal 2:9; Eph 2:20); cf. Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1966) §19.

[63] Cf. James C. VanderKam, *Einführung in die Qumranforschung: Geschichte und Bedeutung der Schriften vom Toten Meer* (UTB 1998; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 134.

[64] Louis H. Feldman, "Dispora Synagogues: New Light from Inscriptions and Paypri," in S. Fine (ed.), *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the American World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 48-66, here 55, also quoted by Clarke, *Serve*, 126.

[65] Clarke, *Serve*, 126.

variety of titles of synagogue officials appears[66]; inscriptions document also female leaders.[67] The roles of the leaders are not clearly defined and could vary, just as the number of individuals could.[68] Most of the offices operate on the basis of honour.[69] The documents vary in their emphasis on the functions. It seems "that the epigraphic sources are concerned with the 'administrative and social running of the community', whereas the rabbinic literature deals with the 'liturgical and educational'."[70]

7. To sum up: Jewish leadership concepts are largely drawn from history, taking "ideal figures" as guidelines with a special emphasis on their responsibilty for the people of God. Basically this amounts to an ethical concept of leadership.[71] The best appropiate starting point for describing the Jewish concept of leadership is here, not in the details of local synagogal or other officers. The "common good" is determined by the peculiar covenantal setting. Values as righteousness, law and truth receive their substance from Israel's sacred history. Hence leadership qualities are intimately connected with the religious stance of rulers. The situation of the people of Israel, often under oppression, calls for courage and even willingness to suffer for the common good. The general impact that a Jewish leader should take care of his folk is also the guding principle for local leaders in the synagogues; they were expected to be benefactors of the community. In the diaspora situation this often implied structural loans from the secular environment with regard to the function and status of the synagogue leaders.[72]

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[66] Clarke (*Serve*, 127-34) treats *archisynagogos, archon, gerousiarch, patron.* Cf. also Lee I. Levine, "Synagogue Officials: The Evidence from Caesarea and its Implications for Palestine and the Diaspora," in A. Raban and K. G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millenia* (DMOA 21; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 392-400; Schürer and Vermes, *History*, III/1:92ff.

[67] Brooten, *Women Leaders*; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 105-26. Given the diversity of the situation, "at least some Jewish communities in Asia Minor gave an unusually prominent place to women" (p. 126).

[68] Clarke, *Serve*, 136.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 137, with reference to Lee Levine, op. cit. 395-96, who discusses two more possible explanations, viz. geographical and urban-rural.

[71] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.214-15 (on judges): ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡ περὶ δίκαιον σπουδή. "Let those to whom it shall fall to administer justice in the cities be held in all honour, none being permitted to be abusive or insolent in their presence."

[72] Clarke, *Serve*, 132ff.

V. JAMES

James does not really refer to "ideal figures" of the past. His few christological references (in 1:1 and 2:1) contain little information; figures like Abraham (2:21ff.), Job or Elijah (5:11, 17-18) illustrate certain attitudes other than leadership.[73] The overall purpose of the document, however, is to correct ecclesial developments which displease the author; they are apparently related to inadequate leadership on the recipients' side. Hence, James' own activity can be interpreted as leadership rendered to the church, seeking its best ("common good") in order to cure the obvious diseases. Moreover, James apparently (though mostly implicitly) addresses church leaders who run the congregation into troubles; James' charge is profoundly ethical. These people do not take their responsibility seriously but pursue all kinds of self-endorsing activities.

1. The Epistle of James mentions two titles[74] for groups of responsibility in the churches which he addresses, viz. teachers (3:1) and elders (5:14). Of them the latter group is not really depicted in terms of leadership. The "elders of the church" should be summoned in cases of physical sickness, in order to pray for the one in problems. We need not analyse here the various implications of their activity nor the background of that ecclesial institution.[75] Suffice it to say that, in view of the practical circumstances, such elders represented the collective support of the local congregation; aspects of leadership are not mentioned here by James.

The teachers seem to have exerted much more influence in the churches. James indicates this aspect both by including himself in this group ("we . . . ," 3:1-2) and by referring to the "greater judgment" (3:1), underlining the problem of "failing in the word" (3:2). In general, the Jacobean churches probably were "churches of the word," as the rather frequent instances with λόγος show (particularly in 1:18ff.). There were empty and angry words, shallow (such as 2:16), boasting (4:13-17), discriminating (2:2-4) and aggressive (3:9-10). According to 3:1 the teachers form an open group with possible access for many; too many, James thinks. Hence he exhorts his

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[73] It could be argued, of course, that also prayer (as with Elijah, 5:17-18) is a means of leadership. But James does not locate this aspect in his passages about problems and responsibilities in shaping the community's best. (i.e., as in chapters 3-4).

[74] There are no references to apostles, shepherds, prophets (5:10 is a different category), ἐπίσκοποι, διάκονοι, or the like.

[75] Cf. the literature and exposition in my commentary *Der Brief des Jakobus*.

addressees to keep the number down. Apparently it was an attractive position for not a few people, thereby enhancing their social status in the church and in society.

2. The primary theme and purpose in James 3 is *kybernesis*,[76] the skill and responsibilty of steering "the whole body." For people in responsibility it is essential not to fail in many regards, particularly ἐν λόγῳ (3:2). *Errare humanum est* has always been a common observation; usually it served as an argument for not judging people too strictly. Naturally the aspect of error is of pivotal importance for a teacher. James goes on saying (v. 2) that someone not failing ἐν λόγῳ is a perfect man, able to guide (bridle?) also the entire body (δυνατὸς χαλιναγωγῆσαι καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα). James does not give any reason why perfection consists in not failing "in word," nor does he indicate why such a person would be able to control his/her own body; neither biology nor experience tell us so. However, a closer look tells us: James does not use the personal pronoun (his/her) here; moreover, the verb need not mean "to bridle, i.e., hold on a strict leash"; rather, the translation "to guide, steer, give direction" is preferrable, as the parallel μετάγειν in v. 3-4 proves. Attention should also be paid to the καί in v. 2b, rendered by "also, even." Σῶμα then receives a collective meaning: the corpus. James' emphasis falls on ὅλον, as also in v. 3 and similarly in v. 4 and even v. 5: a small instrument is able to guide the entire entity, whether body or boat or community. The analysis of v. 2 thus indicates that James reflects on the responsibility of the teachers for those who rely upon good leadership.[77]

Only in vv. 5-8 James describes the evil potential of the tongue, combining different motifs and metaphors[78], basically those of "destructive fire and burning." As in v. 2b the aspect of ability recurs (vv. 8, 12), taken up in v. 10b about what must not (οὐ χρή) happen. In vv. 9-10 James has shifted the matter of reference; the problem is now no longer just the destructiveness of the tongue but the ambiguity of the human word[79]. More important, James is explicitly back in church life. The semantic pair "bless, praise / curse" has its primary

[76] Many commentators regard as the content of the section a short essay ("amplifying" 1:26) on anthropology, in particular about the human tongue and its dangerous potential. However, "tongue" occurs not before v. 5; in vv. 5-8 only.

[77] Often v. 2b is regarded merely as a transition to a more general treatment of the theme "dangers of the tongue" (being a problem to all people) leaving "teachers" behind.

[78] *Cf. Davids, The Epistle of James, 144.*

[79] "Mouth" replacing "tongue."

background in Deuternomy 11 and 30.[80] It is against nature (vv. 11-12) and God's will that "out of the same source" come blessing and cursing, sweet and bitter.[81] In relation to the activity of church leaders in James' perception this implies that they in fact perform the "impossible possibility." They should know better about the power of words, in particular about their destructive potential; and they should be unambiguous in speech. So far then James has operated with three elements: the ability and consequences of leadership, the danger of words, the incompatibility of certain words.

3. The section 3:1-12 has not really found an end in itself; the warning against ambiguity of speech (v. 9-12) did not do enough justice to the danger of words and to the overarching aspect of leadership. James takes this further on in 3:13-4:3, dealing with the necessary qualifications of "wise" people and the background of quarrels. A few catchwords mark the transition: chaotic (ἀκατάστατον, vv. 8, 16) and bitter (πικρός, vv. 11, 14). The basic problem is, first of all, indicated by the terms ζῆλος καὶ ἐριθεία (vv. 14, 16),[82] before James mentions even wars, battles and the like in 4:1-3.[83] The problem is caused by wrong motivations "in the hearts" of the people (3:14), by ἡδοναί and ἐπιθυμίαι (4:1-3). "Zeal" stands here[84] for evil ("bitter") feelings towards other people, fanaticism, rivalry, jealousy, envy, suspicion, all certainly socially destructive. The term ἐριθεία is used in the New Testament only by Paul[85] and James. Before that the only attestation is Aristotle, *Polit.* 1302b, 4; 1303a, 14; here it means "party spirit," i.e., striving for the favour of certain groups.[86] This fits

[80] Cf. also Mt 5:44; Rom 12:14, as a contrast in behaviour. "Created in the image of God" refers to Gen 1:26.

[81] The motif is not unknown in the Hellenistic world; Plato, *Leg. II* 659A reproaches a judge who calls upon his gods and, by the same tongue, pronounces false sentence.

[82] The pair is found also in (longer) catalogues of vices in the New Testament: 2 Cor 12:20 (with ἀκαταστασία); Gal 5:20; cf. Phil 1:15.17; 1 Cor 3:3; Eph 4:31; cf. *1 Clem.* 3:2.

[83] These terms should be taken metaphorically, not literally. James does not refer, e.g., to participation in the Jewish War 66–70 (as Martin and Townsend assert). Rather, he speaks about competition and similar battles in business and beyond, even in the church.

[84] Zeal can be regarded as a positive attitude as well. Johnson, *James*, 271 refers to Aristotle's definition of envy and zeal (cf. *Rhet.* 1387b–1388b), the first being negative, the second noble.

[85] Rom 2:8; 2 Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20; Phil 1:17; 2:3.

[86] The term is not derived from ἔρις, "strife," which would lead to quarrelsomeness, but from ἐριθεύομαι, resulting in self-interest, selfish ambition: Bauer-Danker 392; Heinz Giesen, *EWNT* 2:130-31. The background in Aristotle is the question why

exactly in the Jacobean picture, leading directly into the political scenery. Such church leaders behave like unqualified politicians.

4. The sapiential context in 3:13-18 may have been brought up by the very people whom James criticizes. The way he challenges their pretended "wisdom and understanding"[87] indicates that Jas is not writing an essay on wisdom but combatting a claim made by people in leading positions.[88] The term ἐπιστήμων (only here in the New Testament) connotes "expert," implying superiority.[89] Such would-be master-minds are challenged by James to demonstrate their ἔργα, i.e., their achievements, accomplishments, life output, effects, but exclusively those produced in the meekness of wisdom. This demonstration can be done only "out of / on the basis of good conduct / behavior." For James it goes without question that wisdom coincides with meekness and peace. This becomes evident first of all by the negative contrast both in the actual situation of the addressees and in the definition of ungodly wisdom[90] (vv. 14-16). The second instance is the (positive) description of "wisdom from above" (vv. 17-18); here we find a veritable repository of leadership qualities.

5. The catalogue in v. 17 is well structured[91]; after a "first of all" follow three adjectives beginning with an ἐ, all of them seldom in the New Testament, then a twofold "full of" and finally two adjectives with an ἀ-privativum. James starts by ἁγνή, originally a cultic term, meaning guiltless, able to stand before God.[92] In Phil 1:17 it is opposed to ἐξ ἐριθείας. James thus puts purity and clarity first. The second row is opened by (1) "peaceful, peacemaking," implying absence of war, prosperous conditions, ease, welfare, and safety.[93] This, a "common good," is what true, divine wisdom wants to

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rebellions and changes of constitutions happen, the reason being a self-seeking pursuit of political office by unfair means. Cf. above I 2.

[87] The two Greek terms also occur in Deut 1:13.15 (heads of the tribes); 4:5-6; cf. Dan 1:4; 5:11; 6:4. Such instances refer to an elite.

[88] Not dissimilar to the situation in 1 Corinthians, where Paul is facing some sapiential superiority feeling.

[89] Bauer-Danker 381. Wisdom was traditionally located at royal courts (cf. Solomon in the Old Testament). It retained an upper class connotation.

[90] Incidentally, James does not say "wisdom from below." Apparently he avoids this formulation, because there is no such wisdom.

[91] The form-tradition is epideictic; cf. the lists of praiseful virtues in Wis 7:22-30; 1 Cor 13:4-8.

[92] Cf. in the New Testament: 2 Cor 7:11; 1 Tim 5:22; Tit 2:5; 1 Pet 3:2.

[93] In the Jewish tradition near to God's kingdom, righteousness, salvation (e.g., Isa 52:7ff.).

achieve, at the same time being its own character: εἰρήνη. (2) "Meek" (ἐπιεικής) is a typically Greek term, referring to what is fair and adequate, what is well becoming, in particular to being moderate and temperate in judgment.[94] Such generosity is opposed to violence.[95] It is an expression of authority and dignity, a privilege of kings and other people of high rank.[96] Such a noble attitude is able to resolve problems without a narrow-minded clinging to the rules. (3) The usual meaning of εὐπειθής is compliant, obedient, by perusal, not by force.[97] However, such a passive meaning is not in line with the preceding words and a rather strange idea for "wisdom" (here not "a wise person"); why should wisdom obey, and to whom? An active interpretation is possible[98] and more adequate here. Wisdom then achieves compliance and obedience by leading gently, again a virtue of an eminent leader. The twofold phrase "full of" refers again to the results of proper conduct. "Mercy" (ἔλεος) is classically[99] a feature of nobility, in particular in view of someone's misfortune without his / her guilt.[100] "Good fruits" is well known in wisdom tradition,[101] in the New Testament often combined with justice (Romans 6; Philippians 1; Ephesians 5) and peace (Gal 5:22-6:9; Heb 12:11). The final two adjectives (both using -κριτος, i.e., forensic language) delineate wisdom from improper conduct. "Impartial" (ἀδιάκριτος) is opposed to any discrimination (cf. 2:4) and party-spirit. "Unfeigned" (ἀνυπόκριτος) leads back to the first element in v. 17: "purity of mind and heart."[102] Verse 18 then underlines once more the aspects of peace

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[94] Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1137A: in certain cases a judge should consider the life-circumstances of the defendant, applying the strict rules of the law with modesty. Cf. also Plato, *Leg.* IV 19.2; Isocrates 4.63; 18.34.

[95] Epictet. frgm. 5.10; cf. ἄμαχος 1 Tim 3:3; parallel with πραΰτης 2 Cor 10:1; Tit 3:2.

[96] Cf. Esth 3:13; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.83; Philo, *Virt.* 81; Acts 24:4; even God (Ps 85:6) and Christ (2 Cor 10:1).

[97] Bauer-Danker 410. Philo, *Hypoth.* 7.3; cf.6.2, 4, 8; *Virt.* 15; 4 Macc 12:6.

[98] Liddell-Scott-Jones 726 sub II: "persuasive, of a rein."

[99] The Stoa had a different opinion: mercy is a πάθος and λύπη, a sickness of the soul (*morbus animi*; cf. Stoic *Vet.* Frgm. 3.109.24; *vitium animi*: ibid. III 110,3), unworthy of the wise (Chrysippos: no wise man can be merciful, ibid., I 52.6). Not so the Epicureans: "No wise man beats his slaves, but shows mercy and forgives those of good will," Diog. Laert. 10.118.

[100] Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1105b,21; *Rhetor.* 1385-90 (though a danger for judges: 1385b, 13f.); Demosth. 22.57; Democrit. 107a.255. In the Jewish tradition "mercy" (*chesed*) is mostly a divine prerogative (Exod 34:6; Jer 33:11 et al.).

[101] Sir 1:16; 6:18f.; 24:17-19; cf. 37:20f.; 50:10.

[102] The term is rare in LXX (only Wis 5:18; 18:15) and in Philo (*Quaest. in Gen.* 3.29),

and justice, before 4:1-3 depict the extant contrast: fights and consumptive attitudes.

6. All the qualities mentioned in v. 17 describe a wise ruler; all of them depict a noble, royal attitude and conduct, defining the ideal leader. James thus adopts virtues well known in the secular Graeco-Roman world, applied to leadership. Such qualities are conceived in terms of ethics, both for (1) the aim and purpose of good leadership, viz. peace, justice and welfare; and (2) for the mode of performance, for personal and professional conduct, viz. a peaceful mind, meekness, generosity and the like. Of course, in James' understanding these qualities are divine gifts, "from above" (cf. 1:17). But divine gifts may in quality very well coincide with the best found in the world. James would argue like Matt 5:20 that "your righteousness must be even better" or like Phil 4:8 "consider whatever is decent, honourable, righteous," etc., taking the best for granted and exceeding it. The positive statements in vv. 17-18 are a kind of mirror, used in a primarily polemical context criticizing the chaotic and quarrelsome situation in the churches, as 4:1ff. goes on to say. The teachers as church leaders have not done their task well; their destructive word has caused a bunch of problems. Leadership issues thus appear in this epistle largely via negativa, but nevertheless with enough positive clarity, according to the motto "noblesse oblige."

7. In a different context (4:13-17) James also refers to the responsibility of influential business[103] people "to do something good" (καλὸν ποιεῖν), i.e., to the motif of benefaction. James reproached merchants who did not ask for God's will in making their profitable journeys. Instead they boast about their achievements. The concluding verse then says that, to anyone who knows καλὸν ποιεῖν and does not do it, it is sin (4:17). The background of this clause of casuistic law is probably Jewish, but no precedent has been found so far.[104] "To do good" is a rather common phrase in New Testament exhortation; the objects can be καλόν and ἀγαθόν. The distribution in the New Testament though varies; opposite terms are κακός and πονηρός.

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in secular Greek attested not before post-biblical times. Quite frequent in the New Testament, as e.g., Rom 12:9; 2 Cor 6:6; 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 1:5; 1 Pet 1:22.

[103] On ἔμπορος and the verb (3:13) cf. my commentary. Traditionally it stands for wholesale merchant, often seafaring. In the course of time, though, the disctinction from κάπηλος (retailer) became less clearcut.

[104] Καλός is missing in Acts, Colossians, Ephesians, 1–3 John, Revelation. The Pastoral Epistles use it more often (24x) than the genuine Pauline epistles (17x). On the background cf. Frankemölle 632; Martin 168; Burchard 188.

James seems to prefer καλός over against ἀγαθός.[105] The connotations of καλός are: proper, in order, adequate, useful, blameless.[106] In Jas 4:16-17 the opposition to καύχησις πονηρά should not be overlooked; boasting is both improper, ethically wrong and not acceptable to God. On the contrary, James calls to do something useful, morally positive and pleasing to God. "To do good" should not be limited to charitable actions or alms; in this context James does not emphasize "use your profits for the support of the poor," as could be expected from 2:15-16. He challenges the recipients to lead a useful life. Boasting, i.e., honour-mindedness, should be replaced by useful actions which would, in the life context of such people, include also benefactions, whether to the church or to the general public.[107] In summary, the passage 4:13-17 underlines the ethical responsibility of any person who is in the position or fortunate to make profits. They should set a good example and refrain from boasting which is a primary social evil and counter-productive in questions of any kind of public leadership

VI. PAUL

1. In terms of substance and presentation, 1 Thessalonians shows quite a few similarities with Acts 20:18-35.[108] Like Acts 20, 1 Thessalonians is largely characterized by giving account, possibly including self-defense (2:1-12).[109] According to Walton, the four "key terms of the

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[105] The latter is found only in 1:17 and 3:17; the former in 2:7; 3:13, adverbial in 2:3.8.19.

[106] Walter Grundmann, *ThWNT* 3:540.

[107] Tessa Rajak, "Benefactors in the Greco-Jewish Diaspora," in Hubert Cancik et al. (ed.), *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion* (FS Martin Hengel), Band I. *Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1996) 305-19, concentrating on the relation between benefactions and public honour in Greek cities. Cf. also Winter, *Seek the Welfare*, who proceeds from 1 Pet 2:14-15 and considers "doing good" as a technical term for benefactions in society which responds with public honour; Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection* (WUNT 2/124; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2000); Frederick Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Greco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982).

[108] This has been observed long ago; cf. the literature mentioned by Walton, *Leadership*, 140ff., especially: H. Schulze, "Die Unterlagen für die Abschiedsrede zu Milet in Apostelgesch. 20,18-38," *TSK* 93 (1900) 119-25; W. Soltau, "Die Herkunft der Reden in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZNW* 4 (1903) 128-54; Lars Aejmelaeus, *Die Rezeption der Paulusbriefe in der Miletrede (Ap. 20:18-35)* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987).

[109] The genre of 1 Thessalonians has been an object of recent discussion; cf. Karl Donfried and Johannes Beutler (eds.), *The Thessalonian Debate: Methodological*

Miletus speech" are found here as well, viz. "leadership, suffering, wealth and the death of Jesus."[110] With regard to leadership, 1 Thessalonians underlines the "Christlikeness," passing on a model to the next generation, servanthood and humility, support of the weak, bearing the costs, suffering, fearlessness, faithfulness. Moreover, there is "a bond of affection between leaders, based . . . on lives shared with one another."[111] One of the essential metaphors applied in 1 Thessalonians is "nurturing the community" (esp. in 2:1-12).[112] Paul presents himself as one[113] who exerts the responsibility of providing and supporting the spiritual growth of the congregation, of promoting fellowship with one another, and of helping others "in a way of life different from that of the larger society."[114] A true leader then is like a parent for his/her children, selfless in commitment and giving guidance to survive and prosper even in a hostile environment. Paul does not hesitate to exhibit himself as a paradigm to be imitated, as Christ is his own paradigm (1:6ff.: τύπος, μιμητής).

2. Philippians, of all the genuine Pauline epistles, is the one being closest in touch with Roman society. It reflects a situation that was aware of important positions and titles,[115] and addresses the church as belonging to a different, i.e., heavenly πολίτευμα (3:20; cf. 1:27).[116] Similarly as in 1 Thessalonians, Paul emphasizes here internal values (growing in love, unity, maturity, etc.).[117] In relation to the outside, the congregation is supposed to be "lights in the world" (2:15), being living examples of truth, justice and decency. The paradigm leader is Christ himself (2:5-11), in particular with regard to humility as the basis of true lordship. Probably this socalled *Carmen Christi* was (at least partly) formulated on a background critical to traditional and

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Discord or Methodological Synthesis? (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000). Is chap. 2 really apologetic? (Cf. the contributions by several scholars in Donfried and Beutler, op. cit. 31-131). But for our purposes it is not necessary to engage in that matter.

[110] Walton, *Leadership*, 157ff.

[111] Ibid., 184.

[112] Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 61-94.

[113] Cf. Popkes, *Paränese*, 81.

[114] Malherbe, *Paul*, 88. He places this in the tradition of Stoic, Platonist and Epicurean psychogogy (81ff.).

[115] Visible in the church organisation; cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, I:140ff.: "Posten und Pöstchen." Hence, I think, for our purpose it is better not to proceed from 1:1 (where ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι are addressed) but from the evidence in general.

[116] Cf. Tellbe, *Paul*, 239-43; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, I:127-34; Schürer and Vermes, *History* III/1:88-89; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, in Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Poilitics*, 55-57; Faust, *Pax Christi*, 89-110 (on Eph 2:12 πολιτεία).

[117] Cf. Popkes, *Paränese*, 82-83.

extant imperial modes of conducting leadership.[118] Paul presents even himself as a model (3:17), especially in relation to independence (4:14ff.). A contrast is found in 3:2ff.[119]; wrong, evil leaders indulge in fleshly lusts, having no sense of true honour; they are enemies of the cross, Paul says (3:18-19). True leadership then is intimately related to personal qualities in Christ-conformity, not the least in relation to suffering; it is concerned with the well-being of the community.

3. The Corinthian correspondence, containing more evidence on internal church matters than any other Pauline espistle, lets us know something about Paul's own role, not the least in contrast to opposing groups, as he thought church leaders should act and behave, and about the shape and values which the community should have.[120]

(1) Paul sees himself in the role of the father of the church (1 Cor 4:15). He is particulary concerned about his freedom; freedom is a value which the Christian leader must preserve for the benefit of his message and his churches (cf. Gal 2 and 5). It becomes (paradoxically) the basis of his servanthood (1 Cor 9:1ff.) enabling him to prioritize not his personal identity but "to become a Jew unto a Jew, a weak unto the weak," etc., with the intention "to save as many as possible" (1 Cor 9:20-22). Christ-conformity makes him choose the path of misery and humble service (1 Cor 4:6ff.; 2 Cor 10-13). For this very reason, a Christian leader must not be a "master of others' faith," but a "helper for joy" (2 Cor 1:24). The problem with the socalled superapostles is that they impose themselves upon the believers, enslaving them (2 Cor 11:20). They claim the missionary results of others as their own achievements (2 Cor 10:15-16). The opponents boast with their spiritual experiences; Paul says he would boast only "in the lord" and his own weakness (2 Cor 12:1-10). The

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[118] Tellbe, *Paul*, 253-59 (254-56 on recent research), with reference to Plutarch, *Moralia* 330D; 780D-E, Dio Chrysostom 4.95 et al. "In fact, Jesus Christ as the exclusive κύριος in Phil 2:9-11 is depicted as *an imperial figure with universal authority* . . . . Paul . . . makes a 'contrast of power' in presenting Christ as an anti-type of self-elevating earthly rulers" (p. 256). N. T. Wright, in Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics*, 176-81; Samuel Vollenweider, "Der 'Raub' der Gottgleichheit. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vorschlag zu Phil 2,6(-11)," *NTS* 45 (1999) 413-33.

[119] N. T. Wright, in Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics*, 173-81, observes an anti-imperial message: 3:2-11 ("with 10-11 anticipating the final climax in 20-21" [175]) "function as a coded challenge to Caesar's empire" (p. 181).

[120] Cf. Clarke (*Secular*) argues that standards of secular leadership (such as patronage, cursus honorum; cf. the terms in 1 Cor 1:26) formed some of the problems in the Corinthian congregation.

socalled catalogues of *peristaseis* or hardships[121] (2 Cor 4:7ff.; 6:3-10; 11:23-33) demonstrate this attitude and life-style of a true Christian leader. He will never downgrade his flock, nor exploit them (cf. 2 Cor 11:8-9) or make them feel inadequate or insignificant. Rather, he will sacrifice his entire existence, being in anxious care of his churches (2 Cor 11:28). Paul plays the role of the leaders down; Christ, not the apostles, deserves all attention and devotion (1 Cor 3:21-23: "they are yours, you are Christ's"). The Christian leader is only as good as he/she is a visible demonstration of suffering with Christ (1 Cor 4:4-6).

(2) The values which Paul conveys to the church in Corinth are: unity, common good, servanthood, care for the weak, and conformity with the crucified Christ. The various groupings and splits, the preference of certain outstanding persons, the partitions in the congregation for religious, social and other reasons, all are made relative and obsolete in view of the cross (1 Cor 1:1–4:11). God is indivisible, and so are his gifts (1 Corinthians 12); they are given for the common good, not as personal privileges for prestige. Misconceived individual freedom likewise is called back towards the "common good" (1 Cor 10:23, συμφέρει) and to what "builds up" (ibid., οἰκοδομεῖ). The latter criterium becomes essential in particular for the internal life of the congregation. This includes also dealing with the weak (in conscience; 1 Corinthians 8 and 10); the principle of agape (1 Corinthians 13) must be decisive in mutual relations. Paul regards himself as "strong"; any strength though must be used to encourage and support the weak (cf. Rom 15:2-4, Jesus' own example), lest anyone get lost. The true leader then works towards unity and mutual service in the spirit of love.

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[121] They and their background have found quite some attention in recent research: F. Hodgson, "Paul the Apostle and First Century Tribulation Lists," *ZNW* 74 (1983) 59-80; K. Th. Kleinknecht, *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte: Die alttestamentlich-jüdische Tradition vom "leidenden Gerechten" und ihre Rezeption bei Paulus* (WUNT 2/13; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2nd ed., 1988); J. T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Martin Ebner, *Leidenslisten und Apostelbrief: Untersuchungen zu Form, Motivik und Funktion der Peristasenkataloge bei Paulus* (Würzburg: Echter, 1991); M. Schiefer Ferrari, *Die Sprache des Leids in den paulinischen Peristasenkatalogen* (SBB 23; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991); S. B. Andrews, "Too Weak Not to Lead: The Form and Function of 2 Cor 11.23b-33," *NTS* 41 (1995) 263-76.

VII. COMPARING JAMES AND PAUL

1. James and Paul agree in a number of issues. (1) The most important parallel is, in terms of community life, the goal of Christian leadership, viz. peace and unity in the church. Any leadership must avoid and counter-act divisions, party-spirit, or even quarrels. This is the test of leadership. In this regard, James and Paul share the general opinion of their contemporaries. (2) A leader must be aware of his responsibility for the flock. Moreover, he has to exert self-control. More than once James mentions the danger of self-deceit; Paul uses the metaphor of the athlete's self-discipline (1 Cor 9:24). Equally, a spirit of humility and meekness is required (James 1:19ff.; 4:7ff.; Phil 4:2ff.). (3) Both authors underline as the purpose of Christian leadership that the people reach the goal of salvation (Jas 1:2–4.12; 1 Cor 1:4-9). Those in danger of getting lost should receive assistance (Jas 5:19-20; Romans 14–15). (4) For James leadership is primarily a matter of the word; Paul is not as outspoken on this issue, but basically he would agree, as his emphasis on "proclamation/hearing" (Gal 3:2; Rom 10:17) and the fact of his wide correspondence indicate. (5) James as well as Paul know about the importance of a good example demonstrated by Christian leaders. Paul often refers to his own style of activity; James underscores the clarity in behaviour as a teacher (3:1ff.). Boasting and pride are out of place. (6) It is fatal for a Christian leader to strive towards prestige and dominance, trying to combine one's secular career with that in the church, as James emphasizes (James 3-4). Paul likewise reports of his own refraining from financial and other advantages (1 Corinthians 4 and 9; cf. James 1:9-11).

2. In some areas James and Paul put different emphases, due to their backgrounds. (1) Paul often refers to suffering for and with Jesus, in conformity with the crucified Christ. James mentions the name of Christ just twice, quoting his authority and glory (1:1; 2:1), but not his death or resurrection. (2) Paul emphasizes his apostolic freedom. The evidence in James is not as clear; his reference to the "law of freedom" (1:25; 2:12) seems to have critical overtones, his addressees having problems with a correct understanding of freedom. (3) Wisdom apparently has become a problem both in Paul's and in James' churches (1 Corinthians 1–4; James 3:13-18). James more directly than Paul makes use of the syntagma "wisdom from above" for clarifying the standards of Christian leadership.

VIII. COMPARING JAMES AND PAUL WITH THEIR CONTEMPORARY BACKGROUND

Both in James and Paul we find similarities with and differences from their background. The similiarities pertain to the ethical understanding of leadership; the differences are caused by the specifics of Christian ecclesiology, eschatology and conduct of life. This results in a different concept of leadership, as reflected even by the teminology.

1. Neither James nor Paul uses "governmental" terminology for their understanding of leadership; the Christian leader does not "rule." The verb ἡγεῖσθαι (not in James), when used by Paul, denotes merely "to consider, to regard."[122] It is found in the meaning of "to lead" for Christian leaders[123] in Acts (15:22; cf. Luke 22:26), also in Hebrews (13:7, 17, 24). The terms ἡγεμών, ἡγεμονεύειν, and ἡγεμονία refer in the New Testament to secular (Roman) offices only.[124] Likewise, neither ἄρχειν nor ἄρχων (both absent in James) refers to Christian leadership.[125] James relates his deliberations to the "teachers," using the metaphor of "steering" horses or boats. Paul chooses preferably family language. Both use very few (if at all[126]) titles for "offices." Christian leadership then is of a different quality from secular concepts of how to rule society. It is basically understood in terms of service.[127] James does not use διακονία or διακονεῖν,[128] as Paul does, but he calls himself a δοῦλος (1:1), as does Paul. At the very root of the concept, thus, basic differences from the "official" environment become obvious. There is a fundamental difference between church und state/society. Both need guidance, for sure; but the mode is not the same. At least for Paul the adequate form of church leadership is

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[122] Tim Schramm, *EWNT* 2:279-81.

[123] Mt 2:6 has it in a quotation, applied to Jesus; Acts 7:10 for Joseph in Egypt.

[124] Alfons Weiser, *EWNT* 2:277-79.

[125] Otto Merk, *EWNT* 1:398-404. Rather, Jesus states a sharp contrast (Mark 10:42=Matt 20:25, parallel to οἱ μεγάλοι. Luke 22:25 writes οἱ βασιλεῖς and ἐξουσιάζοντες). In the New Testament ἄρχων is related to Christ, to civil authorities, and to transcendent, usually hostile powers (Merk 402). The title ἄρχων is found for Jewish synagogues (e.g., Matt 9:18.23, the Markan parallels though have ἀρχισυναγωγος, cf. Merk, op. cit. 402-3): Schürer and Vermes, *History*, III/1:92ff.; Clarke, *Serve*, 131-32.

[126] Phil 1:1 is really an exception.

[127] Clarke, *Serve*, 233ff.

[128] Alfons Weiser, *EWNT* 1:726-32. John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) sheds new light on the New Testament texts (cf. also the report and assessment by Clarke, *Serve*, 235ff.): the term denotes more the "ministry" than "dishonourable lowliness."

derived from family life, with a kind of father who prefers to suffer for his people and uses the way of persuasion to provide direction. James, despite all his harshness, tries to call the recipients (his "beloved brethren") back from their self-deception to "show, out of good conduct, the deeds in the meekness of wisdom" (3:13).

2. There is a general consensus about the purpose of leadership: it has to serve the common good, the συμφέρον κοινόν, of the community (state, society, congregation). A leader is responsible for his/her group or region, which defines the boundaries of what is "common."

Leadership is determined ethically; the "common good" implies primarily unitiy and peace. Leaders are supposed to regulate community life, to calm down quarrels, to secure stable and favourable conditions; they have to use their influence to give guidance to subordinate leaders.

There are, no wonder, differences between Christians and the secular world about the purpose of the community. The church understands itself as an eschatological community; its very existence and goal are defined by God's eschatological purpose. Leadership then means to prepare, safeguard and direct the congregation towards the eschaton. James applies the metaphor of "receiving the crown of life" (1:12). James (1:3-4), as does Paul (1 Cor 1:8-9; Phil 1:10-11), labors to the end that Christians shall be "blameless and complete" at the end of days. The community (even as a religious one) is not an end in itself, but a group on its way. The leader amonishes to watch out that nobody fails to reach the heavenly goal.

3. There is an equal general consensus about the personal behaviour of leaders. They must be good examples; their personal conduct has to correspond with the purpose of their leadership. This includes peacefulness, considerate actions, self-control, an integrated personality, the identity of words and deeds, and the like. Of course, a leader must "look ahead," be aware of the situation and the future. The catalogues of virtues define the details of adequate behaviour. As far as the general virtues reach (e.g., Phil 4:8), James and Paul share the common view and show no differences from each other.

4. The societal conditions favoured a system of acting for honour; here Christian (as well as Jewish) standards are in conflict with their environment. Both James and Paul are aware of the danger of concentrating on public recognition to Christian leadership. In the Pauline churches we observe a still more internal strife for applause

(καυχᾶσθαι). For James (similarly also for the Pastoral Epistles and Luke-Acts), the situation has developed further on in the direction of status-mindedness, in the world as well as in the church. The churches (as "voluntary associations") got caught up in the social dynamics of their time. Any progress in influence, honour, power and economic success would be welcome[129]; leading figures would, due to their secular and inherited position, press for enlarged influence and wealth. Such an attitude would push the disadvantaged aside and result in competitions even in the churches. James does not hesitate to oppose such behavior by pointing to the royal standard of leadership. Christian leaders must refrain from getting motivated by honour, status and worldly success.

5. In general terms, James shows more kinship with the Hellenistic outlook, Paul with the Jewish. To sharpen the difference: Paul refers to the crucified Christ, James (although implicitly) to the emperor. James, in his section on "wisdom from above" refers to nothing less than a royal[130] standard as a basic orientation for Christian leadership. This is the highest level that can be found in the Graeco-Roman world. The ethical parameters are clear: peace and justice. Any attitude endangering peace has to be avoided. This is the (ecclesial) purpose of leadership; its way of performance is essentially characterized by *clementia*. Leaders should be led by magnanimity. James incapsulates this advice in a cultic framework, emphasizing clarity before God. Although James generally warns against being friends of the world, rather than God's (4:4), he claims the royal standards to reflect "wisdom from above." In any case, James' basic advice to leaders rings the refrain "noblesse oblige."

6. Paul's concept of leadership has more roots in the Jewish tradition, without denying influences from popular Hellenistic philosophers.[131] Paul emphasizes personal suffering. Of course, also in the Graeco-Roman tradition we find examples of leaders (usually military) who suffer for their state and people. Jewish historiography, however, tells us much more about suppression and hostility that the people of Israel had to endure, mostly being a minority among the

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[129] Cf. Geza Alföldy, "Die römische Gesellschaft- Struktur und Eigenart," *Gymnasium* 83 (1976) 1-25, on vertical movements in Roman society.

[130] The phrase "royal law" (νόμος βασιλικός) in 2:8, although referring to Lev 19:18, gives some evidence that James was thinking in noble terminology.

[131] Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989). Cf. above on 1 Thessalonians and Philippians.

nations. The Graeco-Roman history is, by and large, an account of glory; the Jewish history on the other hand is full of hardships and suffering.[132] Rescue is provided by the "hand of the Lord," not really by human heroes; they are depicted as mere instruments of God. Even Moses, according to Philo's picture, combining several highest features of leadership in one person, is not a glorious hero. Leadership is closely connected with martyrdom. "Ideal figures" in Israel's history are measured by their commitment to God and his people, in particular in unpleasant circumstances. This is exactly the pathos of Paul's concept of leadership, reflected in his catalogues of hardships and sections in 1–2 Corinthians and Philippians. As Jesus Christ is the suffering, crucified (and risen) lord, his followers have to go the very same path, foremost the leaders. The spirit of servanthood and humility is pivotal therefore. A Christian leader should be aware of possible martyrdom (Phil) and willing "always to carry in the body the death of Jesus" (2 Cor 4:10, πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες). In this sense the leader is a true imitator of Christ (1 Thess 1:6-7). His ethos unfolds from his basic attitude. A leader, being a free person, will make himself a slave for the purpose of saving people. He can refrain from financial support if necessary. It is at this point that Paul comes close to Hellenistic (Stoic) values of independence (Phil 4:10-13). By such allusions Paul underlines his freedom, which is a gift from Christ (4:13); it is indispensible for a kind of leadership that is committed to the congregation, but not bound to the demands of people; rather, it is bound only to the commissions given by the heavenly master. Here lies the crucial point of Paul's concept of leadership.

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[132] The situation of the diaspora was not unified. For a survey (also of research) cf. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage*, 15-42. Different from the older view of scholars that diaspora Jews lived as a pitiable minority, more recent evidence has brought to the fore aspects of some more peaceful coexistence (p. 24). In general, the very term διασπορά did not stand for "homesickness" or the like: Johannes Tromp, "The Ancient Jewish Diaspora: Some Linguistic and Sociological Observations," in Gerrie ter Haar (ed.), *Strangers and Sojourners: Religious Communities in the Diaspora* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998) 13-35. However, it is hardly possible to generalize the situations in various diaspora environments. There was distress (reflected e.g., in *T. Job*), tensions and persecution (as in Alexandria at certain times), but also rather favourable relations (as in Asia Minor); cf. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, passim. On "pro-Jewish attitudes," cf. also Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold (eds.), *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) 77ff. ("by goverment") and 105ff. ("by intellectuals").

IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the discussion of this paper (in Bard College) the comment was made that "leadership" is not a good category to point out differences. "Differences" here can refer to James from Paul as well as to James (our primary subject) from the Jewish world of his time. The difference between James and Paul is not very wide with regard to leadership. Paul is, as we saw, nearer to the Jewish tradition of leadership in the context of suffering; James follows another direction. Both act as leaders of their constituencies by writing letters in order to keep them on the path of truth and peaceful unity. In general terms this is what may be expected from any people in positions of responsibility. Both write out of deeply rooted religious convictions to which they refer in appealling to the addressees to act on that very basis. As religious leaders they exert a certain authority; but basically their primary means is appeal in the areas of religious conviction and appropriate action. Governmental terminology is not used.

The most important result of this investigation is locating the Epistle of James on its contemporary background. James does exhibit some degree of Jewishness (cf. 1:1 and the Bibical figures and quotations). At the same time it cannot be denied that most Jewish topics are absent from his letter.[133] Hence it is no surprise that, with regard to leadership, James refers to sapiential-imperial virtues (in 3:17-18) and to common-sense experiences (as in 3:3-4), not mentioning any "ideal figure" of Jewish history as a guiding example of leadership for the church of his day. He refers to rather secular ideals which set a widely accepted standard of leadership which works for the common good, implying that Christians must not fall below such a standard (just as 4:15 about basic piety).

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[133] Cf. Popkes, *Mission*, 89-91; idem, *Brief*, 4-5.

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THE TEST OF WEALTH

Peter H. Davids

INTRODUCTION

Within the realm of social ethics one of the major topics is the use of material resources, i.e., the issue of wealth. Along with this topic goes one's attitude towards those who do and do not have these resources, i.e. the rich/wealthy and the poor. Is it possible to compare James and Paul on this significant issue?

The Epistle of James clearly has plenty to say about wealth and its use.[1] James 1:9-11 contrasts the "lowly" believer with the "rich." James 1:27 underlines the importance of caring for orphans and widows, two of the four cardinal categories of poor in the Hebrew scriptures. James 2:1-13 condemns discrimination against someone who is poor and in favor of someone who is rich. James 2:14-26 commends sharing with the poor as a "work" without which faith is "dead." James 4:2 points out that coveting does not lead to having. James 4:13-17 condemns those merchants who make plans without reference to God. James 5:1-6 condemns the rich who oppress the poor laborers who work for them. James 5:7-11 calls for a patient response to oppression by the rich, but notes that the Judge is at the door and gives the example of Job. Given that Job had his material possessions restored and the previous context is one of not receiving one's rightful pay, there is at least an implied economic reward in this passage. If we add these together, we discover that 47 verses out of 105 in the letter, or close to 45%, have an economic theme. Clearly we are talking about a topic that is important to James.

When we turn to Paul, we find much less of an emphasis on wealth and poverty.[2] It is true that Paul does devote two chapters in 2

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[1] See, for example, the monographs by Pedrito U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), and David H. Edgar, *Has God Not Chosen the Poor? The Social Setting of the Epistle of James* (JSNTSup 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[2] E.g., Victor Paul Furnish could write *The Moral Teaching of Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979) without mentioning the topic. More recently it does not figure in James D. G. Dunn's *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). Richard B. Hays does not mention the topic in relation to Paul in *The Moral Vision of the*

Corinthians to the topic of his collection for Jerusalem. There are other references to this in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 16. Elsewhere he occasionally talks about caring for the poor. But often his references to wealth are to spiritual wealth. While he was himself often poor, he does not make that an issue of injustice. In fact, he is at best reserved in thanking the Philippians for financial support and positively refuses it from the Corinthians. Taking the whole Pauline corpus,[3] the only place we find a direct address to the rich is in 1 Timothy 6, and there it is similar to the charity that any Jewish leader would have urged upon them. Thus it is clear that we have a significant contrast with James in terms of both emphasis and position taken with respect to wealth. It is to exploring this contrast that this chapter is devoted.

BACKGROUND

When we ask why James devotes such a large portion of his work to the issue of wealth, we quickly discover that he reflects an emphasis of the Jesus tradition.[4] We might say that this interest "ran in the family" or that James "shows a family resemblance," however one may wish to interpret either of those expressions.[5]

The relationship of James to the Jesus tradition is well documented. That is, James reflects the type of teaching found in the Q tradition, including the teaching on wealth.[6] Interestingly enough, while one

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New Testament (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996). There is, of course, significant discussion of individual passages and particularly of his collection for Jerusalem, but even that is frequently discussed in terms of Paul's view of the relationship of Jewish and gentile Christians rather than in terms of his view of wealth.

[3] For our purposes we will treat the Pauline corpus as a unit, rather than treating the Pastoral Epistles or perhaps some of Prison Epistles separately from the *Hauptbriefe*. On this topic there is no significant difference in position among the various letters and thus separate discussion is not warranted.

[4] Hostility to wealth is documented by Thomas E. Schmidt, *Hostility to Wealth in the Synoptic Gospels* (JSNTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987). Because the multiple attestation of this theme in all four gospels, as well as in extra-gospel references to Jesus such as 1 Cor 8:9, and because it is discontinuous with the majority practice of the later church (although 1 Cor 13:3a witnesses a practice that Paul knows but does not otherwise mention), Schmidt concludes that this attitude towards wealth goes back to Jesus himself.

[5] That is, at the very least James shows a deep acquaintance with the Jesus tradition, even if one does not view it as a Palestinian work.

[6] Among other works, see the doctoral dissertations of Dean B. Deppe, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Epistle of James* (Chelsea, MI: Bookcrafters, 1989), Patrick J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), and of Edgar,

would find the bulk of the parallels between James and the Matthean form of the Q tradition,[7] there are aspects of his teaching that appear more Lucan. For example, James' denunciation of the rich (James 5:1-6) is paralleled in Luke 6:24 (and there may also be echoes of Luke 6:25 in that James pictures the rich as feasting) and nowhere else in the New Testament. Thus it would be correct to say that James reflects a sharp prophetic denunciation of the rich that is only found in the Lucan tradition within the New Testament (and only in parts of *1 Enoch* in Jewish literature contemporary with the New Testament).[8] That being said, it is still true that the majority of parallels between James and the Jesus tradition were preserved in the Matthean version. It is therefore also true to say that James reflects the tone of Jesus, that is, "[His] realistic view of the actual facts makes it impossible for Jesus to think of earthly possessions with religious optimism or to regard them as a mark of special divine blessing."[9] For Jesus wealth was a danger to one's spiritual state; it is impossible for the rich to be saved except for a miracle of God (Mark 10:23-27; Matt 19:23-26; Luke 18:24-27).[10] For James wealth is a test of one's commitment, and every time he uses the term "rich" it is for someone outside the community of faith. Thus, whatever the situation in the historical relationship of James and Jesus, the literary James and Jesus are in this respect very much brothers.

Has God Not Chosen the Poor?, 63-94.

[7] See the chart in Peter H. Davids, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 47-48. Cf. Edgar, cited above.

[8] *1 Enoch* 94:8. *1 Enoch* appears to parallel "your rich" to those who are unrighteous, but, assuming that this is correct and the woe on the rich is not simply one of a series of woes on various people coming under judgment, 1 Enoch goes beyond the Hebrew scriptures in that they may condemn unrighteous who are rich, but they always refer to them as "the unrighteous" (or some similar title) rather than "the rich." *1 Enoch* also parallels James in that he tells "the rich": "You have become ready for the day of slaughter" (cf. James 5:5).

[9] F. Hauck, "μαμωνᾶ," *TDNT* 4:389-90.

[10] It is true that the same Jesus saying indicates, "With God all things are possible," softening the impossibility. Yet note two further aspects of at least the Lucan form of the Jesus tradition: (1) In contrast to the rich it is said of the poor "yours is the kingdom of God" (Luke 6:20; cf. the allusion in James 2:5), and (2) the context of the saying about the rich is the rich/young/ruler (to use the composite title), who will not part with his wealth and so turns away from Jesus, while in Luke Zacchaeus, coming only a few verses later (19:1-10) is declared "saved" after he has promised to give away/restore to the rightful owner(s) more than half of his fortune. In no form of the Jesus tradition does Jesus say that it is difficult for the poor to be saved. In fact, his preaching is "good news" for "the poor" (Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22; cf. Luke 4:18 that so interprets Isa 61:1).

When we turn to Paul we find a very different situation. First, we find much less dependence by Paul on the Jesus tradition. For instance, after examining 1 Corinthians Richardson and Gooch assert, "These three factors point in a single direction: a dominant concern for preaching the crucified and risen Christ; little concern to teach about Jesus' teaching; and little inclination to use the sayings of Jesus as decisive arguments in his paraenesis."[11] And this is the Pauline letter where one would expect the most allusions to the teaching of Jesus due to its paraenetic nature. Naturally, one can point out that the themes that Paul handles have only limited overlap with those of the Jesus tradition and thus this could limit the number of allusions. Yet this observation cuts two ways. One the one hand, it does relieve Paul of our expectations that he at least alludes to Jesus, but, on the other hand, it means that Paul did not find it necessary *in his letters* to reinforce the themes found in the teaching of Jesus.[12] They were not for him a significant issue of discussion in his epistolary contexts. Furthermore, even when he does cover a related topic, he does so with little reference to Jesus' teaching, as we shall see below.

Second, when Paul discusses wealth and charity, themes found in the Jesus tradition, we discover that Paul lacks the sharp note of prophetic denunciation and demand found in that tradition. This may be due to the fact that, as mentioned above, Paul is normally dealing with topics foreign to that tradition, that his immanent eschatology made social issues less important,[13] that most of his work was outside rather than inside Palestine, where the social elites opposed Christianity,[14] that his own social location had been one of privilege[15]

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[11] Peter Richardson and Peter Gooch, "Logia of Jesus in 1 Corinthians," in David Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels* (Gospel Perspectives 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 39-62, here 56. The "little" in "little inclination" is significant in that they do find in 1 Corinthians a few allusive references to the teaching of Jesus.

[12] It is possible that Paul taught the teaching of Jesus to his converts in his initial catechesis; however, we have no record of this catechesis. What we know is that in his (admittedly occasional) letters he makes scant reference to it.

[13] While it is clear that such eschatology influences Paul (e.g., 1 Cor 7:30-31, "For the present form of this world is passing away"), it is hardly a contrast with James, who has the "Judge" standing at the door.

[14] The social tensions in Jerusalem in the pre-70 period appear to have opposed the wealthy high priestly families to the lower priesthood. Furthermore, there was evident resentment of the rich by the peasants, as seen in the burning of the debt records during the siege of Jerusalem. Both the gospels and James portray the social elites as opposing the Jesus movement. Outside of Palestine the picture changes in that only in Revelation

and/or that many of his churches were hosted by wealthy patrons.[16] However we may explain this phenomenon, the fact remains that we do not find in Paul the critique of wealth that we find in Jesus and James. His thought appears more shaped by the Hebrew scriptures, which are much more sanguine about wealth, while at the same time teaching the obligation to give.

Having contrasted their general positions and use of the Jesus tradition, it is time to turn to their discussion of specific issues, beginning with their teaching on charity.

CHARITY

Both Paul and James wish to encourage charity. Thus we have here a basic value in common. The differences come in how they develop their arguments and the theological basis that they use.

Charity in James

In James the main passage on charity is James 2:14-26. This self-contained homiletic unit is mated with a similarly structured unit on discrimination in favor of the rich (James 2:1-13)[17] and plays off the ending of this homiletic unit, namely the concept of mercy (ἔλεος), since charity is deeds of mercy (ἐλεημοσύνην). In our section the issue is "deeds," so one might not know which deeds were indicated if James did not give some examples. The main example is that of the failure to give to someone who is "naked and lacking food for the day," sending him or her away with pious words or perhaps a prayer. Furthermore the two scriptural examples cited, those of Abraham and Rahab, were both examples of hospitality/charity in Jewish tradition.[18] Thus James makes clear that the deeds he is concerned with are those

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do we find official persecution by the social elites, with opposition elsewhere being attributed to groups that felt threatened by the Christian movement or populations in general.

[15] This must remain speculative, but it is possible that Paul's study in Jerusalem indicates family wealth. Certainly we see in him a reserve about his later manual labor.

[16] Many of the early house churches met in the home of or were protected by a wealthy patron. Cf. Derek Tidball, *The Social Context of the New Testament: A Sociological Analysis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984) 94-98.

[17] N. J. Vyhmeister ("The Rich Man in James 2: Does Ancient Patronage Illumine the Text?" *AUSS* 33 [1995] 265-83) argues that sociologically one needs to see the patronage situation as a significant underlying theme in this text.

[18] Roy Bowen Ward, "The Works of Abraham: James 2:14-26," *HTR* 61 (1968) 283-90.

of charity.

What is important for our discussion is how he argues for charity. For James charity is directly related to the quality of one's "faith" or commitment to Jesus/God.[19] Namely, without these deeds one's commitment is "dead" (2:17, 26) and unable to save (the implication of μή in 2:14). Thus there is no sense in which charity is optional. It is related to salvation itself.

Furthermore, we need to observe how James develops his argument. In 2:18 he rejects the position that faith/commitment and deeds/charity are two different and unrelated gifts, two in a list of gifts with one person having faith and another having deeds. This assertion is grounded in an appeal to the basic creed of all Judaisms, the *Shema'*, which, according to James, even the demons recognize. And because the demons recognize this creed they *do* something, i.e. shudder.

The scriptural passages cited in further support of James' basic assertion of the unity of commitment and deeds are those of Abraham and Rahab. In several Jewish traditions God declares Abraham righteous at the end of his ten tests,[20] i.e. after the *Akedah*, the binding of Isaac. The language in James finds its original source in God's statement in Gen 22:12 ("now I know that you fear God"), but appears mediated to James by 1 Macc 2:52, "Was not Abraham found faithful when tested, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?"[21] This allows James to cite Gen 15:6, i.e., a passage in the Torah that uses forms of the two key terms, although in another context.[22] The binding

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[19] As we will point out later, the passage itself mentions only God, not Christ. If the commitment referred to includes a commitment to Christ, then it is because of 2:1, "faith in/commitment to our glorious Lord Jesus Christ." The absolute use of faith in our passage may well be intended to pick up this earlier reference, at least in the final form of the letter.

[20] On the tradition of ten tests, see *Jub.* 17:17-18; 19:8. Cf. *m. Abot* 5:3 "Ten trials were inflicted upon Abraham, our father, may he rest in peace, and he withstood all of them, to show you how great is His love for Abraham, our father, may he rest in peace." This mishnaic saying is found in a series of sayings involving ten (generations, trials, wonders, plagues, things created on Sabbath eve, etc.).

[21] Αβρααμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[22] In the LXX καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Αβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Note the use of πιστός in Maccabees and its cognate ἐπίστευσεν in Gen 15:6, as well as the identical second half of the two verses, which enables James to link the two, perhaps following the rule of *Gezerah shawah*, using the LXX and viewing Maccabees as part of scripture. This train of thought makes sense of the passages chosen, giving an explicit exegetical link from the *Akedah* to Gen 15:6 (which gives James a Torah text), in

of Isaac is the climax of a series, and the series having finished Abraham is declared just or righteous. Indeed, James appears to be implying in 2:22 that Abraham's commitment grew as the series of tests developed.

To this passage is added the example of Rahab, the archetypal proselyte, a Canaanite accepted into the congregation of Israel. She like Abraham serves as examples that "faith alone" does not save, only faith resulting in appropriate action. In the case of Rahab her faith resulted in risky hospitality,[23] a potentially costly act of charity indeed. Salvation is never attributed to works not based in faith, yet a faith that does not result in appropriate deeds, i.e. deeds of charity, is not salvific.

There are three further passages where James may say something about charity: James 1:27, "Religion that is pure and undefiled before God, the Father, is this: to care for orphans and widows in their distress, and to keep oneself unstained by the world," clearly links appropriate piety to acts of charity.

James 4:17, "Anyone, then, who knows the right thing to do and fails to do it, commits sin," may be implying that the right thing to do is to give funds in charity rather than investing them in trade. If this possibility is correct, then we again have a type of faith—works duality revolving around charity. The person knows (and presumably is convinced) that it is right to do a certain act (parallel to being committed to God's being one in chap. 2), but fails to do that act. *Because of that "faith"* the failure to act is sin. However, the text, a saying used to round off a denunciation, and its context are not

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contrast to explanations that see the choice of Gen 15:6 as dictated by a need to oppose Paul, who never cites the *Akedah* (its only other citation in the New Testament is Heb 11:17-19) and with whom James' passage has little conceptual affinity. On the latter point, see Klaus Haacker, "Justification, salut et foi: Étude sur les rapports entre Paul, Jacques et Pierre," *ETR* 73 (1998) 177-88. For an alternative or possibly complementary explanation, i.e., that James reflects the annual Torah reading cycle (which, it is argued, existed at least in part by the early first century C.E.) and that Gen 15:6 and Isa 41:8 were read together (as part of Gen 12:1–17:27 and Isa 40:27–41:16) in that cycle, see Gary E. Schnittjer, "New Testament Theology and Patterns of Torah Reading: A Study of Shared Biblical-Theological Intertextuality" (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 2000).

[23] Neither James nor Joshua comment on whether her hospitality was initially in the line of business. Both James and Joshua note that she was a prostitute, but the point both texts make is that she clearly went beyond business interests when she hid the spies and helped them avoid capture. Joshua contains a speech expressing her faith, while James simply attributes the actions to faith.

explicit enough to be sure that charity is the good that the author intends the merchants to do.

The final passage in James speaking of charity would be 5:1-6. Conspicuous here are the gathering, storage, and consumption of goods, at least some of which are fraudulently obtained. Charity is absent; its opposite is emphasized. The result is probably an implicit condemnation of "the rich" for (among other things) their lack of charity and their consumption in the face of want. While nothing is said about their religious commitments (and in the context of James they are probably not part of the Christian community), it is clear that they are not "saved."

Thus throughout James we see the call to charity. This call is grounded in its being the one way that believers can demonstrate their righteousness to God, i.e. show that their commitment to the faith is more than empty words. As a result it is the mark of genuine piety or faith that saves, and its absence is sin, a mark of those who are facing the judgment of God. There is no teaching on what constitutes charity or how it is to be carried out. That teaching is assumed from traditional teaching flowing from the Hebrew scriptures, a teaching found in many Judaisms of James' day. Thus we have traditional Jewish values reinforced by prophetic denunciation with the warning that judgment will follow if the believer does not show himself or herself to be righteous and thus a true believer by means of their deeds.

Charity in Paul

Paul has extensive teaching on charity, but it develops along very different lines. The teaching in the Pauline *Hauptbriefe* revolves around the collection for Jerusalem and monies sent to Paul himself (the latter also mentioned in Philippians). That in the Pastorals (esp. 1 Tim 6:17-19) is more general.

The material in 1 Timothy bases charity on a foundation closer to that in the gospels. That is, the "rich" are to trust God and recognize the uncertainty of wealth. By giving in charity they will be "storing up for themselves the treasure of a good foundation for the future" (1 Tim 6:19; one can hear the echo of Jesus' "store up for yourselves treasures in heaven"). This will lead to their obtaining "real life." Thus one gives in charity because (1) it indicates that one's heart is set on God rather than wealth, (2) it is a good investment for the future,

and (3) it is part of obtaining eternal life (cf. 6:12), which may well indicate the results of the eschatological investment, i.e. one will thereby be participating more fully in eternal life. The motivations are theological and eschatological, that is, soteriological.[24]

In Philippians Paul himself has been the object of the charity of the Philippians. He takes pains to distance himself from any appearance of manipulation. He is not dependent upon their giving (cf. his sensitivities in 1 Corinthians 9). Having said that, he then proceeds to praise them for their giving ("You did well . . ." [Phil 4:14]) and in particular for their continual giving right from the start (4:15-16). It is at this point that we discover the theological justification for charity. Appropriate giving is "the profit that accumulates to your account" (Phil 4:17) and it is "a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God" (4:18). Again, in language close to the "treasure in heaven" language of Jesus, we find an eschatological motivation for giving. Furthermore, in language parallel to that in Heb 13:15, charity is compared to a sacrifice. Usually in the Pauline literature sacrificial language is connected with personal self-offering (Rom 12:1; Phil 2:17), including that of Christ (Eph 5:2). Here the sacrifice is

[24] Two other passages in 1 Timothy indirectly concern charity. 1 Tim 5:3-16 discusses the honoring of widows, which means church support for older faithful widows who lack believing relatives. Whether or not eligibility for this involved a vow of perpetual celibacy by the widows is disputed. The reference in vv. 11 and 12 to the younger widows wanting to marry could indicate that such a vow was the case, or it could indicate that they were the source of the problems in the church (see Gordon D. Fee, "Reflections on Church Order in the Pastoral Epistles," in G. D. Fee, *Listening to the Spirit in the Text* [Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000] 147-62, esp. 158). What is clear is that failure to support the widows among one's extended family is viewed as a serious offense ("worse than an unbeliever"). Within the family such caring was not viewed as in any sense voluntary. The second passage, 1 Tim 5:17-18, follows the one on widows and indicates that certain elders were to receive "double" or "full" compensation. That that is the meaning of τιμή becomes clear in the following verses, which cite Deut 25:4 and the tradition found in Luke 10:7, both of which talk about compensation for services (in the one case, compensation of oxen, in the other of workers, perhaps being a popular proverb). Neither of these passages gives a theological reason to justify supporting widows and certain elders from church funds, presumably the charity funds of the church. In the one case the instruction is simply given without reference to scripture (where there is a significant tradition of God's caring for orphans and widows and people doing likewise in imitation of him) and in the other case scripture and a saying of Jesus are cited, but no theological comment is made. However, here we see one place that church charity went, two classes of poor, so to speak, and here we have a parallel to James 1:27, the special concern in James for orphans and widows.

charity.[25] It is not said to be salvific, but it does please God. And it appears to be connected with God's being well disposed towards the offerer: "my God will fully satisfy every need of yours according to his riches in glory in Christ Jesus" (Phil 4:19).[26]

Turning to Thessalonians, we discover a couple of minor Pauline references to charity. 2 Thessalonians addresses a situation in which some individuals are refraining from working and apparently depending on the charity of the Christian community. In 3:8 the Pauline example is cited, "We did not eat anyone's bread without paying for it; but with toil and labor we worked night and day, so that we might not burden any of you." This leads to a command to the "idle" to "earn their own living" and then in 2 Thess 3:13 comes the comment, "Do not be weary in doing what is right." Since the communal charity had been abused, the members of the community would surely have been discouraged from continuing it. Here we find the encouragement to keep doing "what is right" despite that discouragement. The letter strongly corrects those who are abusing the system, but views the failure to continue communal generosity as another possible abuse flowing from the situation, although an abuse that is gently corrected with encouragement rather than rebuke.

The major Pauline passage on charity is that in 2 Corinthians 8–9,[27] which along with Rom 15:25-28, 31, and 1 Cor 16:1-4, constitute his

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[25] Rabbinic Judaism also developed the parallel between sacrifice and charitable deeds, e.g., see the connection between the altar and sharing one's food in which the latter replaces the former after the destruction of the temple, attributed to R. Yohanan in *b. Berakhot* 55a. The superiority of Torah study and deeds of loving kindness over sacrifice is also found elsewhere in the Talmud, e.g., *b. Rosh Hashanah* 18a.

[26] A similar idea would develop in Rabbinic Judaism, i.e., scarce resources should be used to support Torah study and those engaged in it. God would reward such sacrifice. Cf. the systematic exposition of this economic theory in Jacob Neusner, "The Transformation of Economic Thinking in Classical Judaism," in Jacob Neusner (ed.), *Religious Belief and Economic Behavior* (Studies on Religion and the Social Order; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999) 241-91.

[27] Since 2 Corinthians 9 does not fit well with 2 Corinthians 8, some scholars consider it a separate discussion of the topic, perhaps from another letter (e.g., Andreas Lindemann, "Ethische Argumentation in den Kollektenbriefen 2 Kor 8 und 2 Kor 9" [unpublished paper presented at the Seminar Ethik im Neuen Testament, SNTS, Kopenhagen, 1998]: "Ich setze im folgenden (undiskutiert) voraus, daß 2 Kor 8 und 2 Kor 9 je für sich Briefe sind . . ."). There are, however, several scholars who view them as a unity, e.g., the commentaries of Hans Windisch, F. F. Bruce, and Victor Paul Furnish. Since we are interested in Pauline theology, there is no need to resolve this issue. Both chapters are viewed as Pauline and both must come from approximately the same

discussion of his collection for the poor believers in Jerusalem. That Paul found giving to the poor a high value is already evident in Gal 2:10. It is also clear in that passage as in Corinthians and Romans that the poor in question were those in Jerusalem.[28] Given this personal commitment, one would think that Paul would view the collection as a requirement for his churches (since they would have committed through his commitment) and enforce this requirement through the citation of Torah passages on giving (e.g., Deut 15:7-8, 10-11). However, when we come to his discussion of the actual collection for poor in Jerusalem, he indicates that giving is voluntary (2 Cor 8:3 ["they voluntarily gave"]; 8:8 ["I do not say this as a command"]; 9:7 ["Each of you must give as you have made up your mind, not reluctantly or under compulsion, for God loves a cheerful giver."]), although from the amount of persuasion he uses and his appeal to their honor (esp. 9:1-5) it is clear that it is extremely important to him that the Corinthians participate in the collection and participate generously, as they had apparently previously committed themselves to do.[29] It is also clear that his motivation has a theological basis as well as a basis in his own honor and the honor of the Corinthians. It is to these bases

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period in Paul's life. Thus both are relevant for our study, whether originally composed together or not.

[28] There were, of course, a number of reasons for poverty among believers in Jerusalem to be extensive enough that outside help would be necessary. First, there was famine in Jerusalem during the 40's, and that would have reduced the ability of the Christian community to help those in need. Second, there were extensive requirements of hospitality due to believers visiting Jerusalem. Third, the community had to support the leadership of the Jesus movement, at least to the extent that they were based in Jerusalem. Fourth, it is likely that the Christian community in Jerusalem had a larger than normal geriatric population in that among some Jews there was a desire to die in Palestine. One would expect that this group would be as attracted to the Jesus movement as any other. Finally, since the political and economic elites appear to have opposed the Jesus movement (cf. James), there was surely discrimination against them.

[29] It is obvious in 2 Corinthians 1–9 that there had been a rift between Paul and the Corinthians and that during a painful visit (2 Cor 2:1) Paul had felt he had to withdraw from the church and could not return so long as relationships remained strained (1:23). He had subsequently written a strong letter to the church (2:3-4), but then was in doubt as to whether it had had the desired effect (2:12-13; 7:8). It was only when Titus returned from visiting the church, that it was clear that he or the letter had persuaded the congregation to side with Paul against his opponent, and thus a positive relationship had been re-established (7:6-7). However, it appears that in the meantime the collection for Jerusalem, which the Corinthians had previously embraced, had been neglected and thus there was a need to re-motivate them for the collection. On the persuasive strategy employed, see Kieran J. O'Mahony, *Pauline Persuasion: A Sounding in 2 Corinthians 8-9* (JSNTSup 199; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

that we now turn, for it is here that we find arguments that allow us to compare Paul's theological basis for charity to that of James.

The first theological foundation that he presents for giving is the generosity of Jesus ("For you know the generous act of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich." [8:8-9]) or God ("Thanks be to God for his indescribable gift!" [9:15]). This generosity should be reflected in the Corinthian love for Christ ("I am testing the genuineness of your love." [8:8]).[30] In this passage we find an appeal to reciprocal action, i.e. love, in a patron-client relationship. The patron, whether Jesus (who is discussed extensively) or God (whose action in giving Jesus Christ[31] is only cited at the end of the discussion), has given lavishly. In fact, in the case of Jesus this giving was so extensive that it resulted in his own impoverishment on their behalf, most likely referring to the type of self-emptying that we find in Phil 2:6-11. Their love for or imitation of this patron should result in their giving lavishly as well.

The second reason that he gives is that of equality. The suspicion might have been that Paul was collecting so that those in Jerusalem (perhaps especially the apostles) could be well off. Was it not known that some of the Cynic and other philosophical and religious beggars actually had plenty of funds contrary to their claimed lifestyle?[32] Why was Paul impoverishing Greeks for the apparent benefit of a group in Palestine? Thus Paul argues, "I do not mean that there should be relief for others and pressure on you" (8:13). (Probably for the same reason he indicates that the Macedonians, whom he knew to be impoverished

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[30] This assumes the reading in UBS^4/NA^{27} for 8:7 ("our love for you") rather than the alternative ("your love for us"), which would give a basis for considering the love in this verse to be love for Paul. See Victor Paul Furnish, *2 Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984) 403, for more detailed discussion. That the love here is love for Jesus finds its basis in 8:5, where the Macedonians are cited as giving themselves first to the Lord. Thus we would expect Paul to underline commitment to the Lord rather than commitment to him in our passage.

[31] Within 2 Corinthians Paul speaks of many blessings that God has given the Corinthians. As a result this gift has been variously interpreted as "the miracle of Jew-Gentile unity" or "the universal gospel." The majority opinion, however, is that it is Jesus Christ. See Linda L. Belleville, *2 Corinthians* (IVP NT Commentary; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996) 246.

[32] Cf. B. Fiore, "Cynicism and Sketicism," *DNTB* 242-45; Ronald F. Hock, "Cynics," *ABD* 1:1221-26. Among those joining in the "condemnation of these [false] Cynics for their abusive, shameless, and greedy behavior" which, it was thought, brought reproach on philosophy are Epictetus (*Diss.* 3.22).

and under pressure, had to implore him to accept a contribution from them. [8:2-4] By indicating this request on their part, he deflects a possible critique on the part of the Corinthians.) Paul's principle is "equality" (ἰσότητος).[33] He applies this idea to the economic circumstances of the churches: "your present abundance and their need, so that their abundance may be for your need, in order that there may be a fair balance." That is, no one group in the church should retain its surplus if another has a need, but no group is privileged, for the relationship is reciprocal (8:13-15).[34] Paul's scriptural basis for this teaching is a citation of Exod 16:18, a reference to the gathering of manna in the wilderness. In the Exodus context there is no reference to sharing, but rather to the fact that no matter how much one did or did not gather, he or she had just enough. This principle of "just enough" is applied by Paul as support for voluntary sharing that produces the same results.

The third reason given for generous giving is that it brings divine blessing to the giver: "the one who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and the one who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully. . . . And God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance, so that by always having enough of everything, you may share abundantly in every good work. . . . He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food will supply and multiply your seed for sowing and increase the harvest of your righteousness. You will be enriched in every way for your great generosity" (9:6-11a), based on Ps 112:9 ("He scatters abroad, he gives to the poor; his righteousness endures forever."). The Psalm is apropos, but Paul's reasoning in using it is not entirely clear. On the one hand, the Psalm begins with the blessings that accrue to those who fear the Lord and keep his commandments. The ability to give in verse 9 is the result of divine

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[33] Louw-Nida, 58.32 "ἰσότης, ητος": "the state of being equal—'equality' (in the sense of having equal features or characteristics)."

[34] Paul may indicate in Rom 15:26-27 that the collection itself was reciprocity, for the Jewish believers had already shared with the gentile churches: ". . . for Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to share their resources with the poor among the saints at Jerusalem. They were pleased to do this, and indeed they owe it to them; for if the Gentiles have come to share in their spiritual blessings, they ought also to be of service to them in material things." Yet even there Paul does not view the collection as payment for goods received without regard to the economic circumstances of the Jerusalem believers, for he makes it clear that the collection was only intended for "the poor among the saints" (εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων).

blessing in 112:1-3. On the other hand, the mark of being upright and righteous is that they "deal generously and lend" (112:5), indeed distributing freely and giving to the poor appears to be synonymous with "their righteousness" (112: 9). So it could be that Paul is indicating that their giving is a righteous deed and God will reward such righteous deeds. Yet Paul puts the Psalm citation in a context in which it appears to refer to God (perhaps by *qol w^{e} homer* type of reasoning), in which case it underlines God's generosity to the cheerful giver. It is probably this latter application that is intended. In that case God is being presented as generous. He generously rewards those who give freely, perhaps with the implication that such a giver is showing a character like God's. Thus this citation is at least an appeal to enlightened self-interest (like the treasures in heaven of the Jesus tradition and the treasure for the future of 1 Timothy 6) and perhaps an implied appeal to the *imitatio Dei.*

The fourth reason is that it results in God's honor (9:11b-13a), namely thanksgiving being given to God and his glory being seen in the Corinthians' action. This means that within the context of the patron–client understandings of that day, the ultimate patron recognized by the Jerusalem church was God. He is viewed as giving through the means of the Corinthians, which is precisely what Paul has previously said about giving, namely that God provides abundant blessing so that they in turn can share abundantly (9:8). Since God is the ultimate patron, it is incumbent upon the recipients/clients to respond with appropriate thankful recognition, thus increasing the honor of the patron.[35] This returns the cycle of grace, in that the patron has shown grace to them in his generous giving, which they in response to the gospel have passed on to needy believers (i.e., they have passed on grace or favor), who in turn have given thanks/honor back to God, an appropriate grace on their part.

The fifth reason given is that their generosity is a proof of their obedience to the gospel (9:13b). The language here is unique, but the thought is found in Rom 15:18; 2 Thess 1:8 (cf. 1 Pet 1:22; 3:1; 4:17; perhaps Rev 3:3) and in the phrase "obedience of faith" (Rom 1:5; 16:26) or "obey Christ" (2 Cor 10:5; cf. Matt 28:20; Heb 5:9). Paul's gospel called for submission to Jesus as Lord (Rom 10:9-10), and this

[35] See further David A. deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000) 109-16.

generous action is evidence (δοκιμῆς)[36] that their confession of Jesus' being Lord was in fact a real submission to him rather than a pseudo-commitment. It is here that we briefly get a significant overlap with the language of James in that the language of testing is used and thus there is always the possibility that their confession might not have proved genuine, i.e. might not have proved a real obedience to the gospel.

Lastly, we find that the unification of the church and/or the benefit of the prayers of the Judean believers constitute a final reason. Paul views the positive affection of the Jerusalem believers for those in Corinth as a natural result of the gift. In this he is not speaking psychologically so much as he is attributing honorable behavior to those in Jerusalem. If they did not have this response to their proximate patrons (even while recognizing that it was the patronage or grace of God to them that they were passing on), then the Jerusalem believers would be acting shamefully. They return the grace/favor to the Corinthians in that they pray for them as well; that is, they ask the patron, God, to show increased favor/grace to the Corinthians, which in this context likely means a request that God would prosper them. One need only look at Pauline references to prayer (e.g., Eph 6:19-20; Col 4:3; 1 Thess 5:25; 2 Thess 3:1) to realize that he values prayer for a person as a real benefit bestowed by a client upon a patron.

Paul and James compared on charity

How, then, does this Pauline material compare to that in James? Both pick up on the Old Testament and later Jewish valuation of charity (which is not foreign to other religions as well). Both also see charity as an evidence of the reality of Christian commitment. In that sense they are both drinking from the same well. It is at this point they the two diverge. For James charity is a significant mark of "religion that is pure and undefiled" in that any professed faith that does not show itself in such works is empty or dead; it cannot save. Charity is not in any way optional. It is essential. Paul, in contrast, views charity as voluntary. It may show the reality of one's confession, but he never makes it essential to the reality's being there. Rather, charity is a

[36] The term also appears in 2 Cor 2:9 and 8:2, as well as 13:3-7, which plays upon several forms of the root. Although Louw-Nida lists the Pauline usages of these terms under three different headings, §27.45 (2 Cor 8:2); §65.12 (Phil 2:12); §72.7 (2 Cor 13:3), they are all related in that they refer to the various means and evidence of testing.

voluntary (but appropriate, in the sense that a truly honorable person will make it) response to the greatest of all charitable acts, that of Jesus (or God in Jesus). Charity is thus rooted in gratitude (within a patron–client context) and based on an interpretation of the significance and actions of Christ. Christ/God become the model of charity, making charitable giving an *imitatio Christi/Dei.* This Christological foundation is absent in James, who refers to Christ as Judge and Lord, but does not refer to his self-giving, which is an important theme for Paul.

We may also contrast them in terms of their sources. James is closer than Paul to both the Hebrew scriptures and the Jesus tradition. When Paul refers to the Hebrew scriptures it is to find examples of the action of God. God produced the "just enough" situation that human charity imitates in the present. God is the generous giver, whose righteousness endures forever, whom human beings imitate in their "sowing" the seed that God has given them. Jesus is not alluded to with respect to his teaching (which, if Paul knows, he does not cite with respect to this topic), but rather with respect to his actions, i.e. as a model. Paul persuades, encourages, even manipulates with his rhetoric, but he does not command, for in the end the decision is individual and voluntary.[37] For James charity is a command. It is true that he does not cite any commandment from the Torah, but that same Torah as a whole is very close to the surface in James 2, where there are three Torah passages quoted and one citation of a narrative. Likewise the teaching of Jesus is close to the surface. Whether it be the Sermon on the Mount or the narrative of the rich young ruler, the teaching of Jesus assumes the obligation of charity. "Sell what you have and give to the poor" may be a wisdom saying, but to say that does not make the charitable demand optional. Because of these sources, James never considers the option that the law might not be binding or that charity might be optional. It does not come within his worldview. James is not arguing with Paul (whether or not any of the language in 2:14-26 echoes Pauline language); James is moving in a totally different conceptual world than Paul.

[37] Thus nowhere in the Pauline corpus is there a reference to scriptures teaching tithing or other charitable giving. One assumes that this is because to do this would mean his returning to the law, which would cost him his Christological base as well as undermine his argument about freedom from the law.

POVERTY AND ITS BLESSING

The poor in James

When James speaks about the poor, it is always in positive terms. The first time that he mentions them he uses a reversal of fortunes type of statement: "Let the believer who is lowly boast in being raised up." (James 1:9) "Lowly" (ταπεινός) probably has behind it the concept of the Hebrew *'anî*; it is one of four terms used for the poor in the New Testament. The choice of this term is dictated by the contrast with "his exaltation" (NRSV "being raised up"; τῷ ὕψει αὐτοῦ). This contrasts his honor status vis-à-vis this age (namely, a low status) with his or her eschatological honor status before God (exalted). Other than being a believer (the person is ὁ ἀδελφός), our author states no condition for this new status. It appears awarded to them as a class.

In chapter 2 James confirms our impressions from chapter 1. He states about the poor, "Has not God chosen the poor in the world to be rich in faith and to be heirs of the kingdom that he has promised to those who love him?" (James 2:5) The poor are poor "with respect to the world" and within that context they are dishonored. In fact, the situation James has narrated has the Christian community itself shaming its own poor. But viewed eschatologically they are chosen, rich "in faith",[38] and heirs of God's kingdom. On the one hand, this reminds us of Christian traditions such as that enshrined in Rev 2:9 where people who view themselves and are viewed by those around them as poor and afflicted are told that they are in fact rich. On the other hand, it is rooted in the Beatitude tradition, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt 5:3), although in this case Luke 6:20 is closer, "Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God." In other words, those poor who belong to the community ("those who love him" in James; "you poor" in Luke in a passage addressed to disciples) are in a good state despite their outward circumstances, for they hold title to the kingdom of God (in James' terms they are "heirs of the kingdom"). There is clearly no shame in being poor if one views one's status eschatologically and realizes the honorable status that one has in the sphere that really counts.

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[38] This either means "in the sphere of faith," i.e., it is a locative of sphere indicating that eschatologically viewed they are rich, or else that they have a deep faith, which is then liked to God's promise and their love for him.

James' final reference to poor people appears in James 5. Here he refers to two, very likely overlapping, groups of people. The first are the day laborers, hired to harvest the crop, who have been in one way or another cheated of their wage. This violated prescriptions of the Torah, e.g., Lev 19:13, "You shall not defraud your neighbor; you shall not steal; and you shall not keep for yourself the wages of a laborer until morning"[39] (although presumably the people so accused would have their reasons for their behavior). By dint of this fact James has presented a group of oppressed poor. They are viewed in a positive light in that they cry out to "the Lord of hosts" and he has heard their cry.

The second individual or group is "the righteous one" (James 5:6). If this is an individual, either Jesus or James himself has been proposed. However, in our view it is more likely a collective noun, indicating a group, with the following phrase being an interrogative, "And does he not resist you?" This question indicates that their cry for justice is still waiting for an answer.[40] If this is correct, then we have here another case of oppression[41] that cries out for justice (or perhaps another view of the previous situation and its ultimate effects), although in this case the justice must be eschatological in that the person crying out is already dead. This interpretation fits well with James 5:7, for in the light of the preceding oppression the believers are counseled to be patient as they wait for the eschatological vindication.[42]

In both of these cases the poor laborer/the oppressed person are pictured as being in the right, as crying out for justice. As we noted, the next statement is addressed to believers (ἀδελφοί), who are

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[39] Cf. the expansion in Deut 24:14-15, "You shall not withhold the wages of poor and needy laborers, whether other Israelites or aliens who reside in your land in one of your towns. [15] You shall pay them their wages daily before sunset, because they are poor and their livelihood depends on them; otherwise they might cry to the LORD against you, and you would incur guilt."

[40] See the longer discussion in Davids, *James*, 179-80.

[41] Sirach 34:21-27 equates oppression of the poor with murder: "Like one who kills a son before his father's eyes is the person who offers a sacrifice from the property of the poor. The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; whoever deprives them of it is a murderer. To take away a neighbor's living is to commit murder; to deprive an employee of wages is to shed blood" (34:24-27). Here we have murder connected to oppressing the poor, including depriving an employee of wages.

[42] There is a parallel in Rev 6:9-11, where those who are martyred continue to call out for justice and are told to wait for eschatological vindication.

counseled to be patient, for the vindicator is coming soon (is near)/is standing at the door. Therefore it appears that the believers are pictured as at least identifying with the poor and perhaps as themselves being the oppressed poor. These poor are the righteous, believers, those waiting for the coming of the Lord, those about to receive a far different outcome than "the rich".

James does not romanticize the poor. When he talks about caring for the poor, he defines it as "to care for orphans and widows in their distress" (ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας ἐν τῇ θλίψει αὐτῶν). We recognize this pair as that part of the typical poor of the deuteronomic tradition that one would find within the Christian community.[43] James speaks of their position as "distress" or "tribulation" or "affliction." There is no sense in his language that there is some blessedness in this situation of poverty in this world. Likewise, as we saw above, the laborers who are cheated of their wages in James 5: 4 "cry out" to "the Lord of hosts." James again pictures distress, this time due to oppression, with the only hope that he gives being an eschatological one, "the coming of the Lord." There is no holy asceticism here, but rather a realization that this age is full of injustice and only the one who is coming will be able to usher in an age in which such injustices will be righted.

The poor in Paul

What strikes us when we turn to Paul is the relative paucity of references to poverty. There are a few instances in which he indicates that he was himself at least at times in need (1 Cor 4:11; 2 Cor 6:10; 11:9, 27; Phil 4:12). The one place where he describes this lack with the term "poor" is a metaphorical use, "as poor, yet making many rich," which avoids classing himself as one of "the poor." The other uses of the terms for "poor" are all with reference to someone else: people in the Jerusalem church (Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10), the

[43] Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 26:12, 13 mention four groups who are to be supported by the tithe of the third year: orphans, widows, Levites, and foreigners. All of these where people without a male protector or a clan to support them and/or without clear title to land, although there were of course exceptions to this class description. The vulnerability of all but the Levite is also mentioned in Deut 24:17, and since they do not have land of their own they may glean the remaining harvest of the fields, vines and trees of those who do. Of these groups, there was no role for the Levite *per se* in the early church and a foreigner would cease to be foreign by virtue of their being initiated into the Christian community. Thus the groups that remain for James are the orphan and widow.

Macedonian believers (2 Cor 8:2), Christ (2 Cor 8:9, although here he notes that poverty was something he took on rather than his normal status), the poor in general (2 Cor 9:9, here in a quotation, the only use of πένης in the New Testament). In other words, for Paul the poor are separate from him and separate from the group he is writing to. They exist "out there" and deserve the care of the community, but the community itself is not "the poor" and the poor are never given any specific promises as poor. Indeed, if anything is the case Paul expects God to enrich his communities, if they are faithful and generous (2 Cor 9:10-11), although he can admit that one community that was giving very faithfully was at the same time extremely poor (2 Cor 8:2, the poverty apparently connected with persecution).

In other words, we have a clear contrast between James and Paul. While James does not speak positively of poverty *per se*, he always presents the poor in a positive light. They are those God will exalt, they are the lovers of God receiving the promised kingdom, they are the oppressed righteous waiting for the coming of the Lord. In fact, in James 5:7 James appears to identify his addressees with the oppressed poor. Paul takes quite a different stance. Poverty is always a negative condition, and Paul never says that it brings with it any special blessing, this worldly or eschatological. While it is clear that he sometimes suffers need, he avoids identifying himself as poor. For him the poor are people to be assisted by the charity of the church. If there is anything positive about the poor or poverty, it is that sometimes poverty reveals the depths of someone's generosity. With the exception of the Macedonians (probably those in Philippi), Paul's communities do not appear to have been poor, so neither he nor they identified themselves with this class.[44]

THE RICH AND THEIR POSITION

James on the Rich

James is clearly negative on the rich. If Jesus said, "'How hard it will be for those who have wealth to enter the kingdom of God!' And the disciples were perplexed at these words. But Jesus said to them again, 'Children, how hard it is to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich

[44] See the discussion of 1 Cor 1:26 below. For our purposes here one should note that Paul is referring to status. The lack of high status does not mean that one is poor.

to enter the kingdom of God'" (Mark 10:23-25). James has picked up on the idea and drawn out the implications.

For James the rich occupy the role of the wicked in the Hebrew scriptures, e.g., Ps 10:2 "In arrogance the wicked persecute the poor." The Psalm goes on to parallel "the wicked" with "those greedy for gain." If Mic 6:12 denounces the "wealthy" it is because they are "full of violence," or, as he put it two verses earlier, "the treasures of wickedness [are] in the house of the wicked." Psalm 37 implies that the wicked may be among the prosperous, but then points out that such prosperity is temporary. Proverbs 10:2 agrees that "treasures gained by wickedness do not profit." Thus in various scriptures, particularly in the prophets and writings, some of the rich are classified as wicked and condemned as such. Whether it is Amos' well known "cows of Bashan" (Amos 4:1) or Jeremiah's house builders (Jer 22:13; cf. Isa 5:8), the context always indicates that some type of unrighteousness/injustice/oppression is connected with the wealth.

In James we do not find this distinction. In James 2:6-7 we read, "Is it not the rich who oppress you? Is it not they who drag you into court? Is it not they who blaspheme the excellent name that was invoked over you?" Here the rich as a class are the wicked in that they are blamed for oppression (undefined in this context), legal injustice, and blasphemy of what is probably the name of Jesus (called over them in baptism). In context James indicates that it is wrong to favor the rich, including even the wealthier among the believers (such people are never called "the rich"), because this would mean siding with the oppressor.

James agrees with the Hebrew scriptures that "the rich" (i.e., "the wicked") do not have a good future. He writes ironically, "[Let] the rich [boast] in being brought low, because the rich will disappear like a flower in the field. For the sun rises with its scorching heat and withers the field; its flower falls, and its beauty perishes. It is the same way with the rich; in the midst of a busy life, they will wither away" (James 1:10-11). Here the same sentiment found in Prov 10:2 or Ps 37:2[45] is applied to "the rich." They are impermanent; they pass away.

[45] The Hebrew scriptures also use the image of grass/flowers for the impermanence of human life in general, e.g., Pss 90:5-6; 103:15-16; Isa 37:26; 40:6-8; 51:12. While James may be appropriating the language of these passages, in that he shares the term "flower" with Ps 1-3 and Isa 40, his content indicates that it is the untimely death of the rich that is

It is not that this happens to all people, for the boast of the humble or poor believer[46] is quite different. What happens to the rich is a "being brought low" or "humiliation," a loss of honor/status. "The rich" exchanges places with the poor believer, for the one who was of low status/honor (ὁ ταπεινός) is exalted, and their place is taken by the abasement of "the rich."

James also knows the woe oracle (e.g., Jer 22:13), but again applies it to "the rich" as such:

> Come now, you rich people, weep and wail for the miseries that are coming to you. Your riches have rotted, and your clothes are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you, and it will eat your flesh like fire. You have laid up treasure for the last days. Listen! The wages of the laborers who mowed your fields, which you kept back by fraud, cry out, and the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of hosts. You have lived on the earth in luxury and in pleasure; you have fattened your hearts in a day of slaughter. You have condemned and murdered the righteous one, who does not resist you. (James 5:1-6)

The language of this prophetic denunciation is drawn from traditional sources, e.g., Isaiah and his use of "Lord of hosts"; Jer 12:3's use of "day of slaughter," and 2 Esdras and his use of "last days." However, while traditional sources may supply phraseology, James provides his own content.

First, using a reversal of fortunes motif, James condemns the rich for storing up goods. It is their piles of treasure in which they would naturally find security that are in fact not only disintegrating, but also are piles of evidence against them. This is already "the last days" and "the Judge is at the door," so to store up now is to collect evidence that will condemn one. James suggests that the evidence will do more than just condemn when he says that the rust "will eat your flesh like fire." Another image that he employs is that of "the day of slaughter,"

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his focus. Probably his language was tradition in that 1 Pet 1:24 quotes from Isa 40:6-8, demonstrating that the language was known by more than one author in the Christian paraenetic tradition.

[46] The grammar of 1:9 is explicit, "the humble/poor believer [ἀδελφός]. While it is possible to understand the contrasting phrase in 1:10 as understanding "believer" as the noun modified by "rich," this is not likely James' meaning. First, it is difficult to image a Christian writer writing about a type of believer who "passes away" or "perishes" or "withers." Second, in the two other passages where James uses the term "rich" (πλούσιος) he clearly indicates people outside the Christian community. Where he describes believers with some means, he uses a circumlocution, avoiding the term "rich."

when people did indeed feast on the fresh meat. James pictures this as the constant lifestyle of the rich, but if one knows Jeremiah one knows that a "day of slaughter" can also be when God comes in judgment and slaughters the unrighteous.

Second, James condemns the rich for injustice. It is not that some of the wicked are rich, but that "the rich" in general are unjust. Two specific injustices are named, both already known from the Hebrew scriptures. The first is that they have cheated their workers of their wages. The workers mentioned in particular are those who mowed their fields, i.e., their harvesters. Is this to indicate that since they were harvesting they did indeed have the funds? Or is this because the situations that James envisages are those of wealthy landowners exploiting their workers? Perhaps both are intended, since we know that the image of wealthy (often absentee) landowners with estates farmed by hired laborers (rather than slaves) fits the situation in Jewish areas of Palestine in the pre-70 C.E. period. The second charge is that they have "condemned and murdered the righteous one." Judicial murder of the righteous or innocent is frequently mentioned among the sins of "the wicked" in the Hebrew scriptures (e.g., Exod 23:1; Ps 37:32; 64:2-4; Ps 82:2-4; Prov 17:15, 23; 19:28; Hab 1:4, 13). Here it is the sin of "the rich." While, as noted above, it is debated exactly who "the righteous (one)" is,[47] it is clear that James believes that this person/persons were judicially murdered by "the rich," either by judicial execution or by judicial removal of their means of livelihood. Both would have precedent in previous Israelite/Jewish writings.

When it comes to his condemnation of "the rich" it is always possible that James is simply using stereotyped charges. That is, while the gathering (or inheriting) of wealth is by definition part of being rich, both of the other charges have roots in earlier tradition. Is there any contemporary basis for the charges that James is making, or are they simply an example of intertextuality? If they are an example of intertextuality, then they are an example of reconfiguration rather than recontextualization, in that we do not find either those mowing the fields nor "the righteous (one)" referred to in the Hebrew scriptures as objects of injustice/judicial murder, although, as we have seen, neither economic injustice nor judicial murder are unknown in those

[47] See Davids, *James*, 179-80.

scriptures. Thus it is possible that we see in James his perception of various elites surrounding the Christian community, whether or not his contemporaries would have shared the same analysis.[48]

But are there not also wealthy believers? There are two places where James indicates that wealthier people do exist among the believers. In the example in James 2:2 "a person with gold rings and in fine clothes" comes into the gathering. Whether or not James is using hyperbole in describing the person and whether or not this is, as Roy Bowen Ward argues, a judicial assembly of the Jewish-Christian synagogue,[49] it is clear that James can envision both wealthier believers and poorer believers interacting in Christian gatherings and thus addresses the issue of the church as a group showing partiality. However, while part of the church, the wealthy person is not treated favorably by James. The wretchedly poor person is paralleled with those who are promised the kingdom, but the wealthy person is paralleled by the rich oppressors of the community of which he is a member. Thus one wonders whether James is not showing reverse partiality, perhaps not in judicial actions, but in attitude?

A second instance of wealthier persons in the community is the merchants described in James 4:13. It would be incorrect to assume that these persons must be wealthy, for the description would fit a small trader or merchant just as well as it would fit a Naqedimon ben Gurion.[50] But it is clear that James intends to describe people with more wealth than necessary to meet their daily needs. If one is living hand to mouth one cannot afford the time and expense of travel, nor invest in any goods to trade, even if the end result would likely be a significant gain. Thus it appears that James is addressing community members (in that these people should have taken the will of "the Lord" into account and in that they are sinning but not condemned as "the rich" are) who are not poor. Yet, while we have community

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[48] Naturally, this raises the question of the date of James. It is our argument that the work reflects conditions in the Judean area in the pre-70 C.E. period (perhaps even paralleling the anti-Jerusalem theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls), but that belief is not necessary to understanding this passage as a perception of surrounding cultural elites. See Peter H. Davids, "Palestinian Traditions in the Epistle of James," in Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 33-57.

[49] Roy Bowen Ward, "Partiality in the Assembly: James 2:2-4," *HTR* 62 (1969) 87-97.

[50] This name is associated with great wealth and attributed to the late second temple period. See, e.g., *b. Taanit* 19b-20a.

members with at least some limited means, James does not paint a positive picture. They are described as "boasting" in their "arrogance," as not taking "the Lord" into account, and as failing to do the right thing, and all of this condemnation comes because of what any person engaged in trade would consider a normal commercial venture. Does James mean to imply that the "right thing" to do would be to give this surplus away to poorer community members? Is he suggesting that wealth *per se* indicates a failure? We cannot be sure of this, but the one thing that we can be sure of is that James consistently describes the wealthier people within the Christian community negatively, while "the rich" (outside the community) are roundly condemned.

Paul on the rich

The Pauline tradition has nothing negative to say about the rich.[51] The one explicit reference to those who are rich is in 1 Tim 6:17-18. Here, if anything, the rich have an opportunity, in that they can become "rich in good works." There is a danger, i.e. that they will set their heart upon their wealth or evaluate themselves according to their earthly wealth, but the focus of the passage is upon their opportunity. There is no opprobrium attached to their being rich *per se*. There is a danger, mentioned in 1 Tim 6:9-10, in making becoming rich one's motivation, because it opens one up to temptation/testing (πειρασμόν). It is virtuous to be content with the basics of life, since none of our wealth will be carried out of this life anyway.[52] Thus all that matters is enough to sustain life. Yet if the rich set their hearts on "God who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment," there is nothing wrong with their state. Indeed, the implication is that, along with becoming rich in good works, they are free to enjoy the goods that God has given them, since that is at least one of God's purposes in giving. The play on the root "rich" (πλου[σ]-) is obvious. Giving to others as God gives to us makes one truly rich, while the

[51] Cf. Thomas E. Schmidt, "Riches and Poverty," *DPL* 1051-53: "The lack of attention in the Pauline letters to the rich and to the appropriate use of riches is remarkable. The subject is common in intertestamental Jewish wisdom literature and among contemporary Greco-Roman moralists . . ."

[52] This will be modified in the latter passage in that if one gives away wealth in charity one will have compensation in the eschatological age. So there is a way to "take it with you" and that is by giving it in charity.

present status as rich is a "this age" or "this world" status and the riches are "uncertain."

Elsewhere in the Pauline tradition the term "rich" is only used metaphorically. Paul does indicate that not many in his communities were among the classes that we would expect to be wealthy (1 Cor 1:26, "not many of you were wise by human standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth"), but, assuming that Paul is not speaking ironically, "not many" does not mean "not any," even as today most Christian communities do not include many wealthy persons without implying that they either do not already include any nor that they would not fully welcome any who wished to join.[53] There is evidence in the Pauline letters that some in his communities did have means. In Corinth (Rom 16:23) Gaius may well have had significant means, since he is described as "host . . . to the whole church," perhaps implying that the church could meet in the courtyard of his house; "Erastus, the city treasurer," surely was not poor. Others such as Prisca and Aquila, while likely not wealthy, were not poor. They had their own workshop and could not only host Paul in Corinth, but after traveling with him to Ephesus and then going on to Rome still had a home large enough to host a house church (Rom 16:5). Returning to Corinth, Paul's underlining the poverty of the Macedonians (and yet their generous giving) appears to imply that the Corinthians were not that poor and thus should be able to come up with a far more generous contribution. In other words, it is clear that Paul's church was not a church of the poor. Rather, it contained people from various levels of society.[54] What is remarkable in the light of both James and Jesus is that when we come to Paul we have to work as hard as we do to discover this information. That is, Paul has virtually nothing to say about the wealthy; he does not single them out. The artisans and the wealthy appear indiscriminately mixed in among his friends and co-workers. It is clear that he expected the

[53] The issue in this passage is status, not wealth: not many had the most honorable positions in their society (assuming Paul is not speaking ironically). God, by way of contrast, chose Paul, his message, and the cross—all things with low status: a foreign Jew, less-than-perfect rhetoric, and the unspeakably dishonorable cross—to "shame" those things the Corinthians held to be honorable. This is a reversal of fortunes scheme applied to God's way of working and contrasted with that of the Corinthians who liked "strong" and "honorable" things.

[54] It is likely that the problem referred to in 1 Cor 11:21 stems from differences in social level among members of the congregation.

wealthy to be generous (since he taught generosity to all), but it is also clear that he has nothing negative to say about them as a class.

Thus it is clear that there is a stark contrast between James and Paul when it comes to the rich. For James "the rich" are outside the church. The term itself is a symbol for oppressors of the community. Their eschatological future is bleak. When it comes to the wealthier persons within the church, they exist, but are at best a danger to the community (inviting discrimination against the poor by their very presence). Indeed, in their economic behavior they risk falling into sin themselves, for they make plans without dependence upon God. It is possible that James implies that they would do far better if they simply gave their wealth away.

Paul has nothing negative to say about the rich. They are among his friends and patrons, although they are apparently not very numerous in the Corinthian church. Other that such occasional information, we have only the passage in 1 Tim 6 that views those already rich (versus those trying to enrich themselves) as people with an opportunity rather than a problem. They need to avoid the temptations that their powerful position brings with it, but if they are generous with their wealth they will purchase for themselves an honorable place in the coming age. We see, on the one hand, that we are under way to Clement's *Quis dives salvetur*, and on the other, that wealth is in no way viewed negatively. It is one of the good things that God gives to be enjoyed in this life, and, if used wisely, in the age to come as well.

CONCLUSIONS

Having examined the teaching of James and Paul on wealth, we are in a position to paint a picture of the two traditions, a picture that has an underlying unity along with some significant differences and contrasts.

Where we find similarity is that both James and Paul strongly believe in caring for the poor. Paul notes that he himself was motivated to care for the poor before anyone asked him to do so (Gal 2:10) and then he went on to expend significant energy to carry out this desire, even in a situation where his collection for the poor might aggravate a touchy situation with a recently reconciled church. James makes the care of the poor one of the central homilies (or diatribes) of his work, seeing it as a mark of true religion. On the importance of charity they are agreed.

It is at this point that the two diverge. While there are indications in Paul that he did encourage charity for the poor of the local church, his main written concern is to collect funds for the poor among the believers in Jerusalem. While it is clear to him that the people in question are poor (this is not just an issue of a temple tax or payment for services rendered), it is also clear that at least part of the impetus for the collection is his interest in the relationship of Jew to gentile within the church,[55] an issue that we see expressed so clearly in Romans and Galatians. James' focus is entirely within his local community. All of his examples are of poor that one met face-to-face. None of them concern poor who live at a distance. Thus there is no second agenda involved.

Secondly, for James giving to the poor is an obligation that defines the reality of one's faith-commitment. Without charity one's faith, however orthodox, is useless. There is no sense in which charity is voluntary. For Paul charity is voluntary. While Paul uses every means of persuasion at his disposal, even putting his readers in a situation in which their honor is at stake, he insists that in the end giving is voluntary. It should be done freely, cheerfully, or not at all. Charity is an outflow of the faith, but not essential to one's being in the faith.

Third, for James charity is rooted in the Torah and in the stories of the worthies in Israel's history. God is presented as a good and generous giver (James 1:5, 17-18), but he does not directly connect this to human generosity.[56] Paul rarely appeals to the Hebrew scriptures in his discussions on giving. Rather, for him the critical motivations are the examples of Christ and of God, as well as the hope of eschatological reward. At the center of Paul's argument lies the *imitatio Dei/Christi*. This theological/Christological grounding is virtually absent from James.

Related to the motivations for giving are the sociological perceptions of James and Paul. Paul views the majority in his communities as able to give. He neither classes himself (despite indicating that he

[55] We say "part" because while Paul makes it clear that this group of poor is special (e.g., Rom 15:27; Gal 2:10, assuming that he there means the poor in Jerusalem), we also know that he had had personal contact with the Christians in Jerusalem (as well as had lived there for some time before joining the Jesus movement) and so he probably had a personal interest in the situation there as well.

[56] In a short book like James it would be difficult to argue that God's generosity is not connected in any way to human generosity. It is significant, however, that James does not use the vocabulary for human giving that he uses for divine giving.

occasionally suffers lack) nor his churches (other than the Macedonians) among the poor. He never views the poor as in any sense especially blessed. In fact, if one gives generously God will surely enrich one so one can continue this generosity. Because of this attitude, if the poor are not especially blessed, neither are the rich in any special danger. The one place that the rich are discussed in the Pauline tradition they are told that they have an opportunity for eschatological blessing because of their ability to give. Those poorer are warned about the dangers of trying to get rich, rather than promised any blessing due to their poverty.[57] James, in contrast to Paul, assumes that oppression is widespread enough in his church that his addressees as a whole need to wait in eschatological expectation. While the church is not "the poor" in that it can oppress the poor, the poor in question are members of the church and have a special promise from God. They are always presented in a positive light, even if James does not romanticize their present suffering. On the other hand, the rich in James are always those outside of the Christian community and are implicitly or explicitly condemned. While there are wealthier Christians, these are either presented as sinning or being the occasion of others' sin. In James' community one would want to be identified as "poor," whatever one's financial or social status.

Thus we find that we have two different traditions. James is heavily dependent on the radical teaching concerning giving, wealth, and poverty that is found in the Jesus tradition.[58] His speech often sounds like the Hebrew prophets denouncing at the injustice of their day. James, like Jesus, lives with a high degree of apocalyptic expectancy. Paul is closer to the position on giving that we will find later in rabbinic Judaism.[59] Wealth is not bad and poverty is not virtuous, but giving does produce benefits in the age to come. Eschatological

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[57] This fits another Pauline theme, that of contentment with one's present lot due to the ultimate reality being the eschatological future (e.g., 1 Cor 7:17-24; Phil 4:11).

[58] It is the thesis of David Edgar, *Has God Not Chosen the Poor?*, that James reflects a tension between the wandering charismatic teachers who followed the radical lifestyle of Jesus and the more settled community members who did not. However, this thesis depends upon one's accepting the position of Gerd Theissen, which is assumed rather than argued. Furthermore, the implied author of James is never said to move, while some of those he addresses do. Finally, if this were the case, one would expect the citation of the Jesus tradition to be more explicit.

[59] Schmidt, "Riches and Poverty": "The personal economic ethic of the Pauline corpus reflects standard Jewish piety of the period."

expectancy is there, but it is more focused on the period after death than on an immediate expectation that the Judge will come through the door.[60]

On this theme James and Paul are not at odds. They simply speak different language within the context of different communities experiencing different historical realities. What we see in their contrast is that two leaders in different streams of the same movement can draw on differing backgrounds and teach the same virtue, that of charity, within very different frameworks.

[60] It is possible that Paul reflects his social location as one who lived outside of Palestine and his native land and thus did not feel the tension that James would feel inside, but that hypothesis depends upon reading James as a Palestinian work.

PERSON OR PRACTICE?
JUDGING IN JAMES AND IN PAUL

Marianne Sawicki

We are told that they talked, James and Paul. They shared a keen interest in the problem of judgment. The two teachers, living under the shadow of adverse judicial decisions by civil and religious authorities, both theorized judgment as an exclusively divine prerogative. Yet neither hesitated to issue judgments on his own authority. These similarities notwithstanding, James and Paul differed about the manner, the time, and the places of judgment.

I. MATERIAL REALITIES BENEATH THE INTERTEXTUALITY

Any comparison of the Pauline and Jacobean teachings on judgment must note at the outset that these two streams of early Christian tradition present themselves in literary sources of different character. Paul's letters, written during his career in the mid 50's, underwent relatively little editorial revision before attaining their canonical form. Thus they may be treated as straightforward expressions of Paul's personal belief; there is no reason not to do so. James's letter, however, likely was produced posthumously. Although it may well include some teachings on judgment that had been expressed by the brother of the Lord during his career, this epistle, in its canonical form, has an additional dimension. It affirms these teachings still to be valid, still living, still endorsed by James–*after* his career has been ended *by* a judgment against them that has resulted in the execution of their proponent. In effect, the Jacobean teachings about judgment are meant to trump and nullify the very judgment that was supposed to have silenced them.

Therefore the confrontation of Jacobean and Pauline teachings in this chapter must be a careful exploration of intertextuality, rather than a fantasized reconstruction of some personal conversation as it might have transpired on some occasion between two individuals, James and Paul. Yet this necessary orientation toward intertextual references need not exclude material considerations. Indeed, material culture is of the essence for James's argument; and it can be read as a

formal system with its own proper idioms and genres.[1]

Three sorts of material reality are pertinent in this discussion. First and most obvious, the texts themselves are artifacts that originated in specific historical circumstances. Of the two streams, the Pauline texts are older: they are old enough to have been read by James before he died.[2] Various dates have been proposed for the posthumous composition of James's letter. With its pointed teachings on judgment and jurisprudence, this letter should be placed historically in the wake of one of the series of traumatic experiences of judgment that befell the Jerusalem paleo-church about mid-century:

36 CE:	under Pontius Pilate, the execution of Jesus[3];
44 CE:	under Herod Agrippa I, the execution of James, son of Zebedee and brother of John,[4] and the arrest of Peter;
59/60 CE:	the execution of James, brother of Jesus,[5] while under investigation by priestly authorities during the interval after the death of Festus before Albinus took over as procurator;
70 CE:	the destruction of the Temple after the siege of the city.

These events punctuate the deterioration of a tenuous collaborative relationship between Roman-Herodian civil administrators and the Sadducean high priests, especially the aristocratic family of Ananus.

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[1] Material culture, including artifacts and the entire built environment, has a quasi-textual character, so that it can and should be interpreted along with written texts. See Marianne Sawicki, "Spatial Management of Gender and Labor in Greco-Roman Galilee," in Douglas R. Edwards and Thomas McCollough (eds.), *Archaeology and the World of Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 7-27; idem, *Crossing Galilee: Architectures of Contact in the Occupied Land of Jesus* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000) 81-110.

[2] The death of James, brother of Jesus, occurred in 59/60 CE, just before the beginning of the term of Albinus as procurator of Judea, according to a reconstruction by Nikos Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (JSPSup 30; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 386. The letters of Paul to be discussed here—1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans—are conventionally dated in the 50's C.E.

[3] Whether in reality Jesus had two trials (Luke 22:66–23:12), one trial (Mark 15:1-15), or no trial, crucifixion was undoubtedly a criminal penalty. A judgment rendering Jesus guilty made him liable for this penalty, and he suffered capital punishment. By Kokkinos' reckoning (see *Herodian Dynasty*, 383), based upon the terms in office of the Roman officials, Jesus was executed in 36 C.E.

[4] James, son of Zebedee, was beheaded under Herod Agrippa I in 43/44 CE, possibly at the instigation of the high priest Matthias, according to Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 300-301, 383. The beheading of this James is recounted in Acts 12, along with the detainment of Peter.

[5] Although some details vary between the Christian accounts of the death of James (Hegesippus and Eusebius) and that of Josephus (*Ant.* 20.200-203), the event clearly was an instance of capital punishment by stoning.

The first two executions, by Roman authorities, do away with opponents of the Sadducees and apparently advance the interests of the Sadducean party. But the third execution, that of James the brother of the Lord, is something of a turning point for relations between the Jerusalem aristocracy and the Romans. This execution occurs between procurators: Festus has died and Albinus has not yet assumed control. The stoning of James, considered illegal,[6] leads to a setback for the elite priestly house of Ananus and the Sadducean party as a whole. Herod Antipas appeases Albinus by deposing Ananus, son of Ananus, from the office of high priest. The successor apparently is from another lineage. From then on, the indigenous priestly leadership cannot mend the fragile fabric of collaboration with imperial authorities, and revolt is launched in 65 C.E.[7]

Each successive calamity would have made it more difficult to advocate a stance of patient hope, and at the same time would have enhanced the attractiveness of apocalyptic alternatives. Although the teachings of James are tenable at any time, internal evidence (to be discussed below) suggests that this letter was composed between the execution of James and the heating up of the war; that is, in the early 60's C.E. This document, which can still project a lifestyle of deferred judgment while perceiving that "the judge is at the doors," plausibly comes from the period prior to that which produced the gospel of Mark, with which it in fact shares some apocalyptic language. An origin in the early 60's for the letter of James is merely postulated here

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[6] Opinions vary on why the stoning was considered illegal. In Josephus' estimation, it was not lawful for Ananus to convene a sanhedrin without the consent of the Roman procurator Albinus. After complaints were lodged both with Albinus and with Herod Agrippa, Albinus threatened to punish Ananus, but Agrippa stepped in and removed him from the office of high priest. However Richard Bauckham finds a different basis for the complaint of illegality: not the judgment itself but the *severity* of the punishment. Pharisees, he argues, may have held that James's crime merited a less brutal form of execution than stoning. See "For What Offense Was James Put to Death?" in Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTsup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 199-232. If James was found in violation of Deuteronomy 13, the issue is whether he enticed people into false worship in a public and open way—as a *maddiah*, in the later terminology—or (much more dangerously) in a secretive and individual way—as a *mesit*. If he was charged with secretive enticement, then special rules of evidence would come into play: the testimony of one witness was sufficient to convict. See Joshua J. Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda), Israel: From its Origins through the Byzantine Period, 5600 B.C.E.–640 C.E.* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1991) 67; idem, "Peter and Ben Stada in Lydda," in Richard Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 341-414.

[7] Kokkinos (*Herodian Dynasty* 387-95) advances the date of the revolt to 65 C.E.

and is not essential to support the following arguments. What is materially significant, for now, is to see that the political situation was being contoured by successive waves of judgments adverse to the interests of the paleo-church community that produced the letter of James. This letter speaks from a time when a simplistic apocalypticism like that of Mark or of Paul had not yet won out as the most appropriate way of conceptualizing and responding to that situation.

A second material dimension of James's text is its embrace of the material culture of Roman-era Palestine, where indigenous Israelite sensibilities were in uneasy contact with the furniture and the built environment of the Hellenistic way of life. James mentions things like mirrors and doors. Such things are embedded in a cultural idiom, and that idiom must be understood in order to appreciate the nuances of argument in James's letter. Paul, by contrast, alludes to cosmic features of the Hellenistic universe, where his discourse is fully at home.

The treatment of material culture in James's text expresses an underlying internal logic, and this logic comprises the third dimension of indigenous material reality that must be noted here: the constructed reality of kinship and caste. Words work together with the built environment to project and recursively maintain the perceived reality of such notions as brotherhood, fatherhood, and membership in Israel. Embedded in such notions are the means of making the determinations which count people in or out of certain significant classes, with certain prerogatives; that is, these notions convey criteria for judgment. But classification was always more than a verbal task. It was enacted also spatially, through ritual: not only the rituals of worship, but those of the everyday choreography of people's comings and goings through their homes, towns, farms, and cities.

These three sorts of material constraint—the deteriorating political situation, the indigenous practices of dwelling choreographically in a distinctively built environment, and the negotiation of kinship and caste—all are determining factors for the meaning of the text at hand.

B. Perils in Jerusalem

At Jas 5:9 one reads: "Brothers, don't you be grumbling against one another or you might get judged. Look, the judge is standing in front of the doors." This warning is ominous. But what exactly is the nature of the threat perceived here? Several possibilities present themselves.

(1) Living in an oral-aural culture, this community might be wary

of surveillance. Grumbling (στενάζειν) is audible and would attract the attention of anyone who happened to be snooping around. The contents of the grumbling might be turned into charges and testimony in a criminal proceeding, which unfortunately was not an unknown experience for the Jerusalem paleo-church. This interpretation is reinforced a few lines later by James 5:12, "But above everything, my brothers, don't swear by either heaven or earth or any other oath. Make your yes, yes, and your no, no, or you might fall under a judgment." On this interpretation the "judge at the doors" of v. 9 would be present not physically but virtually through his agent, the informant. This threat would be the first-century equivalent of wire-tapping or bugging the hideout of criminals today. As this analogy emerges, it also becomes clear that this interpretation appears most plausible to readers who watch crime dramas on television. The interpretation rests upon practices that, although they are familiar in the universe of twenty-first-century television drama, have not been established for first-century Jerusalem.[8]

(2) Perhaps that "judge standing before the doors" is supposed to be imagined as drawing near to the community in time, not space. On this second interpretation, this judge "stands" for or represents the imminence of divine judgment. Thus, an offence of grumbling would be liable to be punished before a brother had time to repent, since the return of the Lord Jesus is expected very soon and he will inflict punishment upon all evildoers. This interpretation is supported by the preceding verse, "Establish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord is at hand." A reading that transmutes the spatial proximity of the door into a temporal proximity of the Parousia of Jesus is most plausible for someone who already has been persuaded of the correctness of the apocalyptic view of human history. For example, if the letters of Paul are accepted as a canon within the canon of the New Testament, then Paul's apocalypticism affects the reading of all other scripture. A temporal interpretation of the phrase "standing before the doors" presupposes prior acceptance of an apocalyptic stance like Paul's; otherwise the phrase has its literal, spatial sense. This observation

[8] But *m. Sanh.* 7:2 permits entrapment by a hidden spy or informant in the case of the crime of enticing people to worship false gods. In his study of ancient Lod, Joshua J. Schwartz finds evidence that this practice was already recognized and sanctioned in the Second Temple era. See Schwartz, *Lod*, 67; see also idem, "Peter and Ben Stada in Lydda." Enticing people to stray from orthodox belief was most probably the crime for which James was executed.

does not automatically disqualify James's doorway judge from symbolizing the imminent end of the world, any more than the coincidental resemblance to a TV cliché rules out any possibility that James was talking about a police informant. Yet these first two options appear less likely when their contextual presuppositions are recognized and weighed.

(3) Is the judge at the doors, then, perhaps a literary allusion to familiar imagery in the Hebrew Scriptures? Though the word is "doors," perhaps it means to refer to the gates of the city. In the ancient Near East, walled cities had massive maze-like gates. In peacetime, people would use these structures as venues for business and communication. Rulers heard pleas and complaints there, and issued their judgments. Although the practice faded after this architectural form was rendered obsolete by advances in siege technology in the ninth century B.C.E., it left poetic traces in literary references enshrined in the sacred texts of Israel. The association of judgment with doors or gates became a common figure of speech, with no literal significance. This interpretation is reinforced by allusions to evils and judgments associated with doorways in the story of Sodom (Gen 19:6, 9) or the story of Cain (Gen 4:7 MT, although not LXX), or the story of Passover where blood marks the doorframes of Israelite houses to keep them safe (Exod 12: 23-4). It also resonates with the many doors and gates in Ezekiel's vision of a new Temple (Ezekiel 40–47).[9] On this reading, the author of James was simply trying to achieve an archaic and lofty literary tone. This reading is most plausible for someone who adopts the stance of exclusive intertextuality, choosing to regard the Bible (or, the Bible plus ancient non-canonical texts) as a self-referential sealed universe of meaning. In that case, the word "doors" refers only to other mentions of doors or gates in other texts. Thus if James and his people happened to use doors in their everyday lives for practical and symbolic purposes (as they did), and if those uses happened to contrast with the ways in which doors function in the Western world today (as they do), these

[9] Texts about the Temple, such as Ezekiel's vision or the allusions to its features in Psalm 118, may have been taken up by James's community, enabling them to imagine themselves as being the eschatological Temple. This is the suggestion of Richard Bauckham, who argues on the basis of Hegesippus' account of the death of James that James's offense may have been to violate Deut 13 by identifying Jesus with "the gate of the Lord" in Ps 118:20. Hegesippus uses the term "door of Jesus" (θύρα Ἰησοῦ) where the Septuagint has "gate of the Lord" (πύλη τοῦ κυρίου). See Bauckham,"For What Offense Was James Put to Death?"

facts would be disregarded as irrelevant to the meaning of this ancient letter, according to this mode of interpretation.

But obviously, such a stance toward intertextuality would be too extreme. It is both possible and desirable to inquire into the meanings of items of first-century Judean material culture, for they form important components of the context in which the documents under consideration achieve their meaning. In fact, there was a specific architecture and a specific posture associated with judges. When judging, they sat on a βῆμα or "judgment seat." Therefore a judge standing at the doors is alarmingly odd. Another such figure may be looming up in the so-called little apocalypse of Mark 13, although Mark 13:29 is not clear about what exactly is "at the doors." It may be "the son of man"—a mysterious figure indeed—or it may be the events of the end of the world. Surely it would be premature to assume at the outset, without further investigation, that the doors in James 5:9 are a mere figure of speech indicating the near future, much less that the judge in this verse is equivalent to Jesus *and* to the "son of man" *and* to the Lord God as well. Before deciding about James's doorway judge, there is work to do.

C. Doors and decisions in Israel

What was a door and what did it mean? Spaces and places in the Land of Israel are tremendously important. Indigenous perceptions of motion and direction easily escape the notice of Western scholars. However, recent anthropological and archaeological study suggests that an indigenous logic of circulation and grounding was the common cultural idiom of Israel.[10] Social interactions classified "by us" as economics, government, kinship, caste, labor, gender, and cult were conducted "by them" in this idiom. Some things were perceived as fluid, others were seen as stabilizing or redirecting, and everything was perceived as moving across the Land in its own appropriate direction. "Purity" meant that things were circulating properly, while "impurity" meant that some corrective was called for.

Locations and motions defined the social world of James and his

[10] In contemporary social theory and in empirical investigations of particular societies, ethnocentric bias is held to a minimum by various means, although it cannot be eliminated. This approach is not to be confused with the so-called social-science school of New Testament interpretation, whose methods I have discussed and criticized in *Crossing Galilee*, 201-12, and in "Making Jesus," in Amy-Jill Levine (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 136-70.

hearers insofar as they dwelled physically and mentally in Jerusalem. The paradigm case of the perceived interplay of circulation and grounding is the Israelite patriline, stabilized in the house, defined by its doors, through which a bride must enter in each generation, traveling on the right trajectory. This girl's legitimate birth and the legitimacy of her marriage are required for the continued legitimacy of this patriline. A bride of the wrong sort can ruin a patriline. An analogous perception makes sense of the logic of tithing. Generally speaking, the crop is perceived to be legitimately available for consumption in the house only after the diversion of portions to priests and the poor, through carefully prescribed sortings of both produce and people. If this tithing goes wrong, then the crop is rendered inedible.

There is one important directional marker in the letter of James: ἄνωθεν, "from above." This is the divine direction, indicating an experience of Providence.[11] Rain comes from the heavens, on time, and produces the harvest. Wisdom comes from above. Members of James' community are "born from above." In James, just as in the Fourth Gospel, this birth overrides one's natural birth. But as indigenously perceived, birth means entry into a circulation system, that is, into a stream of kinship. One is born a pure Israelite (or a levite, or a priest) if and only if one's mother as a bride came from the right kind of household and crossed the threshold of one's father's house under the right conditions. To be an Israelite (or a levite or a priest) means to hit the ground running along a definite kinship course. Any deviation means loss of "status"—except that there literally is no "status" since everything is constantly in motion here. *Status*, which connotes standing still and permanence, is a Western concept for which there is no ancient Semitic equivalent. The lineage dies unless it is entered by a bride with the proper genealogical trajectory in each generation.

The stakes are very high, because civil and religious privileges as well as access to land, produce, even tithes, all are riding on the paternal lineage. Thus it becomes vitally important to be able to certify the "legitimacy" of lineages, that is, to defend them

[11] In Greek neoplatonic thought, "from above" is the direction of νοῦς, "mind." It is the opposite of ψυχή, the principle of bodily life, rendered rather inaccurately as "soul." James invokes the terminology of ψυχή without opposing it to νοῦς. His terminology, and the thought behind it, may stem from LXX Deut 6:5, where Hebrew *nephesh* became ψυχή.

rhetorically. In the Roman period, Israelite lineage was under severe strain. On one hand, archives for marriage contracts were maintained in Sepphoris, going back for four or even ten generations.[12] These texts defend the legitimacy of the more elite families. However, even village houses featured elaborately engineered doors. These architectural features physically defined and culturally symbolized the boundary between what belonged to the household and what did not. On the other hand, in Roman times many people were losing their houses and therefore losing both the real and the symbolic means of establishing lineage and all the other kinds of proper circulation of goods and services across the Land. Roman cities, roads, aqueducts, and employment opportunities in Galilee-Samaria in Herodian times inflicted severe architectural and geographical traumata upon this indigenous system. Judea, too, was pierced and tapped by alien architecture, the architecture of empire.

James and Jesus assert the Fatherhood of God in the midst of this cultural reality. In their scheme, the kin-group of God, consisting of those born from above, overrides the Israelite caste system, which had been compromised and weakened by Roman-Herodian contact. But the kin-group of God would be imagined in the culturally available terms. It would have doors. The plural of θυρῶν at James 5:9 is suggestive of this. Archaeological remains indicate that house doors in Galilee were engineered with two halves, to lock together or to swing inward to admit people, animals, commodities, and information at the proper time, or to keep them out.

In order to hold and secure those doors, the threshold of a house would be carefully cut from stone, with holes and channels to receive the vertical posts of the doors. This design allowed the doors to lock closed against the sill, or alternately to rise and pivot and slide inward. Therefore the house was not a sealed container, either in perception or in material use.[13] It was rather a living system that let the right things go in and out at the right times. The doors were the means for regulating the household and keeping it "on track." In this sense, all doors function both as places of experiencing judgment and as means of enacting judgment. Once in a generation, a bride would step across

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[12] See Stuart S. Miller, *Studies in the History and Traditions of Sepphoris* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), especially chap. 3, "The 'Old' *archei*."

[13] This fact is of the utmost significance for all *figurative* uses of the term *beit*, "house," in systems of classification. "House" must mean a selective, temporary container.

a threshold after much negotiation and deliberation. But every morning the workers and livestock would go out, and every evening they would return. Friends and food and news also crossed the thresholds. The integrity of the house was maintained through many small judgments made at the doors and enforced by the doors.

One may read the design of the Temple in Jerusalem as a special case of an Israelite house. The castes and genders of Israel are defined here, in their mutually constitutive relationships. If James and his circle are to be placed at this Temple, then the function of this architecture must be taken seriously. Herod had grandly enlarged and Disney-ized the Temple compound with the addition of a towering arcade along the southern perimeter. It cast its shadow across the sacred enclosure throughout the day. The Temple's architecture defines Jews and gentiles. Gentiles are those who may not enter into the outer court, the "court of women." Israelite men are those who enter and pass through the women to approach the place of slaughter and sacrifice, the "court of Israelites." Levites and priests may proceed further into the inner spaces, according to their ranks and functions. Once again, what a Western sensibility would call "status" was indigenously perceived and practiced as a pattern of motion. Another material function of the Temple was to slaughter meat. Thus livestock, too, moved through this space in ways that contributed to the definition of the various castes and genders. (Jesus' objection to aspects of this choreography is what got him into trouble.)

Now there were many doorways in the Temple. At each of them, discriminations must constantly be made. For example, here comes a man. Is he circumcised? Has he bathed? Is he of levite or priestly caste? Here comes a woman. Is she Jewish?—that is, were her parents Jews and properly married? Today it is not known exactly how these determinations were routinely handled. But there must have been some group with authority to decide such matters, and they would be standing at the doors.

Any figurative or metaphorical use of the notion of doorway, for James's constituency, must be congruent with this experience of the design of the built environment to open, close, and modulate the flow of significant fluid elements, whether they be material or culturally perceived. James famously criticizes the human tongue as a trouble-making organ (3:5-12). The malfunctioning tongue is contrasted with two instances of guidance technology that perform well: the rudder on a sailing ship and the bridle on a horse (3:2-4). Those devices guide

by controlling and modulating the tremendous forces of wind and horsepower, respectively. In that sense, then, they are like doors. They channel the flow, resisting it or yielding to it at the right times. But the tongue, which might be expected to perform a similar function, instead lets loose wildfire from hell (3:5b-6). It needs to be tamed, so that it would let out only blessings, not curses. James complains that blessings and curses ought not to come forth from the same mouth, for a spring does not pour out both fresh and salt water, a fig tree does not bear olives, and a grapevine does not yield figs (3:10-12). From there the letter moves into some admonitions about good works coming from inner wisdom and gentleness.

The tongue, then, has been depicted by James as a malfunctioning door in the doorway of the mouth. A person is defiled when the tongue lets the wrong stuff come out. ("It stains the whole body," 3:6.) This is conceptually not too distant from the dominical saying:

> There is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile; but the things that come out are what defile. (Mark 7:14; cf. Matt 15:10)

As to defilements, the expansions of the words of Jesus in the Synoptics cover some of the same sins that James is concerned about. Compare the lists presented in Mark and Matthew with that of James:

Mark 7:21-22	*Matthew 15:20*	*James 3:13-16*
evil intentions	evil intentions	cursing
fornication	murder	bitter envy
theft	adultery	selfish ambition
adultery	fornication	boastfulness
avarice	theft	falseness
wickedness	false witness	disorder
deceit	slander	wickedness of
licentiousness		every kind
envy		
slander		
pride		
folly		

Such evil behaviors defile by "coming out" of a person's heart and, often, the mouth. The contrast to notice here is directional. Virtually all other sinful and unclean actions are indigenously described as *wrongful entry*: contagions, mixings, illegitimate marital unions that produce offspring without caste, trespasses of all sorts. Conversely, good and worthy acts are those that involve *proper entrances*: pilgrimage, consumption after tithing, legitimate marriage, lawful

marital relations. This way of thinking also may be found in the written records of the deliberations of the early rabbis.

Against that common cultural background, the Jesus and James sayings assert that a new trajectory now overrides that traditional way of reckoning and judging. Wisdom comes down "from above" and resides in the heart, expressing itself through good words and deeds. One must not overlook the consequences of this for caste and consequently for (what a Western sensibility would term) status. Transposed into the arena of caste and gender, the dominical teaching pronounces the irrelevance of proper marriage. James's *adelphoi* are all of one lineage: God is their Father. On one hand, this delegitimates (in their eyes) the religious and other social privileges of pure Israelite or priestly caste. On the other hand, it removes the disabilities of flawed lineage for those whose mothers were victims of violence by Roman-Herodian troops, or whose maternal grandfathers had simply lost their houses and thus the means to betroth the daughters properly. To paraphrase the words of Mary's son quoted above: "There is nothing outside a girl that by going in can defile."

Transposed once more into the architecture of the Temple and its Herodian secular outbuildings, the dominical teaching would undercut the whole point of the Temple's ritual choreography. But this gives one pause. Could James have been pressing this critique while teaching on the campus of the Temple itself?[14]

The teaching of James was a stream of interpretation of Torah whose flow ran counter to the directions approved by Jerusalem authorities. It was perceived to be both transgressive and powerful. It carried people astray, as the ancient accounts attest.

D. Judgment, according to James

If James's teaching was judged by the collaborating authorities to be a tainted and misdirected fluid, his execution was supposed to stanch its flow. Instead, a new and more efficient conduit of delivery was

[14] Was this perhaps a motive for staying close by the Temple? Exactly *where* in the Temple compound would James and his hearers have positioned themselves? Through which of the many doors had they already passed? Were they eligible to enter where "pure Israelites" go, or were they turned back at the doors on suspicion of defective lineage? Interestingly, according to the ancient reports, James's enemies attempted to use the very architecture of the Temple itself to kill him, for he was thrown down from the parapet. But this attempt did not succeed; he survived the fall and had to be dispatched by further stoning and a blow from a club. The Temple refused, so to speak, to be either James's executioner or his door to the next life.

devised for this teaching: the text of the letter of James, coming from Jerusalem "to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" (James 1:1). Before investigating further the dynamics of the dispersion of Torah interpretations from James and from others, it is necessary to probe more thoroughly the specific points of James's teaching.

Three thematic clusters seem especially significant: law, kinship, and judgment:

(1) Law in James means a Torah within the Torah, so to speak. This is the νόμος βασιλικός (2:8), also termed the νόμος ἐλευθερίας (2:12). The content of this law is, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." This rule is quoted from Lev 19:18, and it echoes Mark 12:31 and parallels. To characterize this command as βασιλικός, "imperial," in a Jesus context means that it is constitutive of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, the kingdom of God. It is also called ἐλευθερίας, meaning constitutive of freedom.

This twofold characterization imparts an interesting spin to a well-worn saying. Βασιλικός implies that this law defines the kingdom. Unlike other laws, this law erases distinctions rather than making them. It elevates its own simplicity to a categorical imperative for God's imperial rule: everyone to be treated alike, no distinctions to be made among all the various situations in which people find themselves, the various relationships in which they stand to one another. Moreover, this is a law for doing, not for avoiding or refraining. It does not forbid, but rather commands action. You are to do for the neighbor whatever you would want done for yourself. The epistle adamantly insists that the word [of God?] requires doers, not mere hearers (1:22-26).

The parable of the mirror (1:23-25) suggests that this law is self-evident. What a man would see in a mirror is his resemblance to every other man. The needs that he knows as his own are the same needs that every other man would have. If he "forgets" to act in response to the needs of others, it is as though he has forgotten what he himself is like, his own nature, the face he was born with. Conversely, anyone who remembers his own needs will at the same time remember and respond to the needs of those who are like himself.[15]

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[15] The masculine gender is used. This parable transposes hearing into seeing. The royal law should be heard and obeyed. To hear and not obey is as "unnatural" as to see and then forget one's own face and its natural resemblance to all other human faces. In other words, the mirror should make the kingdom law self-evident even to those who fail to get it by hearing.

The law is also ἐλευθερίας because of this same simplicity and positive thrust. You are freed from the necessity to make distinctions or to consult those who can do so expertly. You are excused from observing prohibitions, and your creative initiative is called into action.

(2) Affinity among "brothers" and equality of rank are strongly asserted in this letter. This notion supports the νόμος βασιλικός, inasmuch as the closeness and sameness of community members is the basis for their knowledge of what they ought to do in any given situation. Knowing one's own needs, one knows about the needs of a brother.

The abolition of ranking by wealth or caste is an effect of God's imperial rule. In the kingdom of God, all distinctions among human beings are revoked; this is what kingdom means in this epistle. Conversely, to treat the rich well and the poor badly is the very antithesis of belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, says James (2:1). James excoriates the practice of differential seating in the assembly (2:2-3). To make distinctions between different kinds of people is to become a judge (2:4). To show partiality is to commit sin and break the law—not only the νόμος βασιλικός but the detailed Mosaic Law as well (2:9-11). Why? Because even among laws, for James there is no distinction. To break any one law is to break them all, since each particular law is a facet of the νόμος βασιλικός. It, conversely, is not a particular law among them, to be distinguished from the particular laws, but rather is their unifying principle.

In early Judaism one's social identity was reckoned first of all through descent. Lineage was more important than wealth or achievement. Significantly, James invokes the common lineage claimed by all Jews when he brings up Abraham (2:23-24). Even more significantly, James adopts the dominical usage and refers to God as Father (1:17, 1:27, 3:9). God "gave us birth by the word of truth" (1:18). Wisdom comes ἄνωθεν, "from above" (3:15, 17), and good works "are done with gentleness born of wisdom" (3:13). This way of construing divine parenthood is strikingly similar to that of the Fourth Gospel, where one must be "born from above" to enter the kingdom of God (John 3:3, 7; cf. 3:31, 8:23). For James, God "gave us birth by the word of truth" (1:18). This new birth supercedes one's birth into a particular patriline. Moreover, people lacking the protection of a patriline—orphans and widows—now have a claim to care from all who call God Father (1:27). The Fatherhood of God overrides legiti-

macy or illegitimacy of birth into a Jewish home. That means, purity of descent becomes obsolete. A pure Israelite bloodline is now religiously irrelevant in the community of James.

Other matters of religious purity are implicitly called into question here as well. One assumes that for the author (or editors?) of this epistle, the detailed dietary laws along with the cultic regulations would be overridden by the one simple kingdom-law, "Love your neighbor as yourself." But this introduces a puzzle: How are we to reconcile the overturning of special status, special classes, and special obligations, on the one hand, with the so-called compromise attributed to James in Acts 15:19-21, on the other? These seem to come from two different minds. One plausible resolution is that while James abolishes distinctions *within* his community, he enforces a distinction *between* those within his community and those outside it. In other words, we might say, the judge is standing at the doors.

(2) Another nice paradox is brewing around the issue of discernment. James is very clear in his advice that no one should judge. You must not judge a brother, and you must not judge the law (4:11-12). James doesn't even want his people to aspire to be teachers, because of the risk involved (3:1). Yet at the very end of the letter, there is praise for any brother who "brings back" someone who has wandered from the truth (5:18-20). Surely the retrieval of errant brothers is a task that calls for exercise of the critical faculties, one would assume.

This paradox sheds some light on the meaning of judgment for James. Judgment is the opposite of patience, it seems. Judgment does not produce justice: patience produces justice. Or rather, patience waits and gives God time to work. The simile of the farmer illustrates this (5:7-8). He waits for the crop, which has to receive both the early rains and the late rains. The reader remarks that rain comes "from above," like God's word and wisdom in another harvest metaphor at 3:15-18.

Patience holds out against closure, while judgment settles things. But this line of reasoning in 5:7-12 is interrupted briefly by homiletic exhortations to patience, vv. 10-11.[16] Examples of patience are

[16] Here is not the place to attempt a thorough analysis of the stages of composition of this letter. Still, it would be difficult not to observe that vv. 10 and 11 are an interpolation. Sense is conserved if v. 9 picks up directly into v. 12: "Brothers, do not grumble against one another, so that you may not be judged. See, the judge is standing at the doors. Above all, brothers, do not swear, either by heaven or by earth or by any other

proposed: Job and "the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord," v. 10. In this context ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου must refer to God, not Jesus. Similarly in v. 11 "the Lord" must be God, for the context is the story of Job. Patience on the part of Job correlates with compassion and mercy on the part of God, who has a plan or τέλος. (The Lord God of this two-verse interpolation stands in contrast with the Lord of 5:8, the Lord of παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου, who presumably is the Lord Jesus of 1:1. This opening verse has distinguished between God and Jesus.) The Lord God is here presented as merciful but deliberate, putting that τέλος into motion. The gradual, almost organic enactment of God's plan is underscored with a homiletical exhortation to prayer after the example of Elijah in 5:17-18. Elijah got God to turn off the rain for several years, but eventually he got God to turn it back on again. These two examples, Elijah and Job, emphasize the merciful and non-final quality of even the most severe divine action. They also suggest that the patience of human beings can affect the mode of divine action. When human beings are patient, God can be merciful. Or it might just as well be said: when human beings are merciful, God can be patient.

James puts a sharp edge on this insight when he advises the brothers:

> So speak and so act as those who are to be judged by the law of liberty. For judgment will be without mercy to anyone who has shown no mercy; mercy triumphs over judgment. (2:12-13)

The law of liberty, as we have seen, is "Love your neighbor as yourself." We now see that this becomes the law for how all other laws apply. It is the law for laws. It is the principle for deciding whether a transgressor is liable to face the penalties incurred. The logic of this is identical with that of Matthew's Jesus:

> If you forgive others their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you do not forgive others, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses. (Matt 6: 14-15)

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oath, but let your 'Yes' be yes and your 'No' be no, so that you may not fall under condemnation." By the same token, vv. 10 and 11 pick up into v. 13: "As an example of suffering and patience, brothers, take the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord. Indeed we call blessed those who showed endurance. You have heard of the endurance of Job, and you have seen the purpose of the Lord, how the Lord is compassionate and merciful. Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. . . ." The problem of the identity of the "the Lord" and "the judge" in this passage, discussed below, is further evidence that its final editing occurred at a later time when these terms had fused with the identity of Jesus.

These words of Jesus in Matthew follow immediately after "The Lord's Prayer." The Father forgives the debts of those who have forgiven their debtors. For both Jesus and James, we might go a step further and say that this reciprocity is constitutive of the meaning of divine Fatherhood itself. The Father *fathers* or begets by imposing the law of the kingdom: "Love your neighbor as yourself." People who "get it," people who discount all other inherited or incurred entitlements and obligations, are the people who belong to the patrilineage of God and call God "Father."

Conversely, one steps out of this lineage whenever he or she "judges" by invoking the rights and duties that arise from any other laws and relationships. Judgments, while correct and realistic, can alienate someone from the Father. Such judgments include: discriminating on the basis of social status (2:2-5), testifying to brothers as they starve and shiver (2:14-16), noticing that others are better off, which leads to ambition and conflict (3:14, 4:1-3), and speaking evil against brothers (4:11).

The neighbor is to be loved, not judged. These are mutually exclusive alternatives for James. The kingdom-law is broken *ipso facto* when you try to use it—or any other law—as a basis for judgment. You cannot be a doer of the law and a judge at the same time. You cannot judge a child of God while remaining a child of God. James says, "There is one lawgiver and judge" (4:12).

Who is this judge? It cannot be Jesus. This judge must be God, the lawgiver. Jesus has lived and died by the kingdom-law. Jesus has taught this law. But Jesus did not make it up. He too called God "Father." There is no hint, in the rhetoric of the basic sayings of James, that Jesus is the "one judge" of 4:12.

Nor is Jesus the "judge at the doors" of 5:9. The notion that Jesus is a coming or returning judge is first produced through editorial juxtaposition of an *apocalyptic* Lord Jesus (5:8) with the Lord God of the Prophets (5:10-11). This notion is reinforced when the rhetorical unity of vv. 9 and 12 is split by insertion of the homiletic examples of the prophets and Job, vv. 10-11. The editors who composed this letter for export may have assumed–and meant to teach–that "the judge standing at the doors" (v. 9) is identical with the Lord whose Parousia is near (v. 8) and also with the Lord God of the prophets, Elijah, and Job (vv. 10-11, 17-18). Certainly for mature orthodox Christian faith, this is so. Jesus is God, and Jesus will return to judge the living and the dead, as Christians still affirm liturgically in the creed.

But creeds were not at issue yet for the people who had known Jesus before Calvary, people of his own generation. It cannot be assumed that upon hearing mention of "the judge at the doors" they thought immediately of a Jesus who was God and who was coming back. Such an assumption would beg the very questions that lie at the heart of scholarly and religious interest in James: When, how, and whether Jesus was identified with God in the community of James, his brother.

E. Another take on "judgment"

The issue of legitimate interpretation of Torah was widely discussed and debated in intellectual circles in Jerusalem. Evidence of this shows up in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in early rabbinic texts, and in the Fourth Gospel—all reflecting sectarian debates. Against such a background, one sees clearly how Paul's eschatology foreclosed discussion of certain complex issues: sensationalizing, streamlining, and popularizing for maximum impact on his gentile audiences. One example must suffice to point up the contrast: the narrative of the sabbath healing in John 5. This passage discloses what is likely another Jerusalem-based rhetorical contest over some of the same themes that occupy James. The summary offered here is largely dependent on the work of Carol Selkin.[17]

With water as metaphor for the interpretation of Torah, the Fourth Gospel presents Jesus as the *miqveh yisra'el.* Selkin detects many subtle allusions to Jeremiah 17-23 throughout John 5, so that the chapter presents a powerful commentary through a compositional technique known as metalepsis: a kind of literary echoing.[18] Jeremiah 17:21-22 is the prohibition against carrying a burden on the sabbath, and especially against carrying it through the gates of Jerusalem. The Hebrew for burden, *massa*, means sabbath burden in Jeremiah 17 but also means prophecy, the "burden" delivered by the prophet, in Jeremiah 23. This pun allows the text to be turned against the first-century stand-ins for the prophets: the official interpreters of the Law.

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[17] Carol Selkin, *Exegesis and Identity: The Hermeneutics of Miqwa'ot in the Greco-Roman Period* (Ph.D dissertation supervised by Eric M. Meyers at Duke University, 1993).

[18] The Fourth Gospel would be the latest of the texts examined here, since it is conventionally dated at the very end of the first century C.E. By that time, although the rhetorical battle over Torah interpretation is still being waged in John 5, the kingdom law emphasized by James is no longer on the agenda. Jesus now is regarded as a judge, but only in matters of interpretation, it seems, and not in matters of sin.

Thus the stage is set for a story about an illegitimate carrying of interpretation into Jerusalem–a story whose composers were literate in Hebrew.

The term *miqveh* also has a double meaning: originally "hope," as at Jer 17:13, it also comes to designate the ritual bath and specifically, the distinctive architectural form designed for such baths. Miqva'ot in first-century Jerusalem[19] were used to restore ritual purity. The details of this practice were matters of sectarian debate, and in fact served to define various sects, as Selkin shows. The pool of water itself became a metaphor for interpretation of Torah: yours is polluted, mine is pure. Yours is drawn or carried or "lifted up"; mine has flowed pristinely down from the divine hand. In the Damascus Covenant, the "well" of Num 21:18 is said to represent the Torah and "those who dig the well" are identified as offering correct interpretation. With these and many other examples, Selkin shows that sectarian differences were negotiated through these metaphors: both in words and, most likely, in rituals of bathing and baptizing.

When the Fourth Gospel associates Jesus with living water, then, this metaphor signals that the issue is correct interpretation of Torah—that is, the very terms at issue in this investigation: judgment and justification. Jesus is said to have or to be this water. He becomes the *miqveh*: both the restorer of proper direction and the hope of Israel. In John 5, the healing cannot occur through the muddied, stirred up water of the pool with five porticoes, possibly alluding to the five Books of Moses. The sick man has lain there for 38 years, the traditional length of time when God did not speak to Moses. Jesus tells him to stand, which was permitted on the sabbath, and to carry his mat, which according to the opponents was forbidden. The story escalates the conflict so that the issue is no longer sabbath observance, but Jesus' claim that God is his father (John 5:17-18).

Jesus then speaks a teaching about his own authority, which has now become the issue. "The Father judges no one but has given all judgment to the Son . . . (A)ny one who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life, and does not come under judgment" (John 5:22, 24). There follows the Johannine version of a final judgment by Jesus:

> Very truly, I tell you, the hour is coming, and is now here, when the dead

[19] Also in Gamla and in areas of Galilee such as Sepphoris and Yodphat where Judeans had settled during the Hasmonean expansion.

> will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live. For just as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself; and he has given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man. Do not be astonished at this; for the hour is coming when all who are in their graves will hear his voice and will come out–those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment. (John 5:25-29).

The evil here is an evil of *misinterpretation.* The opponents are accused of having rejected the testimony of John the Baptist, the evidence of the works done by Jesus, and even the testimony of the Father who not only sent Jesus but also gave the Torah to the opponents.

> "You search the scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify on my behalf. Yet you refuse to come to me to have life. I do not accept glory from human beings. But I know that you do not have the love of God in you. I have come in my Father's name, and you do not accept me; if another comes in his own name, you will accept him. How can you believe when you accept glory from one another and do not seek the glory that comes from the one who alone is God? Do not think that I will accuse you before the Father; your accuser is Moses, on whom you have set your hope. If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me. But if you do not believe what he wrote, how will you believe what I say?" (John 5:39-47)

In this scenario, Jesus is to be the judge and Moses the prosecutor. One notices that the term "hope" appears here at the end of the chapter. The opponents had placed their hope in Moses, contrary to Jer 17:13 where the Lord God was to be their hope. Their great sin is to have misinterpreted Jesus, failing to see that Jesus has been granted life and authority from God. (Compare John 3:17-21 and 8:15-16.)

Clearly, this is a shrill sectarian debate. There is no question of "real" sins like murder, theft, adultery, or the other crimes that concerned James and the Synoptic Jesus. If *misinterpretation* is your only sin, then the "judgment" that is coming to you would, at most, be a logical judgment that you have made a mistake in understanding the texts. Yet we have in John 5:28-29 the threat that "those who have done evil" will be called after death to a resurrection of "condemnation."

Apparently the sects took their interpretive differences with great rhetorical seriousness. What "evil" has been done here? In 6:16, "the Jews" are blamed for persecuting Jesus and in 5:18 for seeking to kill him. But those charges were hardly supported by the narrative, given

that in John 2 it was Jesus who started the trouble with his Temple disruption. In John 5, the issue that precipitates this threat of future judgment by Jesus is that of authoritative interpretation of Moses. But the "punishment" envisioned at this last judgment is nothing more dreadful than having everyone know that you were wrong. The hour of this judgment, for John's community, "is coming, and is now here" (5:25, compare 12:31), for Jesus is even now speaking in the words of the text, the words of his Christian representatives. Yet the description of the "coming judgment" in John 5 is spare and intellectual. No tangible punishments or rewards are mentioned. Even though apocalyptic elements are present in the terminology of resurrection and the "Son of Man," both the vindication and the punishment foreseen are entirely a matter of pronouncement.

Thus the Fourth Gospel illustrates how hard it is, among Jewish Christians, to make a judge out of Jesus. He is master but not magistrate. He teaches, he corrects, he vindicates, but he does not punish.

F. Justified and airborne with Paul

Paul agrees with the author of the Fourth Gospel that the books of Moses cannot be understood apart from the Lord Jesus Christ (2 Cor 3:13-15). The context has now been established in which to understand some basic Pauline theological themes: freedom from the supposedly obsolete Law of Moses; justification by faith; adoption as children of God; and Jesus as "judge," in the sense that Jesus is criterion and interpretive key for the Torah and its many doorways. It becomes clear that these concerns of Paul's are variations on themes that also were being mooted about in Jerusalem, in physical and conceptual proximity to the Temple, by constituents of James and of the early Johannine tradition.

From the vantage point of the intellectual (Johannine) and pastoral (Jacobean) discussions underway in the Jerusalem church, the jarring element in Paul's rendition of these themes would *not* primarily be his outreach beyond Israel to the gentiles. It would not even be Paul's facile displacement of hope and judgment from God onto the person of Jesus–for John 5 does as much, albeit with extraordinary subtlety. The jarring element would be the loss of the dimension of time from the landscape of salvation. Paul foreshortens or telescopes the common themes. What was represented as a *process* in the everyday practice of merciful forgiveness described by James, as well as in the

revisionist debates over the hermeneutics of Torah in John 5, here in Paul will be represented as *instantaneous encounter* with the person of Jesus as risen Christ. Everything happens in a flash:

> complete invalidation of Torah at the moment when Jesus dies under the Law (Gal 3:23-27);
>
> sudden justification by a faith springing up fully formed in a burst of insight and intellectual assent (Rom 3:28, tempered by Rom 2:13, and Rom 5:1-2);
>
> adoption by God, pronounced to replace in one stroke the certification of Israelite kinship that takes generations to establish (Gal 3:28-29 and Rom 4:11); and
>
> a surprise return of Jesus to judge all those who are suddenly swept up from or out of the earth to meet the Lord in the air (1 Thes 4:13-17, 1 Cor 4:5, 1 Cor 7:29-31).

Paul is in a hurry, and so is his Jesus. The *fait accompli* of justification displaces the patient, painstaking, and perilous chores of interpretive judgment. These variants upon common Christian themes were produced narratively by Paul, through the lens of apocalyptic myth. This narrative maneuver by Paul renders his message quite vivid and compelling for his audience. But this appeal is purchased at the cost of a loss of much of the practical wisdom in the Jerusalem traditions.

James had proposed a careful discipline of seeking justice by *not judging*, that is, by practicing a patient, hopeful forgiveness while maintaining a prudent watch at the "doors." When the "instant justification" of Paul replaces this discipline, there are drastic consequences both conceptually and in the practice of the Christian way. The notion of "justification" in Paul is surprisingly empty of content. The term simply stands for an enacted state of being right before God. This, obviously, is the state in which you want to be when Jesus comes back as judge, imposing a "judgment" that once again is empty of specific content.

This final judgment, as Paul depicts it, is simply the very appearance of Jesus himself, risen after death. By contrast, the notion of "not-judging" in James is given its content through the kingdom-law, the principle behind all other laws: the command to love your neighbor as yourself. Living by this law is what gives someone assurance that he or she is within the kinship circle of God, while habitually violating this law is what will exclude someone from that circle. God, the only judge, is the source of this law.

In James there is no notion of "justification" but there is a concrete way to promote justice. This is to be done through patience, that is, through declining to impose judgment. Patience requires time, which is in such short supply in Paul's estimation. Therefore, Paul's hope is different from the hope of the Jerusalem community. Paul looks forward to an event of Parousia, a triumphant return of Jesus. Especially in Romans, Paul likes to mention hope as a rhetorical flourish. In Jerusalem, however, Jesus and his fate are "the hope of Israel" in a different and more subtle sense.

And why would that be so? Hope, in fact, is an alternative mode of judgment. Hope does the same cognitive work that is done by judgment, but hope does this work patiently and without closing doors. This cognitive work is to identify evil. Hope, to be hope at all, must contain the notion of a possible future that can and should replace present conditions. Hope therefore is a mode of recognizing what is evil or undesirable in the present. Hope is a mental activity with two hands: one hand grasps the wrongness of a reality, while the other grasps the rightness of a possibility. By contrast, judgment is a mental activity with only one hand, which it must turn either thumbs-up or thumbs-down on the reality in question. In judgment, this reality can be only right or wrong, good or bad. It cannot be remade into a better future.

The contrast between judgment and hopeful patience poses a dilemma for those who read the New Testament as a whole, as an authoritative canon. Should such readers today make of Jesus their *judge* or their *hope*? In its horrible violence, was the crucifixion of Jesus a thumbs-down on the Torah and a thumbs-up to all who leave the Torah behind? If the only way to heaven is the highway of Paul's apocalyptic imagination, Christians need no longer concern themselves about the conduct of everyday life and relationships. Alternately, the crucifixion of Jesus may be regarded as the hope of Christians. Hope means to discern the wrongness of Jesus' execution, and the wrongness of violence against Jerusalem in the first century (and New York in the twenty-first). But hope also means that, in the very same act of discernment, one also awaits and welcomes a new creative initiative from God. In this case, Jesus is the hope of Christians because God does not break covenants. Perhaps the difference between the Jacobean way of hope and the Pauline way of justification is essentially one of practicality. If there is time, then the

way of hope seems the more viable of the two. Paul made the mistake of assuming that time had run out.

SIN, REPENTANCE, ATONEMENT AND RESURRECTION THE PERSPECTIVE OF RABBINIC THEOLOGY ON THE VIEWS OF JAMES 1–2 AND PAUL IN ROMANS 3–4

Jacob Neusner

The comparison of systems of religious thought, whether synchronic or not, affords perspective on the systems that are compared, showing us choices facing all of them out of the preferences, out of a common agenda, of each. The enterprise works well for those that draw upon a shared Scripture as do Judaic and Christian systems. Telling the same story and appealing to the same religious truth concerning a common theological agendum establish a single plane of fact and logic. That exercise validates juxtaposing and contrasting doctrines on topics treated by all of those systems, each in its own context.

In the present case we take up three components of the process of ultimate salvation, all of them part of the answer to the question, how does Man overcome sin and attain what Christianity will call "justification" and what Rabbinic Judaism in its counterpart category will designate "the resurrection of the dead"? The three form part of a single narrative: it is Man's nature to rebel against God and so to sin. Death comes about by reason of sin. With sin atoned for by repentance and by death, Man realizes the promise of eternal life, such as Adam was afforded from creation. So what repentance promises—restoration of the relationship with God—is realized only at the end of days. If we divide the story into its category-formations, they are five, and I devote the greater part of my exposition to establishing that reading of matters: [1] sin through rebellion, [2] repentance through an act of will confirmed by deed, [3] atonement through the compensation of such atoning media as personal suffering, the Day of Atonement, and death, and [4] the merciful outcome, resurrection from the grave and then "standing in judgment," meaning, surviving the last accounting, followed by [5] restoration to life, now for all eternity.

An exposition of the Rabbinic theology of sin, repentance, and resurrection—a continuous and closely reasoned, coherent corpus of theological thought—in an *Auseinandersetzung* with the comparable theology of James and Paul establishes a perspective on all three systems: alike and not alike. But for my part I concentrate on the exposition of the Rabbinic system and at the end suggest a few points for the consideration of those knowledgeable, as I am not, in the comparable systems, Paul's in Romans 3–4 and James in his Letter, chaps. 1–2. Then we gain access to the alternatives explored by heirs to a common corpus of doctrine and reflection on a single topic addressed by all three. When we consider choices system-builders might have made, we gain perspective on the selections they did execute: the category-formations and the narrative they sustain.

The Rabbinic system, which animates both the Aggadic and the Halakhic documents, defines as principal category-formations within its larger construction the matters of sin and repentance, set in the larger framework of eschatology: resurrection, judgment, and restoration to eternal life. There is no considering sin apart from its larger theological setting, or repentance outside of the systemic dynamic, or either sin or atonement out of the context of the ultimate resurrection. For the Rabbinic system, "Israel" represents all those who are destined for eternal life, and "not-Israel" encompasses those who will not rise from the grave: "All Israel has a portion in the world to come" (*m. Sanh.* 11:1) yields, "those who have a portion in the world to come are all Israel"—and no one else.

I. SIN

The Rabbinic system deals with corporate Israel and the individual Israelite. Corporate Israel comes first, because it represents a unique moral entity in humanity: the gentiles are just that, individuals; their collectivities do not constitute moral actors subject to God's judgment or concern. Israelites for their part constitute all Israel, and Israel forms a whole that exceeds the sum of the parts. So to begin with, any theological category-formation will address corporate Israel, but it will encompass also the individual Israelite—in that order.

Sin explains the condition of Israel as much as it accounts for the death of the individual Israelite. The governing theory of Israel, that had Israel kept the Torah from the beginning, the Holy People would

never have had any history at all but would have lived in a perfect world at rest and balance and order, is now invoked. There would have been nothing to write down, no history, had Israel kept the Torah. I can imagine no more explicit statement of how the world order is disrupted by sin, and, specifically, sinful attitudes, than the following:

Bavli-tractate Nedarim 3:1 I.14ff./22a-b

I.18 A. Said R. Ada b. R. Hanina, "If the Israelites had not sinned, to them would have been given only the Five Books of the Torah and the book of Joshua alone, which involves the division of the Land of Israel. How come? 'For much wisdom proceeds from much anger' (Qoh. 1:18)."

Adam ought to have stayed in Eden. With the Torah in hand, Israel, the new Adam, ought to have remained in the Land, beyond the reach of time and change, exempt from the events of interesting times. Sin ruined everything, for Adam, for Israel, bringing about the history recorded in Scripture—not a very complicated theodicy.

That the theology of the Oral Torah spins out a simple but encompassing logic makes the character of its treatment of sin entirely predictable. First, the system must account for imperfection in the world order of justice; sin supplies the reason. Second, it must explain how God remains omnipotent even in the face of imperfection. The cause of sin, man's free will corresponding to God's, tells why. Third, it must allow for systemic remission. Sin is so defined as to accommodate the possibility of regeneration and restoration. And, finally, sin must be so presented as to fit into the story of the creation of the perfect world. It is.

Defined in the model of the first sin, the one committed by man in Eden, sin is an act of rebellion against God. Rebellion takes two forms. As a gesture of omission sin embodies the failure to carry out one's obligation to God set forth in the Torah. As one of commission, it constitutes an act of defiance. In both cases sin comes about by reason of man's intentionality to reject the will of God, set forth in the Torah. However accomplished, whether through omission or commission, an act becomes sinful because of the attitude that accompanies it. That is why man is responsible for sin, answerable to God in particular, who may be said to take the matter personally, just as it is meant. The consequence of sin is death for the

individual, exile and estrangement for holy Israel, and disruption for the world. That is why sin accounts for much of the flaw of creation.

It follows, as we now realize, that the consequences of the correspondence of God and man account for all else. If the one power in all of creation that can and does stand against the will of God is man's will or intentionality, then man bears responsibility for the flawed condition of creation, and God's justice comes to its fullest expression in the very imperfection of existence, a circularity that once more marks a well-crafted, severely logical system. But free will also forms the source of remission; God's mercy intervenes when man's will warrants. Specifically, God restores the perfection of creation through his provision of means of atonement through repentance. But that presents no anomaly but conforms to the encompassing theory of matters. For repentance represents yet another act of human will that, like the transaction that yields *zekhut,* is countered with a commensurate act of God's will. The entire story of the world, start to finish, therefore records the cosmic confrontation of God's will and man's freedom to form and carry out an intention contrary to God's will. The universe is not animate but animated by the encounter of God and, in his image, after his likeness, man—the story, the only story, that the Oral Torah recapitulates from, and in completion of, the Written Torah.

The moral order encompasses exactly commensurate penalties for sin, the logic of a perfectly precise recompense forming the foundation of the theory of world order set forth by the Oral Torah. But knowing the just penalty tells us little about the larger theory of how sin disrupts the perfection of the world created by the one, just God. Since sin is deemed not personal alone but social and even cosmic, explaining sin carries us to the very center of the theology that animates the Oral Torah. What is at stake in sin is succinctly stated: it accounts for the deplorable condition of the world, defined by the situation of Israel. But sin is not a permanent feature of world order. It is a detail of an orderly progression, as God to begin with had planned, from chaos, which gave way to creation, to the Torah, which after the Flood through Israel restored order to the world, and onward to the age of perfection and stasis. Sin exacts a two-sided penalty. The sinner, acting out of arrogance, is diminished; the sinner, defying God, is cut off from God. That applies, in so many words, to both the private person and all Israel.

The heaviest cost exacted by sin, however, is neither individual nor communal but cosmic. Sin separated God from man. Man's arrogance, his exercise of his will to confront the will of God, brings about sin and ultimately exiled Israel from the Land of Israel. That same act of attitude estranges God from Israel. If sin cuts the individual off from God and diminishes him in the world, then the sin of all Israel produces the same result. The costs of sin to Israel have proved catastrophic. Just as Israel was given every advantage by reason of accepting the Torah, so by rejecting the Torah, death, exile, and suffering took over. When Israel accepted the Torah, death, exile, and suffering and illness no longer ruled them. When they sinned, they incurred all of them. That is because God himself went into exile from the Temple, the City, the Land. We begin with the penalty of alienation from God, marked by the advent of death:

Leviticus Rabbah XVIII:III.2ff.

2. A. "Yet the harvest will flee away (ND)" (Is. 17:11).
B. You have brought on yourselves the harvest of the foreign governments, the harvest of violating prohibitions, the harvest of the angel of death.
C. For R. Yohanan in the name of R. Eliezer, son of R. Yosé the Galilean, said, "When the Israelites stood before Mount Sinai and said, 'All that the Lord has said we shall do and we shall hear' [Ex. 24:7]. At that very moment the Holy One, blessed be he, called the angel of death and said to him, 'Even though I have made you world ruler over all of my creatures, you have no business with this nation. Why? For they are my children.' That is in line with the following verse of Scripture: 'You are the children of the Lord your God'" (Deut. 14:1).
D. And it says, "And it happened that when you heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness" (Deut. 5:20).
E. Now was there darkness above? And is it not written, "And the light dwells with Him" (Dan. 2:22)?
F. That (D) refers to the angel who is called, "Darkness."

At Sinai, for the brief moment from the mass declaration, "We shall do and we shall obey," death died. But when Israel rebelled as Moses tarried on the mountain, sin took over, and the process of alienation from God got under way. Later on, we shall learn when and how death again will die, marking the end of time and change that commenced with Adam's sin. But the main point is clear. Death, exile, suffering, and illness do not belong to the order of nature; they

have come about by reason of sin. Israel was exempt from them all when they accepted the Torah. But when they sinned, they returned to the natural condition of unredeemed man. A basic rationality then explains the human condition: people bring about their own fate. They possess the power to dictate their own destiny—by giving up the power to dictate to God.

But this same mode of thinking about God and man in the context of man's sin yields a quite separate account. The same matter of God's progressive alienation is stated, moreover, in relationship to humanity at large, rather than the Temple, City, and Land. But if the alienation from sinning humanity forms the motif, then Israel takes a different position in the journey; Israel in this account forms the medium for bringing God back into the world. That stands to reason, for it is through Israel that God relates to all humanity, and only to Israel that God has given the Torah; indeed, Israel is defined as those who have accepted the Torah. Hence if God abandons Israel, it is not to take up a location in some other place of humanity, but to give up humanity. God yearns for Israel, but Israel is estranged—why is that the case? The explanation appeals to Israel's sin. The same explanation, in more explicit language, emerges in the account of how God departed from the world. The estrangement took place by reason of the sins of one generation after another. Then the merit of successive generations of Israel brought God back to the world.

Both the question and the answer derive from the sustaining system. The two accounts—God leaves the world by reason of man's sin, is brought back through Israel's saints, God leaves the world by reason of Israel's sin but can be restored to the world by Israel's act of repentance—match. They conform to the theory of Israel as the counterpart to Man, the other Adam, the Land as counterpart to Eden, and, now we see, the exile of Israel as counterpart to the fall of Man. The first set—God abandons the Temple—without the second story would leave an imbalance; only when the one story is told in the setting of the other does the theology make its complete statement.

II. REPENTANCE

The logic of repentance is simple and familiar. It is a logic that appeals to the balance and proportion of all things. If sin is what introduces rebellion and change, and the will of man is what

constitutes the variable in disrupting creation, then the theology of the Oral Torah makes provision for restoration through the free exercise of man's will. That requires an attitude of remorse, a resolve not to repeat the act of rebellion, and a good-faith effort at reparation, in all, transformation from rebellion against to obedience to God's will. So with repentance we come once more to an exact application of the principle of measure for measure, here, will for will, each comparable to, corresponding with, the other. World order, disrupted by an act of will, regains perfection through an act of will that complements and corresponds to the initial, rebellious one. That is realized in an act of willful repentance (Hebrew: *teshubah*).

Repentance, a statement of regret and remorse for the sin one has committed and hence an act of will, in the Oral Torah effects the required transformation of man and inaugurates reconciliation with God. Through a matched act of will, now in conformity with God's design for creation, repentance therefore restores the balance upset by man's act of will. So the act of repentance, and with it atonement, takes its place within the theology of perfection, disruption, and restoration, that all together organizes—shows the order of—the world of creation.

Apology does not suffice; an atoning act also is required. That is why repentance is closely related to the categories, atonement and Day of Atonement, and integral to them. The one in the cult, the other in the passage of time, respond to the change of will with an act of confirmation, on God's part, that the change is accepted, recognized, and deemed affective. That is because, through the act of repentance, a person who has sinned leaves the status of sinner, but must also atone for the sin and gain forgiveness, so that such a person is no longer deemed a sinner. Self-evidently, within a system built on the dialectics of competing wills, God's and man's, repentance comes first in the path to reconciliation. That is because the act of will involves a statement of regret or remorse, resolve never to repeat the act, and, finally, the test of this change of heart or will (where feasible). Specifically, it is a trial of entering a situation in which the original sin is possible but is not repeated. Then the statement of remorse and voluntary change of will is confirmed by an act of omission or commission, as the case requires.

Followed by atonement, therefore, repentance commences the work of closing off the effects of sin: history, time, change, inequity. It marks the beginning of the labor of restoring creation to Eden: the perfect world as God wants it and creates it. Since the Hebrew word, *teshubah*, is built out of the root for return, the concept is generally understood to mean, returning to God from a situation of estrangement. The turning is not only from sin but toward God, for sin serves as an indicator of a deeper pathology, which is, utter estrangement from God—man's will alienated from God's.

Teshubah then involves not humiliation but reaffirmation of the self in God's image, after God's likeness. It follows that repentance forms a theological category encompassing moral issues of action and attitude, wrong action, arrogant attitude, in particular. Repentance forms a step in the path to God that starts with the estrangement represented by sin: doing what I want, instead of what God wants, thus rebellion and arrogance. Sin precipitates punishment, whether personal for individuals or historical for nations, punishment brings about repentance for sin, which, in turn, leads to atonement for sin and, it follows, reconciliation with God. That sequence of stages in the moral regeneration of sinful humanity, individual or collective, defines the context in which repentance finds its natural home.

As much as mercy completes the principle of justice, so repentance forms the complement to sin; without mercy, represented here by the possibility of repentance, justice as God defines justice cannot endure. For were man to regret sin and see things in God's way without a corresponding response from God, God would execute justice but not mercy, and, from sages' perspective, the world would fall out of balance. To them, therefore, it is urgent that God have his own distinctive message to the sinner, separate from the voices of Wisdom, Prophecy, and even the Pentateuch (the Torah narrowly defined), of the Written Torah:

Yerushalmi-tractate Makkot 2:6 I:4/10a

A. Said R. Phineas: "' Good and upright [is the Lord; therefore he instructs sinners in the way]' (Ps 25:8).
B. "Why is he good? Because he is upright.
C. "And why is he upright? Because he is good.
D. "'Therefore he instructs sinners in the way—that is, he teaches them the way to repentance."

Now we interrogate the great compendia of God's will, Wisdom, Prophecy, then turn to God himself, and ask how to treat the sinner:

> E. They asked wisdom, "As to a sinner, what is his punishment?"
> F. She said to them, "Evil pursues the evil" (Prov 13:21).
> G. They asked prophecy, "As to a sinner, what is his punishment?"
> H. She said to them, "The soul that sins shall die" (Ezek 18:20).
> I. They asked the Holy One, blessed be he, "As to a sinner, what is his punishment?"
> J. He said to them, "Let the sinner repent, and his sin will be forgiven for him."
> K. This is in line with the following verse of Scripture: "Therefore he instructs sinners in the way" (Ps 25:8).
> L. "He shows the sinners the way to repentance."

The response of wisdom presents no surprise; it is the familiar principle of measure for measure, and prophecy concurs, but God has something more to say. Accordingly, the proposition concerns the distinctive mercy of God, above even the Torah. The data for the composition, E-L, respond to the question that is addressed to the components of the Torah, that is, what does prophecy say about the punishment of the sinner? But the question is prior, and the question forms part of the systemic plan: to demonstrate the uniquely merciful character of God, the way in which God is God.

The act of repentance commences with the sinner, but then compels divine response; the attitude of the penitent governs, the motive—love, fear—making the difference. The power of repentance to win God over, even after recurring sin, forms the leading theme—the leitmotif—of the composite. Israel's own redemption depends upon Israel's repentance. The concluding statement proves most concrete. Repentance takes place when the one who has sinned and declares his regret ("in words") faces the opportunity of repeating the sinful action but this time refrains, so No. 14. That we deal with the critical nexus in the relationship between God and humanity emerges in one composition after another, e.g., repentance overrides negative commandments of the Torah (the more important kind); brings redemption; changes the character of the already-committed sins; lengthens the life of the penitent. Not only so, but the power of repentance before the loving God of grace is such that mere words suffice. The upshot is, we deal with a matter of attitude that comes to the surface in concrete statements; but as to deeds, the

penitent cannot repeat the sin, so no deed can be required; the penitent has a more difficult task: not to do again what he has done before.

But repentance is a far cry from loving and forgiving one's unrepentant enemy. God forgives sinners who atone and repent and asks of humanity that same act of grace—but no greater. For forgiveness without a prior act of repentance violates the rule of justice but also humiliates the law of mercy, cheapening and trivializing the superhuman act of forgiveness by treating as compulsive what is an act of human, and divine, grace. Sin is to be punished, but repentance is to be responded to with forgiveness, as the written Torah states explicitly: "You shall not bear a grudge nor pursue a dispute beyond reason, nor hate your brother in your heart, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev 19:18). The role of the sinful other is to repent, the task of the sinned-against is to respond to and accept repentance, at which point, loving one's neighbor as oneself becomes the just person's duty, so repentance forms the critical center of the moral transaction in a contentious and willful world.

III. ATONEMENT

So much for repentance, testimony to the deep logic of a theology that aims at the perfection of creation, as God originally made it, and that finds in man's intentionality the cause for the imperfections in creation. Earlier we noted that repentance marked only one stage on the path toward the restoration, but that atonement defined the next step. We now consider atonement in its own terms.

Repentance is the precondition of atonement; there is no atonement without the statement of remorse and appropriate, confirming action. If one rebels against God's rule and does not repent, no atonement is possible. But if he does repent, then the Day of Atonement effects atonement for him, so

Bavli-tractate Shebuot 1:1ff. XVI.2/13A

> D. Rabbi says, "For all of the transgressions that are listed in the Torah, whether one has repented or not repented, the Day of Atonement attains atonement, except for one who breaks the yoke [of the kingdom of heaven from himself, meaning, denies God] and one who treats the Torah impudently, and the one who violates the physical mark of the covenant. In these cases if one has repented,

the Day of Atonement attains atonement, and if not, the Day of Atonement does not attain atonement."

Two other media of atonement for sin are death, on the one side, and the advent of the Day of Atonement, which accomplishes atonement: "For on this day atonement shall be made for you to cleanse you of all your sins" (Lev 16:30). Death marks the final atonement for sin, which bears its implication for the condition of man at the resurrection. Because one has atoned through sin (accompanied at the hour of death by a statement of repentance, "May my death be atonement for all my sins," in the liturgy in due course), when he is raised from the dead, his atonement for all his sins is complete. The judgment after resurrection becomes for most a formality. That is why "all Israel has a portion in the world to come," with the exception of a few whose sins are not atoned for by death, and that is by their own word. The Day of Atonement provides atonement, as the Written Torah makes explicit, for the sins of the year for which one has repented, and that accounts for the elaborate rites of confession that fill the day. Here is how the media of atonement of death, for a lifetime, and the Day of Atonement, for the year just past, are sorted out:

Mishnah-tractate Yoma 8:8-9

8:8

A. A sin offering and an unconditional guilt offering atone.
B. Death and the Day of Atonement atone when joined with repentance.
C. Repentance atones for minor transgressions of positive and negative commandments.
D. And as to serious transgressions, [repentance] suspends the punishment until the Day of Atonement comes along and atones.

8:9

A. He who says, "I shall sin and repent, sin and repent"—
B. they give him no chance to do repentance.
C. [If he said,] "I will sin and the Day of Atonement will atone," —the Day of Atonement does not atone.
D. For transgressions done between man and the Omnipresent, the Day of Atonement atones.
E. For transgressions between man and man, the Day of Atonement atones, only if the man will regain the good will of his friend.

The first statement sorts out the workings of repentance, death, the Day of Atonement, and atonement. We see that repentance on its own

serves for the violation of commandments, for that involves God; when another man is involved in a man's sin, then the this-worldly counterpart to repentance, which is reparation and reconciliation, is required. The formulation underscores the tight weaving of the several components of a single tapestry.

First comes inadvertent sin, acts that violate God's will but are not done intentionally. A sin offering in the Temple in Jerusalem, presented for unintentional sins, atones, and therein we find the beginning of the definition of repentance. It lies in the contrast between the sin-offering at A, that is, atonement for unintentional sin, and those things that atone for intentional sin, which are two events, on the one side, and the expression of right attitude, *teshubah*, returning to God, on the other. The role of repentance emerges in the contrast with the sin-offering; what atones for what is inadvertent has no bearing upon what is deliberate. The willful sin can be atoned for only if repentance has taken place, that is to say, genuine regret, a turning away from the sin, after the fact therefore transforming the sin from one that is deliberate to one that is, if not unintentional beforehand, then at least, unintentional afterward. Then death, on the one side, or the Day of Atonement, on the other, work their enchantment.

By atonement sages understand an act or event (death or the Day of Atonement in particular) that removes the effects of sin by bringing about God's forgiveness of sin. The forms of the Hebrew based on the root KPR do not exhaust the category, for any action that produces the result of removing the effect of a sin will fit into that category, whether or not labeled an act of *kapparah*. The principal categorical component is the atonement brought about by the advent of the Day of Atonement. So, for instance, on that day the high priest, representing all Israel, brings about atonement through the rites of the Day of Atonement, beginning with the confession. Scripture presents diverse facts on a given sin, the penalty thereof, and the media of remission of the penalty, and reason and exegesis then make possible the classification of those facts into a coherent whole:

Tosefta-tractate Kippurim 4:6-8

T. Kip. 4:6 A. R. Ishmael says, "There are four kinds of atonement.
B. "[If] one has violated a positive commandment but repented, he hardly moves from his place before he is forgiven [lit.: they forgive

him],
C. "since it is said, 'Return, backsliding children. I will heal your backsliding' (Jer 3:22).

4:7 A. "[If] he has violated a negative commandment but repented, repentance suspends the punishment, and the Day of Atonement effects atonement,
B. "since it is said, 'For that day will effect atonement for you (Lev 16:30).

4:8 A. "[If] he has violated [a rule for which the punishment is] extirpation or death at the hands of an earthly court, but repented, repentance and the Day of Atonement suspend [the punishment], and suffering on the other days of the year will wipe away [the sin],
B. "since it says, 'Then will I visit their transgression with a rod' (Ps. 89:32).
C. "But he through whom the Name of Heaven is profaned deliberately but who repented—repentance does not have power to suspend [the punishment], nor the Day of Atonement to atone,
D. "but repentance and the Day of Atonement atone for a third, suffering atones for a third, and death wipes away the sin, with suffering,
E. "and on such a matter it is said, 'Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you until you die' (Isa 22:14)."

The four kinds of atonement are worked out in their own systematic and logical terms, but the verses of Scripture then contribute to the validation of the classification-scheme. There is a grid established by positive and negative commandments, intersecting with the matter of repentance; then there is the grid established by the kind of penalty —extirpation or the earthly court's death sentence; here repentance and the Day of Atonement form the intersecting grid; and then there is the matter of the profanation of the divine name, in which case repentance and the Day of Atonement come into play along with suffering and death. So the point of differentiation is established by appeal to the type of sin, on the one side, and the pertinent penalties, on the second, and the effects of media of atonement—repentance, death, Day of Atonement, suffering. The entire complex exhibits the traits of mind that we have met many times: systematic classification by indicative traits, an interest in balance, order, complementarity, and commensurate proportionality.

So much for the individual Israelite, what about the community of Israel viewed whole? That all Israel may and should engage in acts of

repentance and atonement hardly requires articulation; it is taken for granted in every discussion of the Day of Atonement, which speaks of the community as much as of the private person. So from the individual sinner, the Israelite, we take up that other category of world order, the whole of holy Israel. If God's mercy for the individual sinner vastly outweighs the guilt of the sinner, then all the more so does God treat Israel with abundant mercy. God forgives Israel's sins, which vastly exceed those of the gentiles.

Now, to move forward: any discussion involving the community of Israel draws in its wake Israel's antonym, the gentiles, that is, the other component of humanity viewed whole. Now here, surely, the nations of the world lay claim to a place in the process of reconciliation. But their condition is defined not by particular acts of rebellion against God, e.g., gossip or transgression of other laws of the Torah, but rather by the condition of idolatry, an act of rebellion that transcends all details. And to overcome their condition, the gentiles have to give up idolatry and accept the Torah, the statement of God's will. Short of doing so, no repentance is possible, no atonement even relevant. That basic definition of the gentiles explains why, in being accorded the opportunity for repentance, Israel gains a role in shaping the destiny of the cosmos; in being denied that opportunity (except so far as they give up their idols and become Israel), the nations remain bystanders to the drama of creation.

Quite naturally, therefore, the nations raise the question of why Israel should be forgiven by the Day of Atonement, when they do not enjoy the same advantage. The nations of the world indict Israel for committing the same sins that the nations practice, but the Day of Atonement effects atonement for Israel:

Leviticus Rabbah XXI:IV.1

A. Rabbis interpret [the intersecting] verse ["The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? [The Lord is the stronghold of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?]" (Ps 27:1)] to speak of the New Year and Day of Atonement:
B. "'My light' [Ps 27:1] is on the New Year.
C. "'And my salvation' [Ps 27:1] is on the Day of Atonement.
D. "'Whom shall I fear' [Ps 27:1]: 'The Lord is my strength and my song' [Exod 15:2].

E. "'When evildoers come near me' [Ps 27:2] refers to the princes [of heaven] who represent the nations of the world.

As a matter of fact, Israel in ordinary life is neither better than, nor different from the nations. In committing the cardinal, absolute sins of murder, fornication, and idolatry, Israel rebels against God. But Israel repents and atones through the act of repentance and the Day of Atonement, so these effects atonement for Israel, while the gentiles are excluded. Why is this so?

F. "'To eat my flesh' [Ps 27:2]: For the princes representing the nations of the world come and draw an indictment against Israel before the Holy One, blessed be he, saying before him, 'Lord of the world, these [nations] practice idolatry and those [Jews] practice idolatry. These practice fornication and those practice fornication. These shed blood and those shed blood. Why then do these [nations of the world] go down to Gehenna and those do not go down?'
G. "'My adversaries and foes' [Ps 27:2]: You find that the number of days in the solar year are three hundred sixty-five, but the number of names of Satan are three hundred and sixty-four.
H. "For on all the days of the year, Satan is able to draw up an indictment, but on the Day of Atonement, Satan is not able to draw up an indictment.
I. "Said the Israelites before the Holy One, blessed be he, 'Though a host encamp against me'—the host of the nations of the world,
J. "'My heart shall not fear' [Ps 27:3].
K. "'Though war arise against me'—the war of the nations of the world.
L. "'In this I shall trust' [Ps 27:3].
M. "In this which you have promised me: 'With this will Aaron come' [Lev 16:3] [on the Day of Atonement]."

The Day of Atonement is transformed into the occasion for an act of trust, so that, with the Day of Atonement, Israel is accorded atonement despite its actions during the rest of the year. The nations of the world, enemies of Israel, on that day cannot send their paraclete against Israel.

IV. RESURRECTION

Throughout the Oral Torah the main point of the theological eschatology—the theory of last things—registers both negatively and affirmatively. Death does not mark the end of the individual human life, nor exile the last stop in the journey of Holy Israel. Israelites

will live in the age or the world to come, all Israel in the Land of Israel; and Israel will comprehend all who know the one true God. The restoration of world order that completes the demonstration of God's justice encompasses both private life and the domain of all Israel. For both restorationist theology provides eternal life; to be Israel means to live. So far as the individual is concerned, beyond the grave, at a determinate moment, man [1] rises from the grave in resurrection, [2] is judged, and [3] enjoys the world to come. For the entirety of Israel, congruently: all Israel participates in the resurrection, which takes place in the Land of Israel, and enters the world to come.

Restorationist eschatology flows from the same cogent logic that has dictated theological doctrine from the beginning of this systematic account. The last things are to be known from the first. In the just plan of creation man was meant to live in Eden, and Israel in the Land of Israel in time without end. The restoration will bring about that long and tragically-postponed perfection of the world order, sealing the demonstration of the justice of God's plan for creation. Risen from the dead, having atoned through death, as we just saw, man will be judged in accord with his deeds. Israel for its part, when it repents and conforms its will to God's, recovers its Eden. So the consequences of rebellion and sin having been overcome, the struggle of man's will and God's word having been resolved, God's original plan will be realized at the last. The simple, global logic of the system, with its focus on the world order of justice established by God but disrupted by man, leads inexorably to this eschatology of restoration, the restoration of balance, order, proportion—eternity.

A sequence of virtues, properly carried out, will lead to the resurrection of the dead, which forms a natural next step beyond this world's life. No radical caesura interrupts the course of affairs, but this-worldly traits, for example, cleanness, abstinence, holiness, modesty, and the like, carry directly to other-worldly events, the encounter with the Holy Spirit, the resurrection of the dead, and onward:

Mishnah-tractate Sotah 9:15

> MM. R. Pinhas b. Yair says, "Heedfulness leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to cleanness, cleanness leads to abstinence, abstinence leads to holiness, holiness leads to modesty, modesty

> leads to the fear of sin, the fear of sin leads to piety, piety leads to the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead, and the resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah, blessed be his memory, Amen."]

The passage is amplified with the provision of data from the Written Torah in the following extension, which links to Scripture each rung in the ladder upward to the resurrection of the dead.

The first component of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead—belief both that the resurrection of the dead will take place and that it is the Torah that reveals that the dead will rise are fundamental to the Oral Torah—is fully exposed in a fundamental composition devoted by the framers of the Mishnah to that subject. The components of the doctrine fit together, in that statement, in a logical order. [1] In a predictable application of the governing principle of measure for measure, those who do not believe in the resurrection of the dead will be punished by being denied what they do not accept. Some few others bear the same fate. [2] But to be Israel means to rise from the grave, and that applies to all Israelites. That is to say, the given of the condition of Israel is that the entire holy people will enter the world to come, which is to say, will enjoy the resurrection of the dead and eternal life. "Israel" then is anticipated to be the people of eternity. [3] Excluded from the category of resurrection and the world to come, then, are only those who by their own sins have denied themselves that benefit. These are those that deny that the teaching of the world to come derives from the Torah, or who deny that the Torah comes from God, or hedonists. Exegesis of Scripture also yields the names of three kings who will not be resurrected, as well as four commoners; also specified generations: the flood, the dispersion, and Sodom, the generation of the wilderness, the party of Korah, and the Ten Tribes:

Mishnah-tractate Sanhedrin 10:1
[Bavli-tractate Sanhedrin 11:1]

> A. All Israelites have a share in the world to come,
> B. as it is said, "Your people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified" (Isa 60:21).

That single statement serves better than any other to define Israel in the Oral Torah. Now we forthwith take up exceptions:

C. And these are the ones who have no portion in the world to come:
D. He who says, the resurrection of the dead is a teaching which does not derive from the Torah, and the Torah does not come from Heaven; and an Epicurean.
E. R. Aqiba says, "Also: He who reads in heretical books,
F. "and he who whispers over a wound and says, 'I will put none of the diseases upon you which I have put on the Egyptians, for I am the Lord who heals you' (Exod 15:26)."
G. Abba Saul says, "Also: He who pronounces the divine Name as it is spelled out."

From classes of persons, we turn to specified individuals who are denied a place within Israel and entry in the world to come; all but one are Israelites, and the exception, Balaam, has a special relation to Israel, as the gentile prophet who came to curse but ended with a blessing:

Mishnah-tractate Sanhedrin 10:2

A. Three kings and four ordinary folk have no portion in the world to come.
B. Three kings: Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh.
C. R. Judah says, "Manasseh has a portion in the world to come,
D. "since it is said, 'And he prayed to him and he was entreated of him and heard his supplication and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom' (2 Chr 33:13)."
E. They said to him, "To his kingdom he brought him back, but to the life of the world to come he did not bring him back."
F. Four ordinary folk: Balaam, Doeg, Ahitophel, and Gehazi.

Then come entire generations of gentiles before Abraham, who might have been considered for eternal life outside of the framework of God's self-manifestation, first to Abraham, then in the Torah. These are the standard sets, the Generation of the Flood, the Generation of the Dispersion, and the Men of Sodom.

What of the Messiah? The Messiah figures at every point in the categorical structure of the Oral Torah's eschatological thinking: [1] troubles attendant upon the coming of the Messiah, which either do or do not bring about Israelite [2] repentance, as we have already seen, leading to [3] resurrection, and a task then to be performed [4] the world to come. But, important in two free-standing categories (resurrection, world to come) and a presence in the third (repentance), on its own account the Messiah-theme simply does not

coalesce into an autonomous category. That theme certainly does not define a categorical imperative in the way that Israel and the gentiles, complementarity and correspondence, and the eschatological categories, sin and atonement, resurrection and the world to come, all do. By contrast, to take a specific case, the gentiles and idolatry encompass a broad range of data, interact with other categories, form a focus of thought and a logical center; but they cannot then be reduced to some other categories, e.g., Israel and the Torah, private life, repentance. For its part the Messiah-theme forms a subset of several categories and by itself does not take up an autonomous presence in the theology of the Oral Torah. The Messiah-theme fits into the primary categories but is itself divisible among them.

Not only is there no categorical imperative identified with the Messiah-theme. There also is no logic that affords structure and system to that theme, no Rabbinic Messiology, in the way in which, as we have seen, there certainly is a Rabbinic theological anthropology (for one example). Not only so, but, as the structure of the theology of the Oral Torah has gradually taken shape in these pages, we have recognized that each category—Israel and the Torah, gentiles and idolatry, for instance—claims its place in the larger system, and, as we have seen time and again, denied a place, and a particular order in the larger sequence of categories, a necessary category can render the entire system null. To make the point in the simplest possible way: we cannot imagine a Christianity without (a) Christology. Here we have a Judaism in which the Messiah-theme in the eschatological framework takes on significance only in contexts defined by other categories altogether. That he comes and goes, appears and then passes from the scene, in fact is not a single figure but two (or more) marks his systemic subordination, the Messiah-theme's categorical inadequacy.

That fact is born out by the first and most important element of theological thinking about the Messiah-theme: the multiplicity of Messiahs, even in the eschatological setting—the multiplicity and also the transience. Like Elijah, the Messiah is forerunner and precursor, but he is hardly an enduring player in the eschatological drama. Only God is. Time and again we shall see that the Messiah refers back to God for instructions on what he is to do. A mark of categorical subordination of the Messiah-theme is the diversity of Messiahs, each with his own story. One Messiah comes out of the line of Joseph,

another out of the line of David. Both Messiahs (and others in that same classification, for example, the Messiah who is anointed to be high priest in charge of the army [Deut 20:2-7, *m. Sota* 8]), are mortal and subject to the human condition. One Messiah is murdered, replaced by another. The Messiah, moreover, is subject to the impulse to do evil, like any other man. The Messiah plays a transient role in the eschatological drama. People want the Messiah to come—that is the premise of the stories told in connection with repentance—but that is only because he will inaugurate the eschatological drama, not because, on his own, he will bring the drama to its conclusion. Only God will.

Most strikingly, the Messiah-theme plays itself out not only in the eschatological categories but in those that concern sin and the evil inclination. This presentation of the theme is accomplished through a complex composite at *b. Sukk.* 5:1D–5:4. I cite the passage because, when we come to Paul's thinking about the atoning power of Christ on the cross, the contrast will illuminate our exercise of comparison. The theory of sin, its origins and character and definition, proves critical, but so too the standing of the Messiah. The Mishnah-passage there invites from the framers of the Talmud's composite some comments on the "evil inclination," which in this context refers to libido in particular. Then we have a rather substantial discussion of sexuality. But a second look shows us that the composite concerns not sexual misbehavior or desire therefor, so much as the Messiah-theme. Here we find the allegation that the Messiah son of Joseph was killed because of the evil inclination; the Messiah son of David will be saved by God; the evil inclination then is made the counterweight to the Messiah and a threat to his survival. It is overcome, however, by study of the Torah. The composite is hardly coherent in detail, but its thematic program—Torah, Messiah, in the context of the Festival of Tabernacles—imposes upon the topic of the Mishnah-paragraph a quite different perspective from that set forth in the Mishnah itself:

Mishnah-tractate Sukkah 5:1D-5:4 II.3ff./52a-b

3. A. [With regard to "And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart" (Zech 12:12),] What was the reason for the mourning [to which reference is made in Zechariah's statement]?
B. R. Dosa and rabbis differed on this matter.

C. One said, "It is on account of the Messiah, the son of Joseph, who was killed."
D. And the other said, "It is on account of the evil inclination, which was killed."

The dispute balances the death of the Messiah against the death of the inclination to do evil, though these surely are opposites, and that leads to the inquiry, why should the land mourn at the death of the latter?

E. Now in the view of him who said, "It is on account of the Messiah, the son of Joseph, who was killed," we can make sense of the following verse of Scripture: "And they shall look on me because they have thrust him through, and they shall mourn for him as one mourns for his only son" (Zech 12:10).
F. But in the view of him who has said, "It is on account of the evil inclination, which was killed," should this be an occasion for mourning? It should be an occasion for rejoicing. Why then should [the people] have wept?

The eschatological drama now comes into play: the disposition of the inclination to do evil at the end of days, which is to say, the key-action in the restoration of Eden, God's own intervention in securing for man the capacity to carry out God's will without obstacle:

G. [The answer] is in accord with the exposition of R. Judah: "In the time to come, the Holy One, blessed be he, will bring the evil inclination and slay it before the righteous and before the wicked.
L. "And so too the Holy One, blessed be he, will share their amazement, as it is said, "'Thus says the Lord of Hosts. If it be marvelous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in those days, it shall also be marvelous in my eyes' (Zech 8:6)."

So much for the Messiah son of Joseph, now what of the Messiah son of David, and how does he relate to the events just now portrayed?

5. A. Our rabbis have taught on Tannaite authority:
B. To the Messiah, son of David, who is destined to be revealed—speedily, in our days!—the Holy One, blessed be he, will say, "Ask something from me, and I shall give it to you."
C. So it is said, "I will tell of the decree... this day have I begotten you, ask of me and I will give the nations for your inheritance" (Ps 2:7-8).
D. When [the Messiah, son of David] sees the Messiah, son of Joseph, killed, he will say before [God], "Lord of the Age, I ask of you only life."

> E. He will say to him, "Life? Before you spoke of it, David your father had already prophesied about you, as it is said, 'He asked life of you, you gave it to him, [even length of days forever and ever'] (Ps 21:5)."

Here the Messiah-theme works itself out in the story of two Messiahs, one who was killed, the other not. This latter Messiah is the one who will participate in the process of the end of time, beginning with the resurrection.

The Messiah is linked to the resurrection of the dead, which inaugurates the period culminating in the world to come. But even here the Messiah—the one who descends from David—whose advent will mark the resurrection will not play an on-going, enduring role in the eschatological process; he is a subordinated figure. That fact underscores what we have noticed about the Messiah-theme's not forming a category unto itself but serving to fill out details in autonomous categories. For one thing, his role is limited, a determinate stage in the coming age.

Who bears responsibility for raising the dead? It is Israel, that point is made time and again when pertinent. Israel's own repentance will provide the occasion, and God will do the rest. It is when Israel has repented that the Messiah will come. It follows that the Messiah's advent and activity depend upon Israel, not on the Messiah's own autonomous decision, character, and behavior. Israel decides issues of its own attitude toward God and repents, God decides to respond to the change in will. But not a comparable, categorical imperative, the Messiah only responds to Israel's decision on when he should make his appearance to signal the change in the condition of mankind, and the Messiah responds to God's decision.

V. THE PERSPECTIVE OF RABBINIC THEOLOGY ON THE VIEWS OF JAMES AND PAUL

Comparison always draws us beyond the boundaries of our knowledge and even to the far side of competence. But the boundaries are guarded by those who know, and the competent can be relied on to highlight our ignorance. With that apology, I make a few self-evident observations. They concern a grid for comparison and contrast, a set of positions upon a common set of issues. I have already defined the issues out of the resources of Rabbinic Judaism, responding to the generative logic that defines the category-

formations and assigns to them meaning. These category-formations, as I have now demonstrated, form a necessary, linked sequence: [1] sin through rebellion, [2] repentance through an act of will confirmed by deed, [3] atonement through the compensation of such atoning media as personal suffering, the Day of Atonement, and death, and [4] the merciful outcome, resurrection from the grave and then "standing in judgment," meaning, surviving the last accounting, followed by [5] restoration to life, now for all eternity.

When we turn to the Letter of James,[1] Chapters One and Two, we find a comparable set of category-formations, but vastly recast. I find a clear doctrine of a judgment at James 1:12: "Blessed is the man who endures trial, for when he has stood the test he will receive the crown of life that God has promised to those who love him." But whether or not the judgment is eschatological, and whether it follows the resurrection of the dead, are not equivalently clear. Man bears full responsibility for his sins: "Let no one say, 'I am tempted by God,' . . . but each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire. Then desire . . . gives birth to sin, and sin when it is full-grown brings forth death." I find no difficulty in identifying the theory of sin due to the impulse to do evil (*yeser hara*) of the Rabbinic system with the formulation at hand. And I deem it self-evident that death punishes sin. What about this matter of "standing the test," which I identify with "standing in judgment"? The context does not suggest that the author of the Letter has in mind a transaction beyond the grave. For "standing the test . . . receiving the crown . . ." is followed by an account of self-exculpation for sin: "Let no one say when he is tempted, 'I am tempted by God.'" That turning suggests we deal with judgment in this life, at death, not after resurrection.

If James were asked to comment on the Rabbinic system of sin, repentance, atonement, and resurrection, what component, from his perspective, would capture his attention? To me it is obvious that he would find much satisfaction in the definition of repentance, which involves not only a revision of a wrong attitude but also corrective action; so too atonement not only through an act of will but also

[1] I cite from Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (eds.), *The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Version* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

through atoning media of activity, human and divine. The Rabbinic system does not contemplate that will without works matters. Attitude without action is null: "Faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead (James 2:17). Repentance requires correcting the deed wrongly done. Atonement demands a process of suffering. Well would the Rabbinic sages have approved the formulation, "Show me your faith apart from your works, and I by my works will show you my faith" (James 2:18). But both for James and for the Rabbinic sages, the matter of salvation by faith and works proves only tangential to the matter of atonement. It is not the focus of the doctrine of repentance, only an axiom built into that doctrine.

If, then, I had to compare James's with the Rabbinic doctrine of sin, repentance, atonement, judgment and resurrection, I would claim that the two systems are symmetrical in their category-formations and nigh unto proportionate as well. The principal point of difference lies in the sages' promise of life beyond the grave, marking the eschaton, while for James "the crown of life" does not come only at the end of days, beyond the grave. But otherwise, point by point, I find the two formations entirely congruent.

If James' doctrine of sin forms a detail of his larger construction, for Paul at Romans 3–4 it is the center of the matter.[2] From the perspective of the Rabbinic and the Jacobean constructions, the focus of Paul's thinking on the issues of sin, repentance, atonement, resurrection and judgment is quite awry. At issue for Paul is the matter of faith versus works, to which all else is subordinated. Everyone is subject to sin, and the purpose of the Torah is to address that fact. But keeping the works of the Torah forms no antidote to sin: "The righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the Torah, although the Torah and the prophets bear witness to it, the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe" (Rom 3:21-22). If the issue is faith, then sin, repentance, and active acts of atonement form a footnote; they do not comprise the text. And "justification," not beyond the grave but at the grave (so to speak) comes about, as Paul says, not through suffering, nor through the workings of the Day of Atonement, nor through acts of

[2] On Romans 3–4 I consulted H. C. G. Moule, *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1902) 78-128.

penitence and repentance, but through faith in the activity of Christ on the cross. Moule is explicit on this point:

> That Law, having spoken its inexorable conditions and having announced the just sentence of death, stands stern and silent beside the now silent offender. It has no commission to relieve his fears, to allay his grief, to pay his debts. It's awful, merciful business is to say, "Thou shalt not sin," and "The wages of sin is death." (p. 91)

No provision is made, in Paul's representation of matters, for repentance and atonement. For those considerations to enter in, the matter of justification takes over, and defines its own dynamics. And the meaning of "justification" is straight-forward: "He who 'justifies' you . . . does not educate you or inspire you up to acceptability. He pronounces you acceptable, satisfactory, at peace with Law. And this He does for Another's sake, on account of the Merit of Another . . ." (pp. 96-97). The upshot is, the theology of atonement overspreads Paul's systemic doctrine of sin and repentance, on the one side, judgment and eternal life ("justification") on the other. All sin and fall short: "They are justified by his grace as a gift through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood to be received by faith" (Rom 3:23-25). Again Moule: "He has provided in Him an expiation" (p. 95). So much for the approach of Paul to the issues of sin, repentance, atonement, and resurrection.

If, then, we establish a continuum for the positioning of systems, the Rabbinic, the Jacobean, and the Pauline, we come to a simple and familiar outcome. The Rabbinic and the Jacobean systems sustain comparison and yield contrasts that are subject to systemic explanation. That is, they concur, so where they differ, we can account for the difference by appeal to fundamental traits of the respective constructions. Paul's framing of matters, by contrast, scarcely intersects with the Rabbinic. The two systems represent different people talking about different things. They meet only in the mediating position of James, and that is so only if we read James in the context of Paul, and Paul, of James—by no means required in current scholarship![3]

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[3] But that James and Paul differ on an agendum common to them both is a superficial judgment and offered only as such. For a systematic discussion of the relationship of Paul and James, see Todd C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology: Re-reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic

But that cannot represent our last word on Paul, specifically, that he is asymptotic to James and the Rabbinic corpus. We have to place him into his context as well. When we recall that Paul wrote his letters in full awareness of the atoning rites of the Temple and adopted as his generative metaphor the comparison of Christ on the Cross and the atoning sacrifices of the Temple, we are reminded that the Rabbis composed their construction on the other side of 70. For them, the Temple atonement rites required a living counterpart. But the Temple defined the transaction. The written Torah speaks of atoning offerings in the Temple. Atonement in this age, without the Temple and its offerings, is accomplished through charity, so *b. B. Bat.* 9a (1:5 IV.23): "And said R. Eleazar, 'When the Temple stood, someone would pay off his shekel-offering and achieve atonement. Now that the Temple is not standing, if people give to charity, well and good, but if not, the gentiles will come and take it by force. And even so, that is still regarded for them as an act of righteousness: "I will make your exactors righteousness" (Isa 60:17)'."

To state the upshot simply: Paul finds his place on a continuum with the Temple and its rites of atonement, replacing the animal offerings with the sacrifice of Christ. The Rabbinic system and James's counterpart share a different world altogether—and a correspondingly other theory of atonement. From the matter of atonement, all else flows, fore and aft: the definition of sin, the place of repentance, on the fore-side, and judgment and triumph over death, on the aft-side. And to allude to the matter of the Messiah, for Paul, Christ, not a Messiah, forms the actor, and the action is self-sacrifice on the Cross, yielding atonement for all humanity, here and now, which is the end-time. The Rabbinic system and its Christian counterpart in James's letter are so structured as to find such a formulation of matters unintelligible.

Press, 1996) 47-74, "Anti-Paulinism in James," a balanced and astute judgment indeed. I do not take a position on the matters at issue.

WHY DO WE SUFFER? SUFFERING IN JAMES AND PAUL[1]

Peter H. Davids

While the issue of suffering, or, more particularly, persecution, is more the topic of 1 Peter[2] than either Paul or James, it is clear that both the Pauline literature and James deal with it. Paul reflects most upon suffering, particularly his own suffering, in 2 Corinthians, although he presents relevant material in several of his other letters.[3] James, of course, begins with the issue of suffering and makes a response to suffering a significant part of his closing summary. Both of these authors view suffering from an eschatological perspective, but how they apply that perspective and handle suffering within that perspective differs between them.

SUFFERING IN JAMES

For James the issue of suffering appears in his second verse: "My brothers and sisters, whenever you face trials of any kind, consider it nothing but joy, because you know that the testing of your faith produces endurance; and let endurance have its full effect, so that you may be mature and complete, lacking in nothing" (James 1:2-4). This paragraph starts with a noun of address, the typical device that James uses to introduce a new topic (and thus separate it from the salutation), and immediately plunges into the issue of "trials of any kind" (πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις). When we look at the key

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[1] This article follows a systemic approach to our topic. That is, we are chiefly concerned to see how the various ideas work together within the systemic thought of the given author, and then to compare and contrast those systems. Thus we will grasp one end of the string of the author's thought and follow it through the ball we find it in, rather than trying to show how each idea is similar to or different from those of his contemporaries.

[2] "The focus of this letter [1 Peter] is the innocent suffering of Christian believers and the dilemma this presented concerning the believers' relation to and behavior among hostile outsiders." John H. Elliott, *1 Peter* (AB 37B; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 104.

[3] In fact, the theme appears in 1 Thessalonians and was probably a topic of his reflection much earlier. See Juan Chapa, "Is First Thessalonians a Letter of Consolation?" *NTS* 40 (1994) 150-60, and, for his probable earlier reflection on the topic, Jerry L. Sumney, "Paul's Weakness: An Integral Part of His Conception of Apostleship," *JSNT* 52 (1993) 71-91. It also appears in Galatians. See Ernst Baasland, "Persecution: A Neglected Feature in the Letter to the Galatians," *ST* 38 (1984) 135-50.

term, πειρασμοῖς, we discover that it appears 21 times in the New Testament. Two of these are in James, forming an *inclusio* between Jas 1:2 and 1:12.[4] Two of these are in 1 Peter (1:6 and 4:12; cf. 2 Pet 2:9). Revelation and Hebrews have one each (Rev 3:10; Heb 3:8). But the whole Pauline corpus has only four occurrences (1 Cor 10:13 [2x]; Gal 4:14; 1 Tim 6:9). When the content of the term is examined, it often indicates persecution (Rev 3:10; 2 Pet 2:9; 1 Pet 1:6; 4:12); otherwise it indicates some type of testing,[5] often with the serious implication that it can bring one to fall from or reject the faith (1 Cor 10:13; Gal 4:14; Heb 3:8).[6] The term differs from the πάσχω, πάθημα (which do not appear in James, although they are common enough in 1 Peter) in that these terms refer to the pain of the experience, while our term refers to the aspect of the experience that makes it a test of obedience. Neither word group covers that part of the English / German / French semantic field of suffering that includes illness, except insofar as someone's illness becomes a test for someone else (e.g., Gal 4:14).[7]

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[4] While noting the *inclusion*, we do not intend that Jas 1:13 takes up a different thought, since it uses the verb rather than the noun. Instead we agree with David H. Edgar, *Has God Not Chosen the Poor?* (JSNTsup 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 138-39, that at least the whole of 1:2-18 is a unit. A more detailed rhetorical analysis is found in Luke L. Cheung, *The Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics of the Epistle of James* (Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs; Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2001) 61-67.

[5] Lowe-Nida discusses the term and its related verb under two headings, 27.46, "to try to learn the nature or character of someone or something by submitting such to thorough and extensive testing"; and 88.308, "to endeavor or attempt to cause someone to sin." This is inadequate for two reasons. First, it forces the uses of this term for persecution to be grouped under one or the other of the two headings. Second, it separates the sense of testing from that of trying to lead a person into sin. It is true that the testing may be malevolent or benevolent in that the being initiating the test may wish either a positive or negative outcome for the subject of the test. But other than when God is tested (mostly in the LXX), testing always has the possible outcome of sin/apostasy. That is why only people are tested and not objects (1 Pet 1:7 shifts to δοκιμάζω for gold). See further Heinrich Seesemann, "πεῖρα κτλ.," *TDNT* 6:23-36, where, despite his relatively constant use of "temptation," the testing aspect of our term comes out clearly. In fact, in secular Greek this is the meaning. Cf. Walter Scheider, Colin Brown, "Tempt, Test, Approve," *NIDNTT*.

[6] In 1 Tim 6:9 the term is properly translated "temptations" rather than "tests," but even here the serious nature of the temptations is stressed, for the end result is that they "plunge people into ruin and destruction." The term is never applied to issues where salvation itself is not at least potentially at stake.

[7] Peter H. Davids, *1 Peter* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 36-41, and the longer version in "Sickness and Suffering in the New Testament," in C. Peter Wagner

Where πειρασμός is the most frequent is in the gospel tradition, especially in Luke-Acts. It appears once in the Markan tradition (Mark 14:38 // Matt 26:41 // Luke 22:46), once in "Q" (the Lord's Prayer, Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4), four time in Lukan redaction (Luke 4:13; 8:13; 22:28, 46) and once in Acts (20:19). In each of these situations it refers to hostile actions against the person that have the potential of bringing them to fall from their faith. Luke adds it to the temptation tradition, summing up what the devil had been doing, and this fits with its use in the Lord's Prayer, where the petition's parallel line asks for deliverance from the Evil One. He adds it to the parable of the sower, replacing two Markan terms for persecution. He then makes it clear before reaching Gethsemane that Jesus' ministry life up to that point had been one of "trials" shared by his disciples. Finally Luke expands the warning rebuke of Jesus in Gethsemane that the disciples needed to "[watch and] pray" so as not to "come into the time of trial," by inserting an identical instruction before Jesus begins to pray. In all of these cases they indicate the hardships or persecutions that Jesus or the disciples[8] had suffered or might suffer, with the implication in "Q" and Luke that behind them was the great Evil One himself.[9]

Thus we see in James' language a vocabulary that he shares with the gospels, and especially with Luke.[10] This vocabulary speaks of that type of suffering that one experiences as a result of Christian faith, for it forms a test of faith. What the trials are James will detail later. In 2:6-7 we discover that the implied readers are being

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and F. Douglas Pennoyer (eds.), *Wrestling with Dark Angels* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1990) 213-47.

[8] Acts 20:19 is consistent with the Lukan usage in that by this term the Lukan Paul refers to his persecution by "the Jews."

[9] Hans Conzelmann (*The Theology of St. Luke* [New York: Harper and Row, 1961] 28, and *Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments* [Munich: Kaiser, 1967] 171) argued for a Satan-free period between Luke 4:13 and 22:3: "[Luke 4:13] really means that henceforth there will be no temptations in the life of Jesus. Thus his life as a whole is not regarded as a temptation either" (*Theology of St. Luke*, 28) However, Luke 22:28 appears to dispute this, making all of Jesus' ministry life a testing experience. Nor does Luke 4:13 indicate otherwise, for it only indicates that the devil departed from Jesus "until an opportune time." That is, it indicates Jesus' victory in the contest at hand, but also that he had not done with the devil.

[10] Cf. Patrick J. Hartin, "Call to Be Perfect through Suffering (James 1:2-4): The Concept of Perfection in the Epistle of James and the Sermon on the Mount," *Bib* 77 (1996) 477-92, who sees perfection through suffering as the overriding theme in James, his antecedent being in the Sermon on the Mount.

oppressed and taken before the courts by people who slander the good name called over them (most likely the name of Jesus, which identified the movement). In 5:4, 6 we have the charges repeated in an alternative form, namely that of oppression of workers and judicial condemnation of the righteous. Given that the response to this section (5:7-9) is a call to patient endurance addressed to the implied readers, i.e. part of the response called for in 1:3, we can safely assume that the author views the readers as part of the oppressed group or groups and the oppression as trials / testing.

This external oppression is not identified as coming from the devil. However, there is another type of suffering occurring in James that is traced to demonic origin. This suffering is the inner-communal conflict that threatens the community from within. The first place that this appears, 2:2-4, there is no hint of infernal involvement. Instead, the discrimination against poorer community members is identified as the community acting just as the external oppressor acts. But there is a second form of communal conflict, first addressed in 1:19-21, 26, and then dealt with more fully in chapters three and four. This verbal conflict, described in 3:9, is because the tongue is "set on fire by hell" (3:6). Furthermore, it is a "restless (ἀκατάστατον) evil, full of deadly poison" (3:8). We note that restlessness (or better, disorder) is a characteristic of the demonic. So where does the inspiration for community conflict come from? It is a pseudo-wisdom that is "earthly, unspiritual, devilish" (3:15). In case we miss the connection to the previous conflict, the conflict itself is described in 3:14, 16, with the latter verse repeating "disorder" (now as a noun, ἀκαταστασία) from 3:8. Then in chapter four James again describes community conflict. We assume that the conflict is still largely verbal, although he uses language that, if taken literally, could also indicate physical conflict. For our purposes it makes little difference, for the point is that this is inner-communal conflict, not pressure coming from outside the community. James traces this conflict to their inner drives (about which we will have more to say below where we discuss the origin of sin) and their "friendship with the world" rather than with God. This is decried in terms that equate it with the idolatry of the people of God condemned in the Hebrew scriptures.[11] Though it is

[11] The term "adulteresses" (μοιχαλίδες) is a deliberate recalling of Israel as God's adulterous bride in such scriptures as Hosea 1–3; Ezekiel 16; 23. Unfortunately, many

clear that some Christian writers identified idolatry with the demonic (most notably Paul in 1 Cor 10:20, although Revelation has a similar view), James appears at this point to be focusing on the causes of defection within the individual, an inner idolatry. But then when he calls his readers to repentance he states, after the expected "Submit yourselves therefore to God," "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." In other words, all of the demonic hints that we had picked up earlier in the discussion do appear to have been intentional. While James does not trace extra-communal oppression to the devil, he does see him as involved in inner-communal conflict. We should not press this distinction, for it is possible that he assumed that it was commonly believed that external persecutors were under diabolical control (as in Revelation and in Eph 6:12), but it is interesting that diabolic origin is a consistent undertone in the text. At least in the case of inner-communal conflict James would have agreed with the appropriateness of praying, "And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one."

In introducing the theme of suffering / trials / testing James uses a chain-saying that was a traditional formulation of the church. There are three passages where forms of this chain-saying are found, each in a different body of literature:

Romans 5:3-5	*James 1:2-4*	*1 Peter 1:6-7*
And not only that, but we also boast in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been	My brothers and sisters, whenever you face trials of any kind, consider it nothing but joy, because you know that the testing of your faith produces endurance; and let endurance have its full effect, so that you may be mature and	In this [salvation] you rejoice, even if now for a little while you have had to suffer various trials, so that the genuineness of your faith—being more precious than gold that, though perishable, is tested by

translations obscure this reference. For instance, the NRSV's "Adulterers!" would make one think that the translators had chosen the textual variant μοιχοί, but given that the textual evidence is weak and the reading itself is probably an attempt to correct the text, this translation is most likely a failure to note both the intertextuality and the realities of the ancient culture (where adultery was far easier for a wife than a husband, since any extra-marital sexual contact by the wife constituted adultery, while only extra-marital sexual contact with a married woman constituted adultery for a husband. Furthermore, for him it was a sin against the wronged husband, not against his wife.).

poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us.	complete, lacking in nothing.	fire—may be found to result in praise and glory and honor when Jesus Christ is revealed.
οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλῖψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, [4]ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα. [5]ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν.	Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις, [3]γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν. [4]ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ ἔργον τέλειον ἐχέτω, ἵνα ἦτε τέλειοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι.	ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον ἐστὶν λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

What is clear in this comparison is that this paraenetic tradition was freely formulated by the various authors who used it. In each case the saying starts out with an expression of eschatological joy, but the vocabulary differs among the three authors. Paul uses his characteristic "boasting" terminology. James and 1 Peter use different (and to us, perhaps, clearer) language for eschatological anticipated joy,[12] but each of them also makes a different choice of vocabulary. However, James and 1 Peter share identical terms for suffering, while Paul, as in the case of "boasting," uses his common term (it indicates the suffering of the faithful in twenty-one Pauline passages). Furthermore, James and 1 Peter both add an identical explanatory phrase that makes it clear that the suffering / trials in question are a test of the genuineness of the readers' faith. Paul uses a form of the key term in this phrase, but only later in his chain. On the other hand, Paul and James share the second step in the chain-saying, with only one shift in word order. And both Paul and James extend the saying through steps indicating the development of virtue within this age,

[12] This term comes from J. J. Thomas, "Anfechtung und Vorfreude," *KD* 14 (1968) 183-206, although we do not accept his thesis that James is midrashic.

while 1 Peter skips to the end of the age without intermediate steps and remains with the idea of being approved or genuine at the "revelation of Jesus Christ." Thus what we have is a paraenetic tradition about suffering, which tradition also contained some common expressions. This tradition is freely adapted by various writers to apply to their own circumstances, and in doing so they chose from the vocabulary that fit their style or purpose.

James' point in the use of this saying is that trials / suffering are ultimately good for his readers. First, they produce virtue, namely patient endurance that leads to maturity. Second, they remind one of eschatological blessedness. Here he appears to be depending on some version of the tradition preserved for us in Matt 5:10-11: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you." That is, suffering due to one's faith-commitment not only leads to but is also evidence of heavenly reward. Therefore one can rejoice in the present without denying the reality of the suffering, for the very discomfort one is experiencing is indication that one has a heavenly reward.

This stance is both similar to and different from that of an Amoritic Haggada in *b. Sanh.* 101a (also found in *Mekhilta*):

V. 8 A. Said Rabbah bar Hanah, "When R. Eliezer fell ill, his disciples came in to call on him.

B. He said to them, 'There is great anger in the world [to account for my sickness].'

C. They began to cry, but R. Aqiba began to laugh. They said to him, 'Why are you laughing?'

D. He said to them, 'Why are you crying?'

E. They said to him, 'Is it possible that, when a scroll of the Torah [such as Eliezer] is afflicted with disease, we should not cry?'

F. He said to them, 'For that reason I am laughing. So long as I observed that, as to my master, his wine did not turn to vinegar, his flux was not smitten, his oil did not putrefy, and his honey did not become rancid,

G. I thought to myself, "Perhaps, God forbid, my master has received his reward in this world." But now that I see my master in

> distress, I rejoice [knowing that he will receive his full reward in the world to come.]'
> H. [Eliezer] said to him, 'Aqiba, have I left out anything at all from the whole of the Torah?'
> I. He said to him, '[Indeed so, for] you have taught us, our master, "For there is not a just man upon earth, who does good and does not sin" (Qoh 7:20).'"[13]

A comparison shows two significant differences and one significant similarity. First, in the haggadic narrative the suffering discussed is illness. Even the alternatives suggested by Aqiba are those of natural disasters. Matthew and James are speaking about oppression, in particular that which is related to faithfulness to Jesus. When it comes to discussing illness, James will take a different approach (James 5:14-18).[14] Second, in the haggadic narrative there is the suggestion that the suffering is deserved, even though neither Eliezer nor Aqiba know of any sin that this illness could be associated with. The supposition is that no one is perfect. There is no such assumption in Matthew or James, except when it comes to illness in James, where he does suggest that illness *may* (or may not) be the result of sin (Jas 5:15-16). Third, there is this similarity in that Aqiba rejoices because of the evidence of future reward, not because the pain itself should be enjoyed or because he views it as insignificant. Here we have our similarity in that both Matthew and James are focused on eschatological reward, although James also points to the benefit of ethical development within this age.

Thus in James suffering produces ethical maturity. The main virtue that is developed is that of patient endurance (ὑπομονήν or μακροθυμία), a virtue that Paul also values (it occurs in twelve passages in the Pauline *Hauptbriefe* and three in the Pastorals). Maturity may flow from this patient endurance, but in what way maturity is more than patiently enduring is not specified. Perhaps it is

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[13] Quoted from Jacob Neusner, *The Talmud of Babylonia: An Academic Commentary, Sanhedrin* 2.

[14] This haggada comes in the middle of a discussion of healing, in which God is presented as the healer, although illness in general is traced to a failure to keep the Torah. Thus illness is deserved, but God is a healer anyway. This contrast in the wider context is not dissimilar to James 5:14-15 in that there the Lord in healing the person forgives any sins causing the illness. See further John Christopher Thomas, "The Devil, Disease, and Deliverance: James 5:14-16" (unpublished paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting, 1992).

that one matures in patient endurance by gaining a divine perspective on it. Since James does link a saying about gaining divine wisdom onto his discussion of suffering, maturity may be the gaining of a perspective informed by wisdom.

In his final discussion of suffering James does not go beyond the patient endurance he has previously discussed. Perhaps picking up from the Jesus tradition,[15] he cites the prophets, "As an example of suffering and patience, beloved, take the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord. Indeed we call blessed those who showed endurance." (James 5:10-11a) He then gets specific and cites "the endurance (τὴν ὑπομονὴν) of Job, and you have seen the purpose (τὸ τέλος, possibly better translated as "end result") of the Lord, how the Lord is compassionate and merciful." Here we have a use of the Job traditions we know as enshrined in the *Testament of Job*, for the canonical book says nothing about Job's patient endurance, but the *Testament* revolves around the term.[16] The point of such a virtue is that one waits for divine deliverance. Faithfulness does not appear to be bringing any reward in the present, but one endures because there is a future reward. That is the stance that James takes towards suffering. Theologically there is no problem with suffering for James, since God will bring justice in the end.[17] The problem for him is in encouraging his readers to faithfulness and in keeping the community from fracturing under the pressure of oppression.[18]

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[15] There were, of course, various Jewish uses of the prophets and others as examples. Sirach 44–50 contains a long hymn praising prophets, along with kings and patriarchs, as does 1 Macc 2:51-60. 2 Maccabees devotes large portions to celebrating those who suffered for their faith, although they are not called prophets. There was a particular focus within the Jesus movement on the persecution of the prophets as a precedent for the persecution of Jesus (cf. Matt 23:29-39; Acts 7:52).

[16] We are not assuming that James knew the written form of the *Testament*, although its dating is not so certain that this is impossible. What we are assuming is that the traditions enshrined in the *Testament of Job* were circulating for some time before the work was written and that in some Jewish circles Job was spoken of using the vocabulary that we find in the book. See further Peter H. Davids, "Tradition and Citation in the Epistle of James," in W. Ward Gasque and William Sanford LaSor (eds.), *Scripture, Tradition, and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 117-19.

[17] See Jacob Neusner, "Sin, Repentance, Atonement, and Resurrection," in the present volume, which points to a similar lack of a problem of suffering in Rabbinic Judaism.

[18] It is not clear whether or not James is aware of the connection between external pressure and internal conflict, for he never comments upon it. It is clear that this is a realistic picture in that social systems (whether marriages or larger communities) under external pressure often start to fracture internally, for the anger created by the external

This theological stance affects James' view of God/Christ. In James there is no identification with either God or Christ in the situation of suffering. The individuals with whom one identifies are the prophets / Job (or in other circumstances Abraham, Rahab or Elijah). They are the ones who have blazed the trail of patient endurance. Christ is referred to as exalted Lord and as coming Judge (2:1; 5:9; he is possibly the Lord of 5:7-8).[19] God is referred to as Father (at least once meaning creator, 1:17), as generous (1:5), as the righteous one (i.e. he does not try to cause human beings to fall, 1:13) who gives "us" (new) birth (1:18), but he is also referred to in his role in judgment. He is the one who will establish righteousness (James 1:20; implied in 5:4 as well). Judgment is coming for the believer (2:12-13), for God is lawgiver and judge (4:12). God can be one's enemy (4:4) and he is jealous (4:5). He gives grace, but one must draw near and humble oneself before him to receive it (4:6-10). His decision determines whether or not we live (4:15). There is, then, a picture of God in heaven and at the end of the age, an eschatological God, so to speak. He is involved in history as creator and ruler, acting justly and showing grace, but he enters history as the coming Judge. One does not identify with him; one submits to him. This picture is quite traditional (i.e. it is common in the Hebrew scriptures, which James clearly values and uses), but, as we shall see, it differs from the picture painted by Paul.

SUFFERING IN PAUL

Paul, as we have already noted, does not use with great frequency James' key term for suffering. Like James he connects Satan to testing situations, especially those of married people who refrain from sexual relations (1 Cor 7:5) and of persecution (1 Thess 3:5), and he speaks more directly in such passages about the role of Satan than James does. There is also a Pauline parallel to James in 1 Cor 10:13, where, like James, he points out that God provides a way out of every test. That is, rather than trying to trip human beings up, God is pictured as the one who limits the testing situation to one that is endurable and provides the appropriate way "out" so that the person does not "fall"

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pressure can be displaced internally and under the external stress minor internal weaknesses get amplified.

[19] The Lord of James 5:14-15 may also be Christ, in which case there still remains something of a judging role in that he forgives sins as well as heals.

(the critical thing being not falling as in the examples in the previous verses or being able to endure [ὑπενεγκεῖν rather than James' favorite terms μακροθυμεῖν and ὑπομονή], rather than the test ending). Also like James, Paul is quite cognizant of human weakness, both in people's response to him personally and in their trying to help others (Gal 4:14; 6:1; cf. the desiring wealth as a test in 1 Tim 6:9). That is, human beings succumb in testing situations because of being "blind-sided" by their own weaknesses (see the fuller discussion below). However, given the extensiveness of the Pauline corpus, this is not a huge amount of data. Furthermore, we already noticed that Paul has a different agenda than James: his agenda is not that of defending God; he is not as shy of naming Satan. In fact, we need to widen our search if we are to understand his thinking on suffering.

In Acts 20:18- 24 Paul is presented as discussing his mission:[20]

> You yourselves know how I lived among you the entire time from the first day that I set foot in Asia, serving the Lord with all humility and with tears, enduring the trials that came to me through the plots of the Jews. I did not shrink from doing anything helpful, proclaiming the message to you and teaching you publicly and from house to house, . . . And now, as a captive to the Spirit, I am on my way to Jerusalem, not knowing what will happen to me there, . . . But I do not count my life of any value to myself, if only I may finish my course and the ministry that I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify to the good news of God's grace.

This summary fits with Acts 14:22, "It is through many persecutions [θλίψεων, understood as "types of suffering" or "afflictions" rather than "persecutions" being better translations] that we must enter the kingdom of God." We cite these, for while the vocabulary is Lukan, the two together very nicely summarize Paul's own thought on the presence of suffering in his ministry. His own major comments are somewhat longer, 2 Cor 4:8–5:10, as is his catalogue of his suffering in 2 Cor 11:23-29 (although he would likely also include the shameful incident in 11:30-33).[21]

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[20] See further the analysis of this speech in Steve Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle: The Portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians* (SNTSMS 108; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[21] Since Rudolf Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Distribe* (Vandenhoek & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1910), the Pauline lists have often been looked on as Stoic, but, as Robert Hodgson ("Paul the Apostle and First Century Tribulation Lists," *ZNW* 74 [1983] 59-80) shows, the use of tribulation lists was far more

Paul's catalogue of suffering includes three types of events: (1) there are the hardships that he endured as part of his travel and ministry; i.e., the various dangers involved in travel (2 Cor 11:25-26) and the privations that his ministry led to (2 Cor 11:27). (2) There are also the painful situations that he was involved in as part ministry; i.e., "false brothers and sisters" (2 Cor 11:26) and "daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the churches" (2 Cor 11:28). (3) Finally he mentions direct persecution; i.e., the various punishments he received and the people external to the church who were a danger to him (2 Cor 11:23-26; the shameful situation of 11:30-33 is also a persecution).[22]

The earlier list is structured somewhat differently.[23] There the focus is on the effect of his sufferings on him rather than on their categorization. That is, his sufferings are listed, but in general terms ("afflicted in every way," "perplexed," "persecuted," "struck down"; 2 Cor 4:8-9). His point is that none of these things served to stop or destroy him. Then he reframes the situation: "always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our bodies" (2 Cor 4:10). In the Pauline thought system one grounds life in identification with Christ (e.g., Rom 6:3-4; Gal 2:19-20). Thus the Pauline sufferings are an identification with the death of Jesus (and the mission of the Messianic community that this entails)[24] and the fact that Paul is not overcome by his suffering is a

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general in the first century, occurring in Josephus and other authors as well as Stoics. Indeed, in some ways Paul is closer to Plutarch than to any of the Stoics.

[22] As in James, he does not mention illness in the catalogue. The one place he does mention illness, Gal 4:4, he cites it, as already noted above, as a trail to others, rather than to himself. That, of course, fits the rhetoric of the situation, and could be coincidental, but nowhere else does he clearly mention his own illnesses as one of the things he suffered.

[23] Anthony E. Harvey, *Renewal through Suffering: a study of 2 Corinthians* (Studies of the New Testament and its World; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) focuses on this passage in detail.

[24] So also Col 1:24, "I am now rejoicing in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I am completing what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church." On this verse see Richard J. Bauckham, "Colossians 1:24 again: The Apocalyptic Motif," *EvQ* 47 (1975) 168-70, whose position is more cogent than that of Henry Gustafson, "The Afflictions of Christ: What is Lacking?," *BR* 8 (1963) 28-42; Roy Yates, "A Note on Colossians 1:24," *EvQ* 42 (1970) 88-92; and L. Paul Trudinger, "A Further Brief Note on Colossians 1:24," *EvQ* 45 (1973) 36-38, who miss the apocalyptic motif, although Trudinger does pick up the idea of identification with Christ. Cf. Andrew Perriman, "The Pattern of Christ's Sufferings: Colossians 1:24 and Philippians 3:10-11," *TynBul* 42 (1991) 63-79, who, however, tends to read the more personal Philippians passage back into Colossians.

manifestation of the resurrection life of Jesus. We shall meet this identification again later in our examination of other Pauline texts. We should note, however, that this identification does not annul the fact that Paul does suffer. That is, he can realistically speak of his experience of suffering, using strong, emotional language. The second member of each pair indicates that the experience was not ultimately destructive, but in that he simply negates the ultimate destruction ("not destroyed," "not forsaken," "not driven to despair," "not crushed") one does not get an impression of Stoic *apatheia*, but rather of endurance, endurance motivated by identification.[25]

The virtue of endurance is important to Paul. We encountered it in Rom 5:3-4, the parallel to James 1:2-4 (also in the virtue list of Col 1:11, as well as 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 3:10; Tit 2:2). Furthermore, God is the God of endurance as well as of encouragement (Rom 15:5). One receives what one hopes for through endurance (Rom 8:25). Thus the Thessalonians (1 Thess 1:3; 2 Thess 1:4) and Corinthians (2 Cor 1:6) are commended for endurance, which in the latter case is also an identification with Paul and other Christians. Paul's prayer for the Thessalonians is that they develop towards "the endurance of Christ" (2 Thess 3:5).

Endurance is characteristic of Paul even in his working "the signs of an apostle" (2 Cor 12:12). Most likely that does not mean that he endured in working signs and wonders, but that he worked signs and wonders in the middle of far more painful circumstances. These he notes in his third list of privations in 2 Corinthians:

> . . . but as servants of God we have commended ourselves in every way: through great endurance, in afflictions, hardships, calamities, beatings, imprisonments, riots, labors, sleepless nights, hunger; by purity, knowledge, patience, kindness, holiness of spirit, genuine love, truthful speech, and the power of God; with the weapons of righteousness for the right hand and for the left; in honor and dishonor, in ill repute and good repute. We are treated as impostors, and yet are true; as unknown, and yet are well known; as dying, and see—we are alive; as punished, and yet not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing everything. (2 Cor 6:4-10)

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[25] Hodgson, "Paul the Apostle," 68: "Paul's passionate defense of tribulation as the necessary field upon which God's power plays into his life does not tally with the general Stoic nonchalance toward tribulation."

Here endurance heads the list with what Paul has had to endure coming after it. He mentions the usual three categories of suffering, at least he does if "dishonor," "imposters," or "unknown" refer to his treatment at the hands of some of his churches, most notably the Corinthian church (otherwise we have only two of the three categories we saw in 2 Corinthians 11). In the middle of the list we get a virtue list that, as in 2 Corinthians 12, includes "the power of God." This juxtaposition of divine power with human shame and suffering is a fascinating aspect of the Pauline consciousness.[26] In this passage we are not informed about any identification with Christ—he simply identifies his activity as being that of "servants of God"—but one may appropriately speculate that Paul juxtaposes power (that he does not speak about frequently, at least not when it concerns God's power working through him) and suffering because he saw the same pattern in Jesus. But in our present passage that must remain speculation, although we have already noted an identification with Jesus earlier in the same book.[27]

Returning to the discussion in 2 Corinthians 4, Paul extends the dying with Christ—rising with Christ identification in 2 Cor 4:16-18. Now the dying is with respect to one's "outer nature" and the rising with respect to one's "inner nature", which means that while Paul's physical body is being destroyed, resurrection life is increasingly his inner experience. The second comparison he makes is between the seen and not seen. The former is temporary and the latter is eternal. Yet there is a connection between the two, for the outer and seen, which he terms "this slight momentary affliction" (τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν), despite his lists that make it seem neither slight nor momentary, is preparing "us" for "an eternal weight of glory beyond all measure." Here we find the familiar reward in heaven theme. This is the eschatological aspect of identification with Jesus. The inward renewal in our passage parallels the boasting in

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[26] Michael L. Barre, "Qumran and the 'Weakness' of Paul," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 216-27, who focuses on the concept of weakness in 2 Corinthians 10–13, as well as similar uses of language in 1QH. See also Sumney, "Paul's Weakness."

[27] Since 2 Cor 6:14–7:2 is often considered an insertion, by Paul or someone else, of material from another source, it is worth noting that 6:4-11 is part of the same structure as chapters 4 and 5. That is, Paul breaks off a discussion at 2:13 and that discussion is taken up again in 7:5, but 2:14-7:4 are a long appeal based on the glories and sufferings of apostolic service. Even if 2 Corinthians comes from multiple sources, the two passages under discussion come from a single source, with 2 Cor 11-12 coming from another.

afflictions of Rom 5:3. This is Paul's version of eschatological anticipated joy.

The temporary / outward / earthly versus eternal / inward / heavenly contrast is taken up in another picture in 2 Cor 5:1-5. Now it is an earthly tent verses an eternal house that is paralleled to mortal (i.e., subject to death) and life. The earthly tent is moving towards death, but Paul hopes for the transformation that will "swallow up" the mortal with life without a period of being "naked" in between.[28] He sees evidence that this is the plan of God in his experience of "the Spirit." Thus we have a pneumatological guarantee of an eschatological reality. The pneumatological, of course, is most likely the inward renewal that he has spoken of earlier.[29]

This brings up Paul's final set of metaphors, 2 Cor 5:6-10. This time he takes the "at home" and "away" metaphor and uses it two ways, for one can be "at home in the body" or "with the Lord." Conversely, when one is "at home" in one side of the contrasting locations, one is "away from" the other. Naturally, it is the "with the Lord" side that is preferable, but again the two sides are linked. This time the link is "the judgment seat of Christ," where one receives in the eschatological eternal sphere the reward (or otherwise) for what has been done in the earthly temporal sphere. The parallel with James' Judge being "at the door" presents itself, but the difference is that in Paul's present discussion (in contrast to 1 Corinthians 15) there is no "at the door" unless one thinks of impending death. His eschatological expectation has changed from "We will not all die, but we will all be changed" (1 Cor 15:51), where he appears to expect his own transformation before his death, to his focus on what will happen at death in 2 Corinthians 5 and Phil 1:20-23.

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[28] On what Paul means by his use of the present tense ("we have") in 2 Cor 5:1 and his wish not to be "naked," see F. F. Bruce, "Paul on Immortality," *SJT* 24 (1971) 457-72; and idem, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1971) 200-204. See also Murray J. Harris, *Raised Immortal: Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1983; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985); and also *From Grave to Glory: Resurrection in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990) 203-205, 207-209, both based on his University of Manchester dissertation on 2 Corinthians 5.

[29] On the relation of the pneumatological and eschatological in Pauline and Stoic thought, see Howard Clark Kee, "Pauline Eschatology: Relationships with Apocalyptic and Stoic Thought," in Erich Gräßer und Otto Merk (eds.), *Glaube und Eschatologie: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1985) 135-58, esp. 150.

Let us summarize, then, our observations from Paul:

1. The suffering that Paul discusses is that which he experiences as a result of his commitment to Jesus as Messiah and his call to the proclamation of that message.[30] We divided these into three categories, (1) suffering as a result of travel, (2) suffering due to persecution and (3) suffering due to his on-going care of the churches.[31]
2. Paul is not ashamed to describe his suffering in vivid terminology. That is, he does not seek to deny its reality or to rise above it in that he no longer notices it. In this he contrasts with the Stoicism of his day.
3. Paul views suffering as calling for endurance. Such suffering is to be expected. It is part and parcel of the Christian life, since it expresses the eschatological tension of this age. Acts 14:22 represents Paul rightly in stating that it is through suffering ("many persecutions") that one enters ("must enter") the kingdom of God (διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ).
4. Paul deals with suffering first by reframing it Christologically. That is, he views it as an identification with the suffering of Jesus. In this life one experiences the suffering of Christ, but this identification carries on beyond death and thus one also

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[30] See further Michael Wolter, "Der Apostel und seine Gemeinden als Teilhaber am Leidensgeschick Jesu Christi: Beobachtungen zur paulinischen Leidenstheologie," *NTS* 36 (1990) 535-57, who clearly draws the connection to the apostolic mission.

[31] To expand upon a distinction that we made at the beginning of this chapter, Paul does occasionally mention illness: his own in Gal 4:13, that of Epaphroditus in Phil 2:26-27, and, if we wish to include the Pastorals, Timothy in 1 Tim 5:23 and Trophimus in 2 Tim 4:20. In each case the term ἀσθενεία is used. The vocabulary for suffering, including the terminology for trials and endurance, is never used. The one possible exception is Paul's "thorn in the flesh" in 2 Cor 12:7, for in the summary some of the language for persecution is used. However, Paul's "thorn" is probably his opponents, for (1) the term ἀσθενεία is used repeatedly in 2 Corinthians 10–13 (about half of its occurrences in Paul's writings) and each time it indicates social weakness, unless this is the one exception, (2) the one place in the Hebrew scriptures that "thorn" + a body part is used metaphorically (Josh 23:13) it means hostile people, which could be the idiom that Paul is using, and (3) the summary in 2 Cor 12:10 groups ἀσθενεία with a series of words for persecution and the hardships of travel, rather that with other terms for illness. Thus nothing other than associations from the interpretive history of the passage indicates illness. For a socio-rhetorical analysis of this passage, see Susan B. Garrett, "Paul's Thorn and Cultural Models of Affliction," in L. Mitchell White and O. Larry Yarbrough (eds.), *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) 82-89.

experiences the resurrection power of Christ. This Christological reframing produces hope, for the present identification is also the hope of a future participation.[32]

5. Paul further deals with suffering by viewing it eschatologically. Because there is a resurrection life and a future judgment by Jesus, there is a future reward for present suffering. That is, everything will be set right, but since the suffering is in the temporal sphere and the setting right in the eternal sphere, the value of the reward far overshadows the present pain. In this respect Paul comes close to some of the Judaisms of his day.
6. Paul does not view suffering / weakness as being inconsistent with the power of God / success. It is precisely in the context of personal inability that God can reveal his power and make it clear that the power is his, not that of his servant. Paul does not parallel this contrast to the power of God seen in the cross (as he does in terms of wisdom in 1 Cor 1:18), but one suspects that this parallel is not far from his mind. Thus Paul "boasts" in his "weaknesses" because that is how the power of Christ becomes most evident. This contrast accounts for his "x, but not y" language in 2 Cor 4, for the victory of Christ is seen in the context of suffering, not apart from the suffering.[33]

PAUL AND JAMES COMPARED

Having analyzed the teaching of James and Paul on suffering, we are now in a position to point out comparisons and contrasts.

Both James and Paul stand in the same stream of Christian paraenesis with respect to suffering / testing. They both have in common with 1 Peter a chain saying about rejoicing (boasting) in suffering, as well as the idea that suffering / testing produces the virtue of patient endurance. There is no evidence of borrowing from a common *literary* source, but there is evidence of the two authors' using similar ideas, shaping them to their own ends and using their

[32] As both Kee, "Pauline Eschatology," 150, 155; and Hodgson, "Paul the Apostle," 80, point out; it is precisely Paul's Christological focus that most distinguishes him from Stoic (or Plutarch's) thought. In Paul's thought there is no Fate (as in Plutarch's) nor a trying to understand and rise above the inevitable (as in Stoic eschatologies), but rather a relating of everything from present suffering to eschatological hope around Jesus.

[33] See further James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 482–87.

own vocabulary.

Both James and Paul (and 1 Peter) are primarily thinking of the hardships due to the Christian life and calling when they describe testing / afflictions / suffering. This is clearly the focus in Paul (and 1 Peter). In James a significant part of the testing may occur simply because the believers he addresses are among "the poor" whom "the rich" oppress as a class. However, James' community is closely enough identified with "the poor" that he does not find it necessary to differentiate the suffering due to the Christian life and calling from that which is experienced due to one's social circumstances. What is clear is that he differentiates both of these from sickness, which he handles using a quite different vocabulary than he does for suffering. In this he parallels Paul.[34] It may be that James finds no need to differentiate the grounds for oppression because in his eyes all oppression, whatever the reasons for it, will be set right at the coming of "the Lord" and thus are to be viewed from the same eschatological perspective.

Both James and Paul view suffering eschatologically. For Paul this means boasting in afflictions, while for James this means "considering it nothing but joy." This eschatological anticipated joy is predicated upon the suffering pointing to an eschatological reward. Both believe in a future judgment by Christ, although in James the eschatological tension is more evident than in Paul (i.e., James' "the coming of the Lord is near" and "the Judge is standing at the doors"). The age to come will right the wrongs of this age. For both this idea has a sobering aspect in that the believer will also be judged; the judgment is not something completely benign vis-à-vis a follower of Jesus. At the same time, the overriding concept is that the faithful will be rewarded. Paul expresses this more vividly than James when he

[34] Paul does differ from James in that in the passages in which he speaks of illness he only once speaks of healing and there he refers to healing as God's "mercy" (Phil 2:27). It is also in this passage that he most closely relates sickness to the suffering that comes from ministry, for he indicates that the sickness was a result of Epaphroditus' exertions in ministry (Phil 2:30). Paul, who had the reputation of being a healer (Acts 19:11-12 being but one story of many), does know about "gifts of healing" (1 Cor 12:9, 30), but they appear incidentally in lists of gifts being cited for other purposes and thus he does not attempt to relate these gifts to illness. James, of course, does relate God's healing gifts to illness in the closing of his epistle (although the gifts appear to work *ex officio* through the elders rather than through individuals with the gifts), for he replaces the customary health wish / health prayer to the gods with instructions on praying for healing.

compares the transitory suffering of the present age (which his previous listing makes sound neither transitory nor insignificant) with the eternal weight of glory of the coming one. In this both James and Paul are similar to those Judaisms that believed in a judgment at the end of the age with a reward for the righteous in the age to come.

Where Paul and James differ considerably is that Paul reframes his suffering through identification with the death of Jesus, while in James there is not so much as a hint that Jesus ever suffered.[35] The Christology of Paul is a Christology of the cross. There is indeed a power of Christ that is manifested in Paul's life, but the power of Christ is resurrection power and is thus post-suffering, i.e., post-crucifixion. Paul himself lives this side of resurrection, and thus identifies with the dying of Christ. The resurrection power of Christ manifests itself in him, but it is not identified with him. He has yet to participate in the resurrection. The power that is evident in his life is a power that is foreign to him, a power of the resurrected Christ made evident by the apparent weakness of the suffering Paul. This Christological and cruciform reframing is foreign to James. For him Jesus is indeed "our glorious Lord," but he speaks only in terms of exaltation, whether in a brief reference to it in James 2:1 or in his speaking about Jesus as the eschatological judge. For him the Christian does not identify with Jesus in his suffering, but with Job and the prophets in theirs.

Therefore in James and Paul we have two examples of the early Christian movement dealing with suffering. In the one case it is done Christologically and in the other not. But in both cases there is an eschatological perspective that allows them to look beyond the present pain to a future hope that allows a reconfiguration of the present in terms of the future.

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[35] There are, of course, some (mostly older commentators) who argue that Jas 5:6 refers to the death of Jesus as "the righteous one"; see, e.g., the discussion in J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James* (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 1897) 154-55. While that is a possible interpretation, we do not believe that it is the most likely. See Davids, *James*, 179-80. Yet given that every other form of Christianity that we know, whether that of Paul, the Synoptics, the Johannine corpus, Hebrews, or 1 Peter, knows of the death of Jesus and reflects upon it theologically, it is difficult to imagine James as representing a Christianity that never spoke about this. What we probably see in James is not a belief that Jesus did not suffer, but his not viewing the suffering of Jesus as relevant to the suffering of believers.

THE ORIGIN OF SIN IN JAMES AND PAUL: ROMANS 7 AND JAMES 1

One of the major problems with suffering / testing as described above is that, far from preparing the person for a hopeful eschatological future, the one who experiences suffering often fails the test. The result is that they sin. This tendency to fail, to sin, concerns both James and Paul. Each of them deals with it in a classic passage. For Paul this is Rom 7:7-25 (esp. 7:7-13) and for James it is James 1:13-16. Both of these are rooted in the developing Jewish *yēṣer* teaching, which in the times of these authors was part of more than one of the then-existing Judaisms.[36]

The Background of Thought on the Origin of Sin

The concept of *yēṣer* is rooted in the Hebrew scriptures. Starting in Gen 6:5; 8:21 we find that the thoughts of the human heart are evil. Thus the term is associated with the human heart and at the same time with evil thoughts.[37] In other parts of the Hebrew scriptures *yēṣer* and heart are used independently, the part apparently standing for the whole. Isa 26:3 and Ps 112:8 express the same idea, although the former uses *yēṣer* and the latter uses heart. Thus it is not surprising that Jeremiah and Ezekiel trace human sin to a defect in the heart and therefore prophesy a renewed heart for human beings.[38] In other words, what we find in the Hebrew scriptures is (1) human beings have an internal tendency to evil and (2) this tendency is variously

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[36] *Pace* Edgar, *Has Not God Chosen the Poor?*, 152, who, following Hubert Frankemölle, *Der Brief des Jakobus* (ÖTKNT 17; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1994) 286-87, rejects the idea that *yēṣer* teaching developed early enough to be part of James' thought world. Our evidence below will contradict this assertion, unless by it one means the fully developed doctrine that is found in rabbinic literature. That is, we agree with John Painter, "The Power of Words," in this volume: "Here we have no reference to the *two* inclinations (the evil inclination and the good inclination) between which each person is called to choose, such as we know from the Qumran texts and rabbinic literature." James is at a less complex place in the development of this concept—he has a single drive. In this he compares with the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which speaks of two διαβουλίαι in human beings, but apparently makes them results of the person's self-formation of his own inclination. See further Cheung, *Grace, Composition and Hermeneutics*, 211-12.

[37] The term *yēṣer* itself simply means something formed. Thus it is can mean pottery (Isa 29:16), a graven image (Hab 2:18), or the human being as formed of dust (Ps 103:14), as well as thoughts, i.e., the formations of the heart (the seat of the mind in Hebrew anthropology). Our concern is solely with those uses that underlie the later idea about the source of evil within the person.

[38] Jer 17:9; 31:33; Ezek 36:26.

described as rooted in the heart of the individual or in the thoughts (*yēṣer*) of the heart.[39]

In the last centuries B.C.E. there was significant development to Hebrew thought about the source of the tendency to evil in human beings. One aspect of this development was the exoneration of God from responsibility for sin. The classic passage is Sir 15:11-20:[40]

> [11] Do not say, "It was the Lord's doing that I fell away";
> for he does not do what he hates.
> [12] Do not say, "It was he who led me astray";
> for he has no need of the sinful.
> [13] The Lord hates all abominations;
> such things are not loved by those who fear him.
> [14] It was he who created humankind in the beginning,
> and he left them in the power of their own free choice
> (διαβουλίου).
> [15] If you choose, you can keep the commandments,
> and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice.
> [16] He has placed before you fire and water;
> stretch out your hand for whichever you choose.
> [17] Before each person are life and death,
> and whichever one chooses will be given.
> [18] For great is the wisdom of the Lord;
> he is mighty in power and sees everything;
> [19] his eyes are on those who fear him,
> and he knows every human action.
> [20] He has not commanded anyone to be wicked,
> and he has not given anyone permission to sin.

In this NRSV translation (of the LXX text) the author states, in terms that sound like Jas 1:13, that each human being has free choice: there is no necessity of sin, at least from a creational point of view. However, the Hebrew for the second line of verse 14 reads a little differently from the LXX: "and placed him into the hand of his *yēṣer* and set him into the hand of the one seizing him (or, and set him into

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[39] This description schematizes the evidence of the Hebrew scriptures. There are some protests against this idea, e.g. Eccles 7:29, and there are other ways of expressing various degrees of the universality of evil within the human being. See Peter H. Davids, "Themes in the Epistle of James that are Judaistic in Character" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1974) 1-13, and the literature cited there.

[40] See also Cheung, *Genre, Composition, and Hermeneutics*, 205-207, although he does not discuss the difference between the LXX and Hebrew text.

the hand of his spoiler)." Thus while the Greek version[41] clearly opts for the personal responsibility of each human being for evil, the Hebrew suggests that God in creation put into the human being a weakness, which he or she can nevertheless overcome if they wish. Furthermore, for either version the means to righteousness (or to overcome *yēṣer*) is "the commandments" or Torah. In another passage (Sir 5:2) the warning is against walking after "the desires of your heart" (ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καρδίας σου), in which case the desires of the heart are clearly evil. A bit later (Sir 17:36) we discover that "the inclination of flesh and blood" is apparently the result of human failure.[42] Yet later (Sir 21:11) we read, "Whoever keeps the law controls his thoughts (his natural tendency)," again pointing to the Torah as the remedy for any human tendency to evil. A few chapters later we discover in Sir 27:6 LXX, "a person's speech discloses the cultivation of his mind (λόγος ἐνθυμήματος καρδίας ἀνθρώπου)." Again the Hebrew differs, the context not being about conversation, as in the LXX, but about thoughts, and so reading, "a person's thoughts (*ḥašbun*) depend upon his nature (*yēṣer*)." A final passage, Sir 37:3 LXX, reads, "O inclination to evil, why were you formed to cover the land with deceit? (ὦ πονηρὸν ἐνθύμημα, πόθεν ἐνεκυλίσθης καλύψαι τὴν ξηρὰν ἐν δολιότητί).[43] What we see in Sirach, then, is that there is a drive towards evil in the human being that has been placed in him or her by God.[44] Yet through the Torah the person has the ability to overcome this tendency. Thus human beings have no excuse and certainly should not blame God.

Other contemporary Judaisms took a different tact. For 4 Maccabees the root of evil is in the passions that God put in the human being. However, in giving him or her reason, he granted the

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[41] There is no uniformity in how the idea embodied in *yēṣer* is expressed in Greek. Thus LXX Sirach uses more than one Greek term, and, as we shall see, Paul and James also use different terminology.

[42] This reading is restored from the Syriac, for the Hebrew text is non-extant and the Greek translation has apparently misread the Hebrew radicals, producing a confused sense.

[43] In this case either the Hebrew text is corrupt or the LXX has badly mistranslated it. See further Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit dees Jesus Sirach: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906), and the critical discussion in Davids, "Themes," 23-24.

[44] Sirach is in this respect similar to some later rabbinic portrayals of *yēṣer* in that it is very similar to the Freudian *id*. That is, it is not evil in itself, but unless controlled it will lead one into trouble. In Sirach the Torah has the function that Freud assigns to the superego.

person the ability to overcome such passions (4 Macc 2:20-23a). The contrast between desire and mind also appears in Wisd 4:12.[45] Likewise for Philo sin grows out of pleasure, and pleasure is part and parcel of having a body.[46] It is clearly the body, and not the soul, that is the problem, unless it is a fault of the soul that it ends up in a body rather than remaining angelic. Philo implies that this embodiment, which makes the soul sinful, is a choice of God.[47] The solution to this problem of the passions that come along with embodiment is reason or mind. For 4 Maccabees reason rules the body as a king, using the Torah (4 Macc 2:20-23; 3:3-5). Philo also appeals to reason as the way out and philosophy as the guidance for reason, although for him the Torah, if understood correctly, embodied the best of philosophy.[48] Naturally, the ultimate release from the power of pleasure was death, for that would again free the soul from the body and allow an escape back into immoral bliss. All of these, then, view desire / passion as the problem and rationality as the solution. They show that they are Judaisms in that rationality is guided by or embodied in the Torah, correctly understood.

A third example of a Jewish solution to the origin of sin is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[49] We shall focus our attention upon the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH) with references to other literature as appropriate.[50] The author uses *yēṣer* in a variety of ways, for his creatureliness (formation / creation of clay), for his purposes (a steadfast *yēṣer*), and for his inner impulses or drives. It is especially this last use that is of interest to this study. Thus in 1QHa 13(5):6 he thanks God because "You did not abandon me to the plottings of my *yēṣer*" (translated "desire" by Martínez). A column later (14[6]:32) he states, "There will be no salvation for guilty *yēṣer*" (translated "inclination"). In 15(7):3-4 we learn that "Belial is present when the

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[45] "roving desire perverts the innocent mind" (ῥεμβασμὸς ἐπιθυμίας μεταλλεύει νοῦν ἄκακον).

[46] E.g., *Leg. All.* 2.26; *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.31, 43; *Opif. Mundi* 53. The serpent in Genesis is an image of sensual pleasure.

[47] *Gigan.* 3; *Leg. All.* 3.23; *Plant.* 4.

[48] *Opif. Mundi* 59.

[49] English quotations of the Dead Sea Scrolls come from Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[50] Our searches so far confirm the judgment of Cheung, *Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics*, 207, that 1QH is the primary document among the Dead Sea Scrolls using *yēṣer* terminology.

inclination of their being becomes apparent." Since God knows "the inclination of every creature" (15:13), it would be interesting to know what God knows about the hymnist's inclination (15:16), but unfortunately a lacuna leaves us guessing. However, it is clear that in general a man's[51] inclinations or formations are not good, for in 19(11):20 they bring about guilt and sin, even if it is possible to have a firm or established *yēṣer* (9[1]:35). Thus it is clear that inside the human being there is an inclination, *yēṣer*, which tends towards evil, or, to put it another way, the human heart is warped so that what it forms is evil. However, God's grace is seen in deliverance from the evil of one's inclinations. What we do not see here is the origin of such evil. For at least one writer of the scrolls the origin appears to be in the decrees of God, for the firm purpose / inclination is attributed to the spirit of light / sons of light (1QS 4:5),[52] yet just when this looks unchangeable we learn that these people reject the musings of their inclination (*yēṣer*) and instead have circumcised in the community the foreskin of their inclination (*yēṣer*, 1QS 5:5). In other words, the evidence of the good inclinations[53] formed by the spirit of light is the rejection of the negative inclinations within. Thus we can say about those parts of the Dead Sea Scrolls we have examined that there is a tendency to trace sin in individuals to an inclination or drive towards evil within them. However, God's grace, rooted in God's eternal decrees, delivers one from this inclination so that they reject it. This does not mean that the community member is free from such drives, but only that he has overcome it.

A final example of thought on the origin of sin found in some Judaisms comes from the comments in *2 Bar.* 48:42-43 and 4 Ezra 3:21.[54] In both of these cases the entrance of sin into the human race is traced to Adam. However, in *2 Baruch* only untimely death is traced

[51] The scrolls have an overwhelmingly male focus so we have deliberately chosen to use the masculine here in that there is nothing said about women.

[52] For a longer discussion of this material, including a discussion of 1QS 4-5, see Davids, "Themes," 39-61.

[53] While 1QS clearly contrasts the spirit of light with the spirit of darkness (and their associated Prince or Angel), it is not clear either here or in 1QHa that there is a good as well as an evil inclination. When used absolutely *yēṣer* is always negative, very close the use of "desire" in James. The expression a firm / steadfast *yēṣer* may well be another use of the term, meaning "purpose" or "intention."

[54] We cite only the Jewish parts of 4 Ezra, thus the material from 100 C.E. or earlier. *2 Baruch* also comes from the post-70 C.E. period, although both it and 4 Ezra incorporate earlier material.

directly Adam (*2 Bar.* 17:3; 54:15-19; 56:6), the conclusion concerning sin being, "Adam is therefore not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam" (*2 Bar.* 54:19). In 4 Ezra 7:118-119 we read, "O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants. For what good is it to us, if an eternal age has been promised to us, but we have done deeds that bring death?" But right after this (7:127-131) God responds and says that Moses showed people a way in which they can be victorious, so therefore the tendency to sin is not the last word. In fact, it was previously (7:11-14) argued it is only this age that has been judged due to Adam's transgression. That is, it is only temporal problems that resulted from it. Furthermore, in discussing the fall itself, 4 Ezra 4:30 states that "a grain of evil seed (*granum seminis mali*)[55] was in Adam's heart from the beginning." This appears to mean, from his creation, for in 3:21-22 we have already learned, "The first Adam, burdened with an evil heart (*cor malignum*), transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him. Thus the disease became permanent; the law was in the people's heart along with the evil root, but what was good departed, and the evil remained." Therefore the problem appears to be, not that Adam developed a sinful disposition, but that he acted on it. By doing so he set the pattern for the race, but even then, the same law that was available to Adam is available to them so that they can have the victory over sin.

These, then, were some of the possibilities existing in the first century Jewish world to which both Paul and James belonged. Naturally, the various ideas existed in the context of a variety of Judaisms. We do not know how many of these systems either James or Paul was familiar with. Paul places himself among the Pharisees (Phil 3:5), and Acts indicates that James also had contact with the Pharisees (Acts 15:5) as well as a certain priestly group (Acts 6:7).[56] Yet we never learn how James himself related to these groups. Nor

[55] As Prof. Metzger comments in his footnote, "evil *yēṣer*."

[56] We are assuming here that James emanates from the Jewish Jesus movement in Palestine and thus that the type of ideas found in that world were the background of the author. On this topic see Peter H. Davids, "Palestinian Traditions in the Epistle of James," in Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 33-58.

are the Jewish positions we have outlined clearly identified with one or another of these groups. However, these ideas above do give us at least part of the context within which James and Paul's writings arose and so put us in the same general thought-world.

PAUL AND THE ORIGIN OF SIN

Paul's basic statement is in Rom 7:7-25:

> [7] What then should we say? That the law is sin? By no means! Yet, if it had not been for the law, I would not have known sin. I would not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, "You shall not covet." [8] But sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, produced in me all kinds of covetousness. Apart from the law sin lies dead. [9] I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived [10] and I died, and the very commandment that promised life proved to be death to me. [11] For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment deceived me and through it killed me. [12] So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good.
>
> [13] Did what is good, then, bring death to me? By no means! It was sin, working death in me through what is good, in order that sin might be shown to be sin, and through the commandment might become sinful beyond measure.
>
> [14] For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am of the flesh, sold into slavery under sin. [15] I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate. [16] Now if I do what I do not want, I agree that the law is good. [17] But in fact it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me. [18] For I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is, in my flesh. I can will what is right, but I cannot do it. [19] For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do. [20] Now if I do what I do not want, it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me.
>
> [21] So I find it to be a law that when I want to do what is good, evil lies close at hand. [22] For I delight in the law of God in my inmost self, [23] but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. [24] Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death? [25] Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord!
>
> So then, with my mind I am a slave to the law of God, but with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin.

The context of the statement is the issue raised in Rom 7:5, "While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death." While the overall argument has to do with freedom from the law, this comment

raises the issue of the value of the law itself and its relationship to sin. Paul has already argued that death came through Adam, but he has also argued that without law sin was not reckoned, apparently because the individual would not know that some action was wrong:

> [12] Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned—[13] sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. [14] Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come. (Rom 5:12-14)

Now he completes that argument. Before he knew the law sin was in him, but it had no "handle" on him. Then at some point he was introduced to the law. Now sin has the "handle" it needs, for after learning the law, when Paul follows his drives / impulse, he knows that it is wrong. Yet he still follows the impulses of sin and thus transgresses the law, which either leads to death or is itself an action worthy of death.

It appears, then, that for Paul the effect of Adam's transgression was the universal spread of some form of death. However, he also passed on "sin", which here seems roughly equivalent to what we have been terming *yēṣer*. In what sense this impulse came into the world though Adam, Paul does not explain. It is clear that the impulse is within each human being. The impulse itself does not produce "death." It is only when the law comes and one thereby recognizes the boundaries that need to be placed on the impulse and the divine sanctions for not doing so that this impulse, sin within (in Paul's terminology), *yēṣer* (in our terminology), "kills" one through producing an actual transgression. Mental assent to the law does not vitiate the fact that one has all the weaknesses of "flesh", including the impulse to sin within.

What we see, then, is Paul moving within the sphere of Jewish ideas. Like 4 Ezra, he traces the *yēṣer* back to Adam. It is not clear whether Paul feels that the *yēṣer* was created in Adam and only actualized by his transgression (versus being vitiated had he chosen otherwise) or whether it did not exist before Adam. It is clear that Adam's act cursed humanity with death, and that Adam passed on *yēṣer*, which Paul calls sin, to his descendants. However, this sin is indeed *yēṣer*, for it does not produce guilt on its own. It is more a drive or impulse that is active within the person; it does not produce

guilt (assuming that this is at least part of what Paul means by its producing death) until there is a known commandment to transgress. The presence of this impulse within the individual Paul has in common with many of the Jewish sources cited above. But insofar as they mention the law, it is the solution to the problems caused by the *yēṣer*. For Paul, the law, although good in itself, is the means the *yēṣer* uses to destroy the human being. It is part of the problem, not part of the solution. His solution to *yēṣer* is the Spirit (as he explains in Romans 8), and both the gift of the Spirit and freedom from the law came through Jesus Christ, the latter through identification with his death.

JAMES AND THE ORIGIN OF SIN

Turning to James we have some significant variations on this theme. Here our basic passage is James 1:13-15:

> [13] No one, when tempted, should say, "I am being tempted by God"; for God cannot be tempted by evil and he himself tempts no one. [14] But one is tempted by one's own desire, being lured and enticed by it; [15] then, when that desire has conceived, it gives birth to sin, and that sin, when it is fully grown, gives birth to death.

His context is an issue similar to that addressed in Sirach. Indeed, James gives a double argument in tune with Sirach. First, "God tests no one." And, second, "Every generous act of giving, with every perfect gift, is from above," and, in case one missed the implication, he adds that God does not change, and thus would not give both good and evil things (James 1:17).

The cause of defection is ἐπιθυμία, which is James' (and that of some of the literature cited above) way of expressing the concept we have designated *yēṣer*. James does not trace the source of this drive ("drive" probably being a better translation than "desire"). If God created it, then by his own logic it must to some extent be good. This idea is not impossible, for much later a Rabbi would say, "Can then the evil desire be very good? That would be extraordinary! But for the evil desire, however, no man would build a house, take a wife and beget children . . ."[57] That is, desire is necessary to function in this world, even if it gets out of hand. Thus it could be considered a

[57] In *Gen. Ran.* 9.7 (on Gen 1:31: "Behold, it was very good"). The saying is attributed to Nahman in R. Samuel's name.

disordered gift of God. Whether James had a view similar to this we do not know. It is clear that he finds no need to attribute either the origin of *yēṣer* or its activation in the human race to Adam. This drive simply exists. And this *yēṣer* produces sin that in turn leads to death.

God's activity is quite different, although expressed in parallel language. If desire conceives and gives birth to sin, God gives birth to life through the word of truth. So the one chain is desire—death, with sin as the intermediary (although expressed as a generation in itself), and the other chain is God—life, with the word of truth as the intermediary. How this is related to the other gift of God in James, wisdom, is never stated. It is clear that God gives wisdom (James 1:5) and it is clear that "the wisdom from above" produces virtue in human beings parallel to the virtue that Paul attributes to the Spirit (James 3:17; cf. Gal 5:22-24). Furthermore, if James is influenced by Sirach, the solution there to *yēṣer* is "the commandments" or the Torah, and this is closely related to divine wisdom, although the parallel is drawn more closely in Wisdom of Solomon. Is James' "word of truth" the Torah, or perhaps the Torah as interpreted by Jesus of Nazareth? Or is it more specifically the kerygma about Jesus? Whatever the case, one thing is certain: the Torah is not the problem. It is, if anything, part of the solution.

JAMES AND PAUL COMPARED ON THE ORIGIN OF SIN

We can now contrast James and Paul when it comes to the issue of the origin of sin. Both agree that there is a drive within the human being that tends to sin, which we have referred to as *yēṣer*. Paul names it sin and James names it desire, which agrees with what we saw above that there is no standard way of expressing this idea in Greek. But the two of them differ when it comes to tracing its relationship to other forces, perhaps because of their different contexts. For Paul this drive came to affect human beings (and perhaps came into existence) through the action of Adam. While not guilt producing in itself, it uses the Torah to produce personal guilt and thus death in human beings, although physical death in general is another result of Adam's transgression. The solution is found in Jesus Christ who both overcame death and gives the Spirit that overcomes the power of *yēṣer*.

For James this drive simply exists. There is no speculation on its origins other than to state that it does not come from God. Nor is there any distinction made between a death that Adam brought and a death

that comes through personal transgression. It seems that for James each person is his or her own Adam. The Torah is never viewed as part of the problem, but if anything as part of the answer (certainly in Jas 2:8 it is viewed positively). If "the word of truth" is a message about Jesus, then he is in some way part of the life-giving solution. But this is only said by way of implication; it is possible that the "word of truth" is Jesus' interpretation of the Torah, in which case a version of Torah would in fact be the solution. If wisdom in James does functionally equal the Spirit in Paul, then there is significant agreement on that score; if wisdom is Torah-centered in James, then they again differ. James and Paul differ, then, in their view of the role of the Torah and in the centrality of Jesus.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have looked at two related topics. First, we have seen that both James and Paul realize that commitment to Jesus of Nazareth does not lead to an easy life in the present. Far from it, the rewards of such a commitment are ultimately eschatological.[58] Both Paul and James view this present age as characterized by tribulation / various trials. For Paul these tribulations are those that result either directly or indirectly from the commitment to the gospel. That is, they are the results of persecution from those who do not accept the gospel or the hardships that come from communicating the gospel or caring for the resultant churches. For James these trials are those that come from persecution by the rich or verbal attacks from others within the believing community.

Neither of these authors includes sickness and death as part of the suffering that they address. Paul views death as a result of Adam's sin. This, or the decision of God resulting from it (Rom 8:20), produces the entropy in the world.[59] While there are gifts of healing available in

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[58] This is true for both Paul and James even if there were immediate rewards in terms of intimacy, participation, fervor, significance and potency, as Larry W. Hurtado (*At the Origins of Christian Worship: The Context and Character of Earliest Christian Devotion* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999] 41-61) argues.

[59] Paul includes the need for "the redemption of our bodies" along with the "futility" of creation as the results of this entropy. While he could be thinking of the hardships of the gospel, it appears that here he is thinking of death and sickness. See further J. Christiaan Beker, "Suffering and Triumph in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *HBT* 7 (1985) 105-19, who believes Paul differentiates suffering due to injustice from suffering due to the power of death, ultimately pointing to a triumph in Christ over both.

the church, these are at best "the first fruits of the Spirit," with the ultimate hope being "the glory about to be revealed to us" (Rom 8:18-25). In his only reference to death, James traces it to individual sin (James 1:15). This impression is reinforced by James' casual reference to sickness (James 5:14-15).[60] In contrast to his call to endure suffering, here he instructs those in the community who are ill to call the community elders, who will pray over them resulting in their healing. Significantly there is no mention of any possibility that the person might need to endure his or her sickness. It is also significant that there is a reference to a possible cause of the sickness in sin, in which sin is forgivable through the process of healing prayer. It is this connection between sin and serious illness that links this passage to James 1:15.

When it comes to theologizing suffering, both James and Paul agree that the ultimate solution is eschatological and both agree that patient endurance is required. However, Paul reframes suffering as an identification with the death of Christ. As Phil 3:10-11 puts it, "I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his death, if somehow I may attain the resurrection from the dead." Identification with Christ includes a present participation in his death and a future participation in his resurrection. In James we do not read a word about the death of Christ, but only about "our glorious Lord Jesus Christ." Thus, while both Paul and James view Jesus as the coming judge (2 Cor 5:10; James 5:9), only Paul applies the cross to his reframing of present suffering.

Both Paul and James draw on the tradition of a formation or drive (*yēṣer*) within the individual that leads him or her into sin. Paul connects this drive in some way to Adam's transgression, while James does not mention its origin. Paul clearly states that this drive cannot "kill" the individual until the Torah enters his or her life. That is, the drive itself does not produce guilt. It is only when one knows that God has commanded one to act otherwise that guilt occurs. This appears to be the classic distinction between accidental and deliberate transgression (Num 15:22-31). Thus for Paul the Torah, while holy and good, is part of the problem rather than part of the answer, since it is the tool

[60] We refer to this as casual in that (1) it replaces the health wish found at the end of many Greek letters and thus fills out the letterform and (2) there is no indication that James is explaining something new, but rather he appears to be encouraging an existing practice.

that this drive, or sin within, uses to "kill" the individual. In James we hear nothing of such a problem. The drive within is there, but it is not connected to the Torah, unless the Torah is linked to God's wisdom. Every reference to law is positive. The inner drive, or desire, to use James' terminology, is simply something that is a given and must be resisted. There is a link between this drive and the devil, but that is not used to account for the origin of the drive, although the devil is probably viewed as inciting the drive and thus being resisted when one resists the impulses arising from within.

Thus we have two authors, both of whom view this present age as an age of suffering, and both of whom believe in a coming age, ushered in by Jesus Christ, that will resolve the tensions of this age. Faithfulness of Christ in this age is required, for he returns not only as glorious Lord, but also as judge. James underlines this aspect of judging, for inner communal conflict is one of his major issues, a significant form of suffering and a manifestation of desire within. Paul does not focus on this aspect to the same degree, but instead is interested in reframing present suffering in terms of identification with the past suffering of Christ and actualizing that identification in the present as part of the eschatological work of spreading the good news. Thus both authors ultimately deal with suffering with reference to Christ, but how they do it marks out the great difference between them.

RITUALIZING DEATH IN JAMES AND PAUL IN LIGHT OF JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM

Ithamar Gruenwald

I

In the opening section of the Letter of James, we find the following statement:

> Blessed is the man who endures trial (*peirasmon*), for when he has stood the test he will receive the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him. Let no one say when he is tempted, "I am tempted by God"; For God cannot be tempted with evil and he himself tempts no one; but each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire. Then desire when it is conceived gives birth to sin; and sin when it is full-grown brings forth death. (1:12-15)

The major points that the letter raises in this section are: the reward for withstanding suffering, temptation, sin, and death. These are major components in any religion. More specifically, the passage raises the issue of life and death on the flanks of which one finds sin and temptation. Missing in this statement, at least from a Christian point of view, are the factors of evil and Christological salvation. Messianism and eschatology play a role in the last chapter of the letter, but they do not set the tone for the whole.

With such issues in the background, the question deserves attention: What kind of religion does James profess? As has often been pointed out, James puts great emphasis on "doing" and "works," as opposed to "hearing" and "belief." When he says "But be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves" (1:22), he clearly echoes, almost verbatim, Exod 24:3, 7: "And all the people answered with one voice, and said: 'All the words that the Lord has spoken we will do'... And they said: 'All that the Lord has spoken we will do and we will be obedient [lit. we will hear]'." The line of argumentation that puts emphasis on "works" of the law clearly places James in a context that does not distance Christianity from Judaism in a manner that the Pauline line of argumentation does.

There are several differences between James and Paul, a few of which will make our point clear. When James says, "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar . . . You see that a man is justified by works, and not by faith alone" (2:21, 24), he locates himself vis-à-vis Paul. For Paul says, "What then shall we say about Abraham? For if Abraham was justified by works, he has something to boast about, but not before God . . . his faith is reckoned as righteousness" (Rom 4:1-5). More generally, even, Paul says: "Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?" (Gal 2:2). Furthermore, when James says (2:26): "For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, so is faith apart from works is dead," he confronts Paul (Rom 4:13-14): "The promise to Abraham and his descendants... did not come through the law but through the righteousness of faith. If it is the adherents of the law who are to be heirs, faith is null and the promise is void." Finally, when James speaks of the "law of liberty" (1:25; 2:12), he must have had in mind the words of Paul: "For the law brings wrath, but where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom 4:15). As is well known, Paul's position with regard to the precepts of the Torah was: ". . . a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law, because by works of the law shall no one be justified" (Gal 2:16). In short, no specific discussion is required to show what makes Paul and James differ when speaking about the notion of doing the law. One point is worth mentioning, though. Paul proposes a new ontology of sin. It centers on the way that the Pentateuch shows is essential in atoning for sin. In the Pentateuch, sacrifices make *kapparah* (literally, covering up) for sins, while Paul pushes forward the idea of atoning for the original sin of mankind through the participation in the belief in the redeeming death of Jesus.

Comparatively speaking, though, James appears to place greater emphasis on the doing of rituals than Paul does. This impression derives from the fact that Paul engages in long theological discourses, as James does not. We shall, however, fall into a pitfall, if we assume that Paul altogether dispenses the believers of the new faith from the binding force of rituals. Quite the contrary is the truth. Paul establishes Christianity on the foundations of an intricately woven texture of ritual practice. However, that practice is not tied only to the law of the Pentateuch but to other, newly formulated, principles. Their

main function is establishing the notions of building the foundations of the new Christian community. Paul is also commonly associated with a tendency to interiorize and spiritualize the praxis of rituals. Yet in light of what he says about actual practice, this seems to be an overstatement. James shows different concerns, and highlights other aspects of ritual behavior. In this respect, one may argue that both, James and Paul, easily lend themselves to a kind of interpretation that shows them advocating two different types of Christianity.

It is indeed reasonable to argue that, sociologically speaking, the respective positions that Paul and James take over almost every single issue cannot but lead to the creation of communities that have different characters. Aware of these differences between James and Paul, many commentators work hard to mitigate the harshness of the conflict. However, in my view, James and Paul clearly hold to different views. They did not intend to repeat the same kind of message, nor can they be hermeneutically finessed to do so.

Knowing the polemical tones struck by Paul, it is noteworthy that James does not raise polarising issues against the Jews of his time. Interestingly, though, James does not refer to the temple, nor does he discuss issues that relate to sacrifices. This clearly is a striking omission on the part of James. There is no criticism of the temple, either, or of its sacrificial rites. James urges his congregation, which allegedly contains the twelve tribes of Israel in the Diaspora (1:1), to maintain models of a pacifying middle way. The sharpest dichotomy that James maintains is the one separating the terrestrial from the celestial (4:4), God from the devil[s] (3:15; 4:7).

What does James reflect in terms of inner Judaic developments in the generation(s) preceding the destruction of the temple? Doubtless he shows traces of a Christian organization that has not yet officially split off from the Judaic consensus of the time, whatever it may have designated or signaled. In contrast to the reports of the Gospel and the general spirit in the Letters of Paul, the Letter of James shows very little antagonism, if at all, to any of the Jewish groups of the time. In this respect, it is noteworthy that, if one can rely on the report in Acts 15, the final decision that was taken at the Council at Jerusalem was formulated by James. It said: "We should not trouble those of the Gentiles who turn to God, but should write to them to abstain from the pollutions of idols and from un-chastity and from what is strangled and from blood. For from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every Sabbath in the

synagogues" (15:19-21). Conceivably, this is the quintessence of the seven precepts that the "Sons of Noah," as they are called in rabbinic law, are obliged to observe to fulfil basic Judaic requirements. In any case, scholars have variously argued that the Jerusalem decree is quite heavily loaded with difficulties. In any event, it reflects a different spirit from the one that is found in the Letter of James. This may be explained by the fact that in Acts James quotes Simeon (who is of course Simon Peter) as his major authority and source.

II

At this point, we have to address the major question that this paper wishes to explore: Is there any trace of apocalyptic thinking in the Letter of James? To the best of my understanding the answer to this question is "no." In what follows the reasons for this answer will be given. Paul constitutes a different story, and for that matter the question with regard to the apocalyptic traces in his writings may receive a positive answer. His thinking is more complex than that of James, and there is no easy way to summarize it here. I have already indicated in what manner James differs from Paul over the question of the law/ritual. In the final resort, Paul succeeds in bringing about a break with the Judaism of the time. All this has been said so many times before that I see no point in going over the details at this point. However, I would like to explore at some length several issues that may cast a new light on the apocalyptic context in which the split between Christianity and the mother religion occurred.

A few preliminary comments have to be made, though. I conceive of religion in terms of its capacity to explain the way any cosmos exists—whether physical, cultural or social. What matters to human beings is the manner in which that cosmos came into being and how it can be protected from malfunction or even destruction. Humans enter the scene, when the subject of their participation in that cosmos becomes a key issue either for them or for the cosmos in which they live. The religious character of that cosmos derives from the presence of a divine being believed to control that cosmos. This is the point at which rituals play their existence-sustaining role. In a separate study (*Ritual and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel*, forthcoming) I explore the subject of rituals and attempt to show that rituals are done to maintain the existence of a particular cosmos, prevent its dissolution, and, if necessary, do anything possible to amend it or restore it to normal conditions and function. In an essential manner, rituals create

the connections between humans and gods, thus allegedly guaranteeing the existence of the cosmos in which both humans and the gods are present.

In a Judaic context, the law is the inventory of what in scholarly language is called ritual. Only very little research has been done to show how Judaic forms of the law function as rituals. Furthermore, little, if anything at all, has been done in a scholarly framework to explore how our understanding of rituals and the knowledge of ritual theory can inform our understanding of the Judaic forms of the law. Since, as indicated, I am presently writing an extensive study of these subjects, I feel free to skip the details here. A few comments, though, may help us in understanding the place of Paul in these matters.

Every religious system operates in a "cosmos," that is to say, in realities that are both relevant to that particular religion and in attitudinal modes that protect and preserve these realities. Humans employ several mental forms of engagement in relating to the realities that make this cosmos and in defining what it is in the eyes of those who see in it an existentially relevant entity. Often, these forms of engagement are cognitive (philosophical or emotional). Not less often, though, these forms of engagement are behavioral ones. Chief among them are rituals. I view rituals as actions that are purposively structured and done to address specific issues in this multi-faceted factor of "preserving the cosmos." Rituals actively show the human concern for the factor of "preservation." It should be noted, though, that in many cases ritual modes of behavior precede those that maintain philosophical and ideological stances. They certainly get their chance to crystallize when a more reflective mode of cognition sets in. By their very nature, behavioral modes of reaction, among which we view rituals, clearly have temporal precedence, in this respect.

In the framework of religion, sin (often generated by evil or by evil creativeness [in Hebrew, *yēṣer haraʿ*]) is viewed as disturbing the balance by which the various components of this cosmos hold together. Sin is a destructive agent in almost every religious system. Rituals are mostly directed to redress or reverse what sin has done. No wonder then, that among the founders of a new religion, like Christianity, extensive attention is given to issues that concern sin (and, indirectly, evil) and to the inevitable ritual stances that are required to annul their negative effects. We have seen that both Paul and James engage in the discussion of these matters. What they say

does not necessarily converge, but it makes their comparison intensely compelling. Both address issues that concern the need to fight sin and social evil. They differ, though, in what they conceive sin and evil is.

We shall now move to a closer examination of the background against which the discussion of sin and evil in early Christianity is conducted. Scriptural materials are of seminal importance in any discussion of this subject. Later, other kind of materials, apocalyptic ones, will receive the due attention. The following is a selection of scriptural passages that discuss the origins of sin.

(1) "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die" (Gen 2:17).

(2) "And if you do not do well, sin is lurking at the door; its desire is for you, but you will master it" (Gen 4:7, God speaking to Cain).

(3) "The Lord saw that the wickedness of humankind was great in the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually" (Gen 6:21).

(4) "God said to his heart, 'I will never again curse the land because of humankind, for the inclination of the human kind is evil from youth . . .'" (Gen 8:21).

(5) "But the Lord said to Moses: 'Whoever has sinned against me I will blot out of my book'" (Exod 32:33).

(6) "You shall keep my statutes and my ordinances; by doing so you shall live: I am the Lord . . . But you shall keep my statutes and my ordinances and commit non of these abominations . . . otherwise the land will vomit you out for defiling it . . ." (Lev 18:5-28).

(7) "You shall not follow the practices of the nations that I am driving out before you" (Lev 20:23).

(8) ". . . they dared to spurn my ordinances, and they abhorred my statutes" (Lev 26:43).

(9) ". . . testing you to know what was in your heart, whether or not you would keep his commandments" (Deut 8:2).

(10) "Circumcise, then, the foreskin of your heart, and do not be stubborn any longer" (Deut 10:16).

Briefly, two major factors come into play in this selection. To begin with, there is something endemically wrong with humankind and this brings about sinful behavior. However, in the context of the institutionalized religion, temptation to worship other gods and a willful transgression of divine statutes are considered the source and essence of sin. One may therefore conclude that Judaism is more

preoccupied with sins of the second type. We shall see that Paul is more concerned with the first kind of sin, while James occupies a middle position, somewhat closer to the Judaic position than to that of Paul. As indicated, this paper will bring up yet another category, that of Apocalypticism.

III

However, before we enter the subject of Apocalypticism, a few comments about Paul's position on the question of evil and sin are in place. Paul sees in the transgression of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden the source of all sin. This sin brought death into the world. However, there is still a missing link between the two, sin and death. Paul identifies this link with the Law (νόμος), or the Mosaic Torah. This is what he says: "Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned—sin indeed was in the world before the law was given, but sin is not counted where there is no law" (Rom 5:12-13). Endless discussions try to show Paul's view of the relationship between sin and the law in a light that tampers with its alleged anti-Judaism. We need not enter here a discussion of this particular subject. However, at its face value, there is a negative tone in what Paul says, even when hesitation is expressed over the question, whether it entails downright criticism or not. Approaching the Torah in terms that contain the notions of sin and death cannot be easily explained away as rhetorical deliberations.

Furthermore, when Paul argues that justification comes through faith, and not by the works of the Law, the negative tones we have just referred to are markedly underlined: "For we hold that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of law" (Rom 3:28). Speaking of sin, Paul says: "So that it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me" (Rom 7:16); "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies, to make you obey their possessions" (Rom 6:12). In other words, Paul's position is that, at least from the days of Adam (significantly not from the days of the creation of the world), sin dwells in man, and causes man to make wrong existential choices. In many respects, Paul argues, the Pentateuchal law continues to be an instrumental factor in the prolongation of this situation. This clearly is an unprecedented, if not abusive, line of argumentation. It makes all living people liable, and, in the words of Paul, dependent on a different line of salvation. It is salvation through the belief in the

redeeming efficacy of the death of Jesus. Everyone who does not accept this concept of salvation, so Paul argues, is doomed to continue living in a condition of death.

In fact, Paul argues that people are predestined to their fate, some for salvation other to perishing in their unredeemable sinfulness. In short, Paul thinks in radical dichotomies. He creates a dialectics of irreconcilable choices—the new covenant versus the old one, the spirit versus the flesh, the everlasting there vis-à-vis the temporally here, the free man opposite the permanent slave, the internal man as opposed to the external man, etc. Such a repositioning of Judaism obviously results in its total rejection.

Where does this line of thinking derive from? I believe that the answer is to be found in radical Apocalypticism. Radical Apocalypticism is markedly dualistic. Good and evil are ontologically separated, in many cases a result of a rebellious act. The rebellious angels, headed by Satan, created the domains of sin and evil. We shall immediately see that this line of thinking is somewhat differently represented in the writings of the Qumran texts. However, in apocalyptic literature the dichotomization of good and evil received both ontological and mythic configurations. In that dichotomization, Satan figures as the dualistically challenging power against the divine. A few examples will help us assess this kind of dualistic thinking vis-à-vis the then contemporary forms of mainstream Judaism.

In the first place, we find the doctrine in which the dualistic models spread over of to include the dual typology of humankind. This is what the *Rule of the Community* says: ". . . in order to love everything which he [God] selects and to hate everything that he rejects . . . in order to love all the sons of light, each one according to his lot in God's plan, and to detest all the sons of darkness, each one in accordance with his blame in God's vindication" (1QS 1:2-11). The hate-theology that is involved in this declaration leaves no room for mistake. It sets matters clear from a socio-ethical point of view. However, the same text adds two other categories of division. One offers a concept of modeling and designing human behavior in predestined patterns: "From the God of Knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be. Before they existed he made all their plans and when they came into being they will execute all their works in compliance with his instructions, according to his glorious design without altering anything" (1QS 3:15-16). The other engages in a metaphysical structure that is formulated in mythic terms: "He created

man to rule the world and placed before him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits of truth and of deceit. In the hand of the Prince of Lights is the dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk in the paths of light. And in the hands of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk in the paths of darkness" (1QS 3:17-21). Last, here, we find the explanation for the sinful behavior of the Sons of Light. "Due to the Angel of Darkness all the sons of justice go astray, and all their sins, their iniquities, their failings and their mutinous deeds are under his dominion in compliance with the mysteries of God. [This will not change] until his preordained time; and all their punishments and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity; and all the spirits of their lot cause the sons of light to fall" (1QS 3:21-23). Another text (4Q186), conceived in an extremely dichotomized world picture, describes the divisions of every human being into nine parts. At his birth, the fate of every human being is proportionally decided—whether he will be a Son of Light or a Son of Darkness. His physiognomic signs and his time of birth help in making the proportional decision (the ultimate dividing line is four to five on each side).

The closest parallel in Paul to this kind of metaphysical dualism is: "For such men are false apostles, deceitful workmen, disguising themselves as Apostles of Christ. And no wonder, for even Satan disguises himself as an Angel of Light [εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός]" (2 Cor 11:13-14). In the eyes of many scholars, the Qumran community is motivated by apocalyptic drives. If Apocalypticism is often, though not exclusively, associated with experiences that entail heavenly ascensions, then Paul clearly belongs into its world picture. In 2 Cor 12:1-4 Paul announces that "he will refer to vision and revelations of the Lord" in the course of which "he was caught up into Paradise—whether in the body or out of the body" and "heard things that cannot be told, which man may not utter." As the dream vision that he had on the road to Damascus shows, Paul was prone to having extraordinary psychic experiences. As mentioned, one of the central characteristics of apocalyptic literature is the experience connected with heavenly ascensions. In their own pictorial setting, they show a cosmically configured dichotomization. The terrestrial and the celestial domains create everything that a dualistically conceived polarization can proclaim.

There can be no doubt in my eyes, then, that Paul came under the influence of apocalyptic circles. One may even argue that in a certain way he opened Christianity to dualistic Apocalypticism. In these circles, he found the paradigmatic groundwork that was functional in creating the notions of radical separation between the old and the new Judaism. More specifically, the apocalyptic circles among which he moved were closely associated with the Qumran people. In their midst, he found the kind of language that he used in dichotomizing flesh and spirit, and most conspicuously the notions of predestination. The righteous and the wicked were separated from birth by the will of God.

Speaking about himself he says that he was "set apart before I was born, and [God who] had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the nations [ἔθνεσιν]" (Gal 1:15-16). These words may recall the words of God to Jeremiah: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you, I appointed you a prophet to the nations" (Jer 1:5). However, Paul's self-awareness in this respect is clearly underlined by the Qumranite notion of the predestination, as mentioned above. While Jeremiah is chosen as an individual, the messianic consciousness of the Qumranites, as well as that of Paul, amplify the notion of election and make it sound an act of predestination. However, the similarity between the call to prophecy in the case of Jeremiah, a call that included the "nations," and Paul's mission to the "nations" (usually wrongly translated as "Gentiles") cannot be overlooked, in this respect. In other words, Paul did not show any hesitancy in recruiting ideas and notions from whichever quarters served his purposes.

One of the major differences, though, between Paul and the apocalyptic trend of the Qumranites was the attitude towards the temple. While Paul spiritualized the temple, arguing that the Christians were the Temple of God (2 Cor 6:16), the Qumran people showed deep concern over the prevailing malfunction of the temple, its purity, and priesthood. They, not unlike Jesus, looked forward to a radical reform of temple life. In this connection, I would like to repeat that James showed no concern at all for the temple and its service.

IV

In many respects, then, the interplay between evil and sin, on the one hand, righteousness and the good, on the other, constitutes the inner

structure and dynamics of religion. As we have seen, these factors also constitute two foundational factors in the shaping of early Christianity. The question is: What exactly is this inner structure and what terms of reference are the adequate ones in assessing this structure? One possible answer is that these factors, which have a theological ring, should be investigated for their contents and meaning. Another answer goes in the direction of exploring questions of historical verisimilitude and sociological function. However, in my view these answers do not have the kind of self-evident ontological priority that they usually claim to have in the eyes of the scholarly world. Historical facts and sociological factors belong to the external accidentals of the system rather than to its essence, or metaphysical phenomenology. The theological discussion is important, but its relevance to the understanding of the structure of religion should in my view come after the discussion of rituals—their various forms of practice and their ritual theory.

In the Letter of James, hardly any theological reasons are given to justify the doing of the things he recommends. Theology does not play an important role in that Letter. Paul employs a different strategy. He has a clear vision of the theological issues that he raises and wishes to establish as the foundations of the new creed. In his case, theology and ritual are uniquely intertwined. However, both James and Paul lacked a specific technical terminology that indicated an established religion, in the modern sense of the term. We need not enter here a detailed discussion of the theological terminology used by the two writers. We are more interested in the religio-cultural milieu in which James and Paul operated and which they respectively addressed in their Letters. In this respect, we have singled out the realms of dualistic Apocalypticism. However, other aspects also require discussion, in this connection. As indicated, they concern the viewing points of the study of ritual and ritual theory. This is a vantage point that has not yet been properly explored—neither in the study of early Christianity nor in the contextualizing framework provided by Apocalypticism.

In the past, Apocalypticism served two lines of thinking with regard to crystallization of early Christianity. In the first place, Apocalypticism showed how Judaic forms of monarchic thinking developed into messianic notions, including for that matter the notion of messianic pre-existence. Furthermore, Apocalypticism was the source of information with regard to techniques and experiences in which

heavenly ascensions played a major role. Allegedly, they could explain the resurrection of the Christ. In the second place, Apocalypticism expressed a world picture that entailed dualistic notions. Such a world picture was relevant to an antithetically polarized presentation of evil versus the good, of the satanic versus the divine, of sin versus righteousness, of the present era as opposed to the future one, of the doers of evil versus the righteous ones. The dichotomization between these opposites had to be marked with thick lines. Otherwise, the polarizing impact that Apocalypticism had could too easily be washed away. After all, Apocalypticism had to justify its *raison d'ètre* vis-à-vis the more common forms of biblical thinking and religiousness. As indicated above, Apocalypticism fulfilled its task in this respect in mythic terms that showed the thrust of its dual ontological positions.

In many respects, Apocalypticism was the cultural platform on which Jesus was described as enacting his mission. Here he could portray his vision of history in catastrophic terms. The temple will be destroyed, though he would be able to rebuild it in three days. This is where the Qumran people stopped short: They preached the reform they wished to see in the temple. Jesus had a more radical vision with regard to the holy place. The famous scene of cleansing the temple from the merchants there just showed the determination on the part of Jesus of fearlessly executing what he considered was his moral duty. Finally, in this respect, writing circa twenty-five years after the destruction of the temple, the author of the Book of Revelation went one step further. He felt no inhibition whatsoever in carrying his vision to a point at which he saw Jerusalem descending from heaven without the temple. Its destruction in 70 C.E., is architectonically and conceptually an irreversible event. For him, there is no longer any room for a Jewish based eschatology. The temple will not be rebuilt.

This paper, then, suggests using the apocalyptic setting as a perspective from which the rise of Christianity as a central religious-cultural factor in Antiquity can be viewed with greater precision. In this respect, another factor has to come into play, too. It concerns the element ritual, and more specifically that of suffering. With all the antagonism that Paul shows to Judaic law, he cannot altogether dispense with ritual. Thus, in fact, both Paul and James (chap. 5) give emphatic expression to the factor of ritual behavior, though Paul prefers not to give the baby its name. There is no way of creating a sense of a community without employing certain rituals. Two of them highlight Paul's vision of the Christian creed. They are the Lord's

Supper and baptism in the context of the redeeming function of the Passion story. However, the two require a linking point. In its wider eschatological connection, this link is created by the moments of suffering and patience. In a more extended sense, still, patience is connected to the motif of self-offering love. All these factors are readily recognizable in stories of martyrological deaths. This brings us to an important junction in our discussion. For the sake of a general orientation, I shall refer to it with the term "martyrological paradigm."

The term engages two distinct realms or sets of categories: ritual and theology. Evidently, the term points to a specifically shaped ideology or philosophy. This is not new. What is new in the approach presented here is the highlighting of theological features in their primarily ritual configuration. These features concern, *inter alia*, the making of death a positive setting for the foundational events of a religious system. That system crystallizes in an event of death. In comparison, the story of Genesis 1–2 unfolds in a reverse order. The history of human kind begins with an event that makes death a terminal event in the life of people. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil becomes the cause of death.

Here two important equations are set: Good equals life, and evil equals death. Christianity claims to have the means of changing what in the Genesis-story is a mythic rendering of what biological observation shows as naturally evident. While many expressions in Judaism render death as a moment of final punishment and retribution, Christianity makes death a reparatory event. This is the switchboard at which martyrological execution is channeled, first into atonement, and, then, to birth or re-birth. In other words, it all points in one direction. In my view, it is essential to ritual behavior and to its ultimate goal, transformation.

The specifics of the "martyrological paradigm" as outlined here make best sense against the background of two assumptions: (1) In human life in general, and in religion in particular, ritual behavior has existential precedence over ideological and theological matters. This is not only a matter of a philosophical observation, but in my view the essence of religious behavior. (2) Existentially speaking, the two ends of the ritual axis in the cases discussed here are death and life. That is to say, they engage two extreme ends of the passage, between which entails radical forms of transformation. In the first place, this transformation is accomplished by ritual means. Contrary to what is the general tone in the scholarly writings, I would like to argue that

everything that unfolds in the drama connected to the rise of Christianity has first ritual and only then theological implications. More succinctly expressed, theology is made present by ritual modes of behavior. I say this having in mind a previous observation I have made to the effect that in Paul ritual and theologically are inextricably intertwined

Saying this, I wish to argue that the priority that is given here to rituals is not an abstract observation. Phenomenologically speaking, it is a central factor in the life of humans. More clearly expressed, life and death do not appear as positing a moral choice as they do, for instance, in Deut 30:19 ("I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life so that you and you descendents may live . . ."). Life and death constitute the dialectically opposed dynamics that generates interchanging realities. Bringing these realities into life, before they happen as a matter of everyday life, and preserving them as effective entities requires purposively enacted rituals. Once they are related to human beings and behavior, these realities have a certain mode of material physicality, this in spite of the fact that they often exist as conceptualized entities. In relating to (as opposed to conceiving of) these realities, the mind operates mainly through behavioral modes, that is, through actions that originate, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the human mind. Thought can generate and preserve thought. However, when realities become facts of actual life, behavioral modes are essential to their existence.

No reliable accounts exist that report of Paul's death. Conceivably, though, had he been executed, there would have been plenty of people around to declare him their martyr. Jesus and James, though, were executed, the one was crucified according to Roman law, the other stoned according to the Jewish law. All three faced charges that they viewed as false accusations. In this respect, their deaths did not atone for anything that they had really done. Thus, their death could be viewed, and used, as operating on an existential platform that took on a wide range of meanings and implications. The deaths of Jesus and of James enacted, in their unique manner, the martyrological paradigm mentioned above. Paul was spared actual execution only because he was a Roman citizen.

One further point needs mentioning here. It concerns the fact that the ritual structure that constitutes Christian worship, as Paul sees it, is already embedded in the original event that this worship purports to enact in ritual performance. In other words, viewing, as I suggest here,

the Christian event in its structural essence means that we view it as crystallizing in ritual patterns. This observation opens the way for viewing Christianity in, or as, a ritual paradigm. There are good reasons to argue that in the first place the life story of Jesus was a simple series of historical, biographical, events. However, it is equally true to say that the way, in which that story happened and developed, exposes a pattern rather than an accidental, non-patterned, development of sequential scenes. What gave this story its special power was that it was recorded in its initially paradigmatic status—as a ritual event. In other words, the metaphysical configuration of Christianity had been shaped by a ritual pattern, long before it was made a factor in the practiced worship.

I consider this an important issue, because I think that it highlights the unique nature of Christianity as a religion that ritually enacts a paradigm. This paradigm essentially, and from the outset, is a death event enacted as a lived-through ritual. In comparison, Judaism enacts the initial paradigm of the covenant (with the Patriarchs and upon the Sinai revelation). The covenant in Judaism allegedly functions as a theological canopy. However, the various forms of enactment of this theological canopy (the circumcision and the Shabbat as the epitome of all precepts) leaves theology a foundational, though redundant factor, unless its ritual enactment is markedly foregrounded. Not everything that a Jewish believer does is, explicitly and directly, related to the covenant. However, the covenant always looms at the background.

As indicated above, in Christianity death is the central ritual event. In this respect, it is not the terminal event in the life of people. Potentially, this is a factor that is life-generating. In all this, rituals play a major role. To repeat, I view rituals as events that create, on a behavioral level, transformation. For those doing them, rituals bring into effect purposefully created transformation. This can happen either in the people doing the rituals, or in the reality in which they live, or in the life-endowing principles (usually, divine beings) that shape and control that reality. I refer to this reality as "cosmos." The term indicates the presence of an inner consistency, or logic, that this reality has. Logic is also a major factor in the doing of rituals. The sequencing of the details that make the ritual has its own functional and efficacious logic. In the Christian "cosmos," the ritual enactment of death, with all the accompanying notions indicated above, brings about the substantial transformation that is the central event in the life

of a Christian. This is clearly indicated in Paul's words: "we shall all be changed" (1 Cor 15:51).

If this analysis sounds as repeating notions that Paul himself placed at the center of his theological oeuvre, then it does full justice to him, and this in a scholarly context. I think that, *grosso modo*, this interpretation does full justice to Christian theology, without using a theological language for that purpose. Thus, what in Paul constitutes a theological paradigm is here conceived of in terms applying to ritual and ritual theory.

Let me focus more sharply on the theme of death. Death fatally shakes the foundations of any existing order. However, in Pauline Christianity it is intended to do the opposite. Paul makes this point clear, when paraphrasing certain utterances by Isaiah and Hosea: "Death is swallowed up in victory"; "O death where is thy victory? O death where is thy sting?" (1 Cor 15:54-55). What do I mean when saying that an utterly destructive event is made the major constitutive event in a religious system?

As indicated above, my terms of reference in discussing this issue are not guided by theological considerations. Instead, I am attempting to suggest a theory-of-ritual assessment of the praxis connected with death. People often argue that death-rituals handle the fatal event in a manner that aims at reducing its harmful effects and painful consequences. In many religions, various notions and gestures of honoring the dead receive prominence. Often, these are associated with a psychology of guilt feeling. The ones who remain behind, not suffering death have to ransom their guilt feelings. However, the rituals connected with death are of a more complex nature. Every religion has its own death rituals. In my view, these rituals create and establish the facticity of death-event. Death is an event of final separation. In doing the rituals connected with death, the facticity of the separation is made present and final. In this case, the rituals that are done make people realize that the specific event is non-reversible. The ritual enactment of death proclaims the fact that the separation of the dead from the living is irreversible. The corpse is impure and causes impurity to spread over to almost everything that touches the corpse. Even the inner space of the "tent" in which the corpse is placed is impure and may pass on impurity. This means that one has to dispense with the corpse as quickly as possible. Separation from the dead is ritually imposed. Furthermore, it comes into effect only through ritual acts.

In this connection, one may see in the mourning rituals major events that materially signal acceptance, indeed affirmation, of the consequences of the death-event. In fact, mourning is a form of ritual participation in the death event. One may look at the mourning ceremonies as acts of sacrificial ransom. People give away part of their daily routine, of what they consider is existence, thus making their modes of ritual grief an act of sharing in the death event. Facing death in a ritual manner makes death a reality. The mourners live this reality through grief. Although death marks disappearance, some of the rituals connected with it paradoxically make it realistically present.

V

We have made these comments to place the death event in Christianity in its proper place as a ritual event in its own intrinsic right. Viewed in ritual terms, Paul makes clear what is at stake: "Since all have sinned . . . they are justified by his (God's) grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith" (Rom 3:23-25). In apocalyptic terms, though, where everything is predicted in the "heavenly tablets," Christianity could not happen, or unfold, in a manner that is different from the way it did unfold (or had been programmed in heavenly tables / scripture]. A religion that ritually focuses on the redeeming functionality of an act of crucifixion could not, in its embedded structure, but be a ritually fulfilled event. In spite of the conflict that Paul has with the Pentateuchal Law, he could not dispense with ritual altogether. In fact, his Letters establish the Christian ritual. James does so, too. However, as remarked above, he does not do so in the course of an ongoing confrontation with the Judaic forms of the law.

The prophetic predictions that the New Testament seeks to present, as the scriptural prefiguring of the historical biography of Jesus, are more than *vaticinia ex eventu* confirmations. They are tantamount to unearthing the ritual paradigm that, almost deterministically, was to shape the Christ-event. One does not have to go too far to find these deterministic tones. They are heavily audible in those apocalyptic writings that profess patterns of the periodization of history. Periodization does not only mean that the secrets of the future timings of events are made known by their preordained schedule, but also that the mysteries connected with the events themselves are cryptically

outlined in certain scriptural texts. If we add to this the notion of ritual behavior, then the events of the future are linked to ritual that allegedly enforce on reality the unfolding of these events. This means that rituals project on reality (in this case, historical reality) a kind of facticity that easily compares to the Marxian notions of "historical necessity."

In short, Christianity shows an interesting interaction between Apocalypticism and ritual. This interaction shapes the "martyrological paradigm" mentioned above. In Christianity, death is the sacrificial event that shapes the community and endows it with its special qualities as a group carrying its indelible signs of identity. We have also noticed the redeeming function that this death-event allegedly projects on the community of believers.

Another merit of the present approach is that it renders redundant the docetic arguments. Docetism teaches that there was no evidential substance to the historical appearance of Jesus. In the history of the church, this view was declared a heresy. However, it caught fire with several modern scholars, too. In our view, what stands is the paradigm and its ritual enactment as conceived by those who, in their belief, link to it. We need not follow the other extreme either, namely, the one saying with Tertullian, *credo quia absurdum est.* Looked at from a purely scholarly perspective, the "truth" of Christianity is neither in the verisimilitude of the story nor in its utter miraculous nature. Christianity, as most other religions, exists in and through the impact of its ritual relevance. What matters in my eyes, though, is the fact that the underlying pattern of Christianity makes sense in a scholarly setting that anchors in ritual theory.

In short, I try to show that the links between the deaths of Jesus, Paul, and James triply underline the constitutively embedded functions of death in Christianity. Doing so, and in light of the foregoing discussion, the question of contextualizing Christianity in the religious and cultural milieu of the time takes on a new dimension. Judaism in the last three centuries before the destruction of the second temple (in about 70 C.E.) underwent substantial changes in every conceivable respect. This mostly happened under the pressure of the newly absorbed Hellenistic culture. Although it has recently been shown that Apocalypticism had roots in the ancient East, it played a major role in fighting the religious trends that took shape under Hellenistic influence. Since this paper focuses on the manner in which our knowledge of Judaism in pre-Christian times becomes relevant to

understanding certain aspects of the Letter of James and the Epistles of Paul, Apocalypticism has to be brought into the picture.

We are used to imaging a synthetic picture in which the whole life of Jesus and his death (including his resurrection) play constitutive roles in the shaping of Christianity. In this respect, the virgin birth, baptism, the miraculous healings and the acts of exorcism, the transfiguration, the Sermon on the Mount, and the debates with Jewish groups of the time—all play their respective roles in building the overall picture of the *Botschaft*, the evangelical message, of Jesus. In this respect, too, the Passion story, unfolding in the context of the Passover events, always receive the limelight that it requires and deserves. However, from the point of view of ritual theory, the life story of Jesus culminates in what is the ritual essence of it all, namely, in the crucifixion.

From a ritual point of view, though, one may argue that the time axis of Christianity is not as important as it, for instance, is in Judaism. In Judaism, time cycles play an important role in shaping the ritual palette. However, agricultural feasts are usually linked to historical events. Passover sums up the Exodus, but it also marks the first in a cycle of three feasts related to an agricultural cycle. Initially (that is in Scripture), there is no ritual event commemorating the revelation on Mount Sinai. In Talmudic times, that is, several centuries after the destruction of the second temple, the rabbis designated the Feast of Bikkurim (the first fruits of the year; *alias* Shavu'ot, Pentecost) as the day to also mark the "Giving of the Torah." In a different context, though, several rabbinic sayings emphasize that studying the Torah counts as a routine ritual enactment of the "Giving of the Torah." Thus, there is no way of collapsing into a single ritual the critical mass of the ritual life in Judaism. In Christian ritual-life, however, the time sequence of the "Jesus-event" can be collapsed to its critical mass. This is what the Eucharist was intended to do.

The death event as conceived in Christianity finds its natural mode of contextualization in a "martyrological paradigm" of the kind described above. However, scholars are not in full agreement over this question. Various viewing points prevail, particularly with regard to the place Judaic and/or Hellenistic ideas and concepts played in the crystallization of the new religion. For a long time, the Hellenistic theory used to have the upper hand and this for several reasons. To begin with, the early Christian writings were written in Greek.

Allegedly, the language betrayed the culture in which the new religion grew. Several key notions in the new religion derive from the cultural and religious milieu of the Greco-Roman world. However, the "martyrological paradigm" shifts matters to a Judaic context

Admittedly, New Testament Christianity shows an intensive activity that is easily described in terms of a thorough reshuffling of Judaic entities. All this happened in the wake of Hellenizing the East. I would agree, though, that certain elements in the Pauline writings could not but be conceived under a strong Hellenistic influence. However, the paradigmatic factors as described above anchor Christianity in a Judaic harbour. As we have seen, the foundations of this paradigm cannot be fully assessed without having the apocalyptic setting in mind.

CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS

Bruce Chilton

Sorting out the relationships between Peter and James is complicated by their constantly appearing in their distinctive trajectories to be out a half step off from one another, even as they remain comparable. The detailed considerations that precede in Part One show just how much of a difference a half step can make. Both these teachers are from Galilee, but one from rural Galilee and one from near Lake Tiberias. One is Jesus' brother, the other a premier disciple. Both find themselves in Jerusalem after experiences of the resurrection, but the Temple that is the focus of James seems only a point of departure for Peter, and a locum that for Paul (as Part Two explores) seems redefined in the apocalypse of the Christ. As a result, each champions a characteristic view of the people of God under the aegis of the risen Jesus, and pursues contacts with non-Jews on a basis commensurate with that view.

The largest question that remains unresolved by our Consultation is whether the cooperation and conflict among James, Peter, and Paul were more like competing and contradictory claims on the inheritance of Jesus or streams within a single movement. Indeed, the term "movement," in fashion for several decades in the study of Christian origins, has been opened up again for scrutiny, on the grounds that it may impute more coherence to the diverse groups that claimed the risen Jesus as their heavenly focus than can reasonably be claimed. K. C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman,[1] for instance, opt for a continued use of the term, but it is of interest that they define it in a way that allows for more diversity than is sometimes implied by the usage. Instead of identifying a movement directly with a "group" with a constant social morphology, they reserve the term for "The ideology of a group with enduring purposes that sustains the group's identity over time," and emphasize that "Movements may draw in people of different social statuses."

Yet even within such a more elastic understanding of what a

[1] See K. C. Hanson and D. E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 200.

"movement" is, in ideological rather than strictly social terms, the question remains whether the usage might conceal more than it reveals. Richard Bauckham's and Jacob Neusner's essays in Part One make it evident that James and Peter and Paul disagreed ideologically. That disagreement went to the fundamental issue, not only of who Israel is, but even of how to go about defining Israel in the first place. James' policy (dictated by a characteristic concern with purity)—of separate fellowship at meals—is fully consistent with his position within and regard to the Temple.[2] Finding the logic of Peter's perspective is more challenging, especially since from Paul's point of view his behavior at Antioch was hypocritical (see Gal 2:13[3]). But the combination of factors Professor Bauckham and Professor Neusner identify in Peter's position—social identity conditioned by the expectation of divine judgment of all peoples and the experience of God's spirit—indeed seems to have animated his distinctive position.

As I mentioned in the opening article, Lars Hartman has put us onto the track of appreciating Peter's position.[4] Having understood baptism within a sacrificial context, Hartman explains its significance in terms of the new community that is called into being: Here the people of the new covenant were gathered, cleansed, forgiven, sanctified and equipped with a new spirit. Indeed, the gathering itself can also be regarded as occurring "into the name of the Lord Jesus."[5] Such an emphasis on the role of God's spirit in baptism is fundamental from the point of view of the New Testament itself. Whether the formulation is of immersion "into" or "in" Jesus' name, the latter simply being better Greek, in either case the point is that Jesus is the occasion and place where the spirit is encountered. That appears to be why a phrase of sacrificial origin should have been used in connection with baptism.

In his resumé of the usual presentation of Christian baptism in the New Testament, George B. Caird also observes the close connection between immersion and the gift of the spirit of God: The case of Cornelius, in which the Spirit came first and baptism followed (Acts

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[2] A major theme in our first consultation, available in B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[3] This charge, of course, is framed to include Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus (cf. Acts 4:36). Given his Levitical status, it seems unlikely his behavior was as ill considered and opportunistic as Paul suggests.

[4] Lars Hartman, *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus." Baptism in the Early Church* (Studies of the New Testament and its World; Edinburgh: Clark, 1997) 37-50.

[5] Hartman, *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus"*, 47.

10:47-48), was an exception to the normal pattern (Acts 2:38) that the Spirit followed baptism.[6] Those two cases, in Cornelius' house and in Jerusalem at Pentecost, do in fact embrace the overall model of baptism as presented within the book of Acts, the principal source for the practice within the earliest Church. The first instance Caird mentions, the baptisms authorized by Peter in the house of the Roman officer Cornelius (Acts 10) represents the principle of the Petrine extension of activity far outside Jerusalem.[7] The other reference is the famous scene of the mass baptisms (of some 3,000 people, according to Acts 2:41) following the events at Pentecost, in which Peter is also depicted as the pivotal figure.

But before the contrast between those two scenes can be assessed, the underlying unity of their account of what baptism into Jesus' name involves needs to be appreciated. In each case, the principal agent of baptism, and the person who provides the theology to account for the practice and the attendant experience, is Peter. And the theological account he provides is quite coherent as one moves in order from Acts 2 to Acts 10. At Pentecost (the Greek name for the feast of Weeks, *Shavuoth*) Acts portrays the descent of the spirit in terms redolent of a mission to Gentiles.[8] Peter's explanation from the prophet Joel (3:1-5 in the Septuagint) is the key to the scene.[9] "All flesh," not only historic Israel, is to receive of God's spirit.

Pentecost is the most notable feast (in calendrical terms) of Peter and his circle. Seven weeks after the close of the entire festival of Passover and Unleavened Bread came the feast called Weeks or Pentecost (the latter term referring to the period of fifty days that was involved; see Lev 23:15-22; Deut 16:9-12). The waving of the sheaf before the LORD at the close of Passover anticipated the greater harvest (especially of wheat; see Exod 34:22) which was to follow in

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[6] G. B. Caird, *New Testament Theology* (ed. L. D. Hurst; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 224.

[7] For a discussion of the extension and its theological underpinnings, see Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, *The Body of Faith: Israel and the Church* (Christianity and Judaism—The Formative Categories; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996) 129-33.

[8] So C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols., ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1994) 1:108. See also Hartman, *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus"*, 131-33, who observes the coherence with Luke 24:44-49. That is a telling remark, because it shows, together with the preaching attributed to Peter in the house of Cornelius, that the narrative of Jesus' passion was connected with the catechesis which lead to baptism from a primitive stage.

[9] Barrett (*Acts*, 129-57) presents a fine analysis of how deeply influential the text of Joel is on the speech of Peter as a whole. See also the first essay in Part One.

the summer, and that is just what Weeks celebrates (so Lev 23:10-15). The timing of the coming of the holy spirit in the recollection of Peter's circle is unequivocal (Acts 2:1-4), and the theme of Moses' dispensing of the spirit on his elders is reflected (see Num 11:11-29). The association of Weeks with the covenant with Noah (see *Jub.* 6:1, 10-11, 17-19) may help to explain why the coming of spirit then was to extend to humanity at large (see Acts 2:5-11). First fruits were celebrated at Weeks (see Numbers 28:26) and they are used to express the gift of spirit and resurrection in Paul's theology (Rom 8:23; 11:16; 1 Cor 15:20, 23). We should expect such connections with the Pentecostal theology of Peter in one of Peter's students (see Gal 1:18), as we should expect him to be especially concerned to keep the feast of Pentecost (see 1 Cor 16:8; 20:16) despite what he said about calendrical observations in Galatians (see Gal 4:9-10; cf. 2:14).

The crucial factor in appreciating Peter's stance is that the baptism of non-Jews signals the process, not the completion of the work of the spirit in the end time. When he is speaking in the house of Cornelius in Acts 10, the spirit falls upon those who are listening, and those there with Peter who were circumcised were astounded "that the gift of the holy spirit has been poured even upon the nations" (10:44-45). The choice of the verb "to pour" is no coincidence: it is resonant with the quotation of Joel in Acts 2:17. Indeed, those in Cornelius' house praise God "in tongues" (10:46)[10] in a manner reminiscent of the apostles' prophecy at Pentecost, and Peter directs that they be baptized "in the name of Christ Jesus" (10:47-48). That is just the direction Peter gave earlier to his sympathetic hearers at Pentecost (2:37-38). Christian baptism, immersion into the name of Jesus with reception of the holy spirit, was developed within the practice of the circle of Peter.

The apparent disruption of the usual model in Acts 10 is intended to call attention to the artificiality (from the point of view of the emergent Petrine theology) of attempting to withhold baptism from those who believe (as Peter actually says in 10:47).[11] That stance is to be contrasted with James', also within the book of Acts, in which James

[10] The assumption here and in Acts 2 is that spirit makes people more articulate than they normally are. That is also the way Paul believes tongues are properly to be conceived, as opposed to those who see the gift of tongues as resulting in incoherence (see 1 Corinthians 14).

[11] See Hartman, *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus"*, 133-36.

portrays believing in an ancillary relationship to the family of David.[12]

The contrasts between James and Peter involve differing views of when and how the eschatological change centered on Jesus has occurred or will occur. For that reason, each makes a place for non-Jews—as non-Jews, without conversion—in relation to Israel, but the places involved are not the same. To that extent, their ideologies are different, but coherently different. In John Painter's article, "James and Peter: Models of Leadership and Mission," the complexities of this coherent difference become plain. The very distinction between leading a community (James) and pioneering mission (Peter) is evocative of views of the social order that are in tension. By the same token, Wiard Popkes's treatment in Part Two reveals that there is a cognate difference between the rhetoric of the Epistle of James and Paul's letters. But then Professor Painter also delineates a typology in which each side is analyzed in terms of three factions, depending upon the relative degree of commitment to circumcision, to the received definition of Israel, and to the to the Torah. Allowing as he does for even greater degrees of complexity on the ground, his typology provides a useful tool for appreciating the permutations and combinations of variables, both theological and sociological, in the development of earliest Christianity. Within that complexity, however, he makes a very clear distinction between the perspective of Peter, targeted on Jews but including non-Jews, and James' focus on the sanctification of circumcised Israel.

Richard Bauckham's treatment of the dispute at Antioch, although much more reserved about the language of factions, nonetheless identifies a plausible explanation of why fellowship with non-Jewish might have been regarded as impure, and shows how differing views of the operation of spirit in baptism would yield the tensions described in Galatians 2. In this regard, his distinction between Peter's strategic willingness to eat with non-Jews (in contrast to Paul's insistence that the practice was mandatory) is extremely helpful. At the same time, he vigorously demonstrates that James' position in Acts 15, no less than the views of Peter and Paul, provided for the baptism of non-Jews and their place within Jesus' movement.

Craig Evans reinforces the centrality of the association between Jerusalem and James by his study of the recently published ossuary

[12] See my "Conclusions and Questions," in Chilton and Evans (eds.), *James the Just and Christian Origins*, 258-64.

that has been linked with James. Even as the state of the evidence requires caution in assessing the "authenticity" of the artifact, the historical issues that underlie its evaluation will no doubt remain, and help to sharpen an awareness of James importance. Similarly, in "Simon Peter and Bethsaida," Markus Bockmuehl has opened our eyes to the variable influence of Hellenistic culture and language within Galilee, and boldly relates that finding to the stance of Peter as reflected in Acts. In this he perhaps brings to clearest expression an emerging theme within our studies: that documents need not be directly attributable to figures such as James and Peter for them to represent their constituencies within the New Testament. He also reminds us that the tensions evident in Jesus' movement after the resurrection might well have had their roots in relationships and contexts before that time. The same might be said in relation to my treatment of Mark 7, where James' focus on the Temple and the purity it entails is contrasted with a primary emphasis upon fellowship at meals in the more Galilean orientation of the Petrine circle (as well as with later concerns of the compositional communities).

Of course, the entire issue of purity—a matter of considerable debate at the moment in anthropology as well as in the study of religion—features centrally in the development of communal identity. So it should not be surprising that earliest Christianity, fed as it was with socially distinctive constituencies, should have developed competing strategies and definitions in this regard. James and Peter, in their representation of alternative programs, each with its own integrity, manifest the coherent pluralism of the movement in its earliest phases, and attest the centrality of Israel in the practice of two preeminent leaders.

Professor Bauckham rightly refers to the complexities involved in discussing purity within the ancient period, taking up a recent revival of the distinction Adolf Büchler made between ritual and moral uncleanness.[13] Although these distinctions are important, both by language and sensitivity, one's reaction to an impure food might be very much like one's response to the person serving it. In addition, the axis of "ritual" purity (perhaps better called "categorical," since it involves the status of an entity) and the axis of "moral" purity are

[13] See Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

joined by an axis of sacred purity (determined by proximity to God).[14] These axes, moreover, are intersecting, and the Temple marks their point of intersection. For that reason, types of purity are vital to recognize, but they appear to influence one another in the experience of practitioners, and scholars may legitimately emphasize one axis or another, depending upon the contexts they are dealing with.

Just as the axes of purity are distinct and yet may be related, so views of the time and place of judgment and the definition of Israel prove to be relevant to one another. Once that has been appreciated in relation to James and Peter, the starker relationship between James and Paul is more readily assessed. That is demonstrated by the articles in Part Two by Jacob Neusner, the present writer, Peter Davids, and Marianne Sawicki. By presenting these essays as part of a comparison of James with both Peter and Paul, the systemic orientation they offer enables us to illuminate one relationship by means of another.

Peter Davids in "James and Peter: The Literary Evidence" takes us back to texts in Part One, showing that James' and Peter's relationships to the epistles attributed to them should be described as indirect, but that those documents are nonetheless evocative of their stances. The direction of these works to a persecuted "Diaspora" defines that term in a manner commensurate with the differing views of Israel, and the distinction Professor Davids draws between the harmony within the community sought by "James" and the adjustment to those outside it commended by "Peter" is as informative as it is subtle. At the same time, the place within both perspectives of eschatological virtue (in a way comparable to Matthew's Gospel) opens the way to consider the emerging doctrine of the *parousia* to be an engine of conciliation as powerful in its own way as a commitment to mission. Naturally, how these strands played out during the second century, and encountered new conditions and challenges, would be a suitable topic of further inquiry.

Many of the issues that appear under the surface in the comparison of James and Peter become explicit when Paul is introduced into the equation. As Professor Painter points out in his article in Part Two, it is not only the meaning of words, but also the conception of the force of words that separates what emerge as two schools of thought. Within this context, the matter of "Israel" (treated of by Professor

[14] See Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus: His Sacrificial Program Within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992) 3-87.

Neusner) emerges not simply one of definition, but of the very force and means of God's election of his people. By the same token, the inherent question of the temporal dimension of judgment, Professor Sawicki's focus, proves to be addressed in virtually the same breath as saying who the people of God are. In their very distinctiveness, Paul and James are instructive of the role played by category formation in their respective religious visions, but Peter is a constant reminder that there were more than two options at any given moment with this period of Christianity.

For this reason, Professor Gruenwald's broad perspective is a helpful reminder of the scale of the influence exercised by choices made within the mix of early Judaism and Christianity. The particulars of those choices are explored in the final essays (by Professor Neusner, Professor Davids and the present writer) that trace topical comparisons between Paul and James. By this latest phase of our work, two orientations emerged clearly. First, the investigation of theological perspectives through the practical teachings and itineraries of James, Peter, Paul, and their circles proved indispensable to understanding not only the history of the period but also the emergence of the relevant texts. Second, these perspectives, although irreducibly theological and not easily reconcilable, operated not merely at the level of ideas, but in the affective and practical connections which made Christianity an enduring movement within early Judaism and eventually a distinctive religion.

These studies, each pursued with its own logic (and sometimes a different logic, as an author turns now to one topic, now to another), may each be taken as a contribution on their its own merits. Their presentation within this volume certainly does not amount to a claim of common method or interpretative program, any more than we have restricted ourselves to a single segment of James' connections. The leading edge of an approach in a given article might be exegetical, rhetorical, literary, archaeological, historical, theological, or systemic. But in no case is the approached limited to a single dimension. During the course of this project we became increasingly aware, not only of James' singular persona, but also of the critical pluralism of methods which can alone do justice to the pluralistic movement that we now call primitive Christianity.

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The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul investigates the nature, diversity, and relationship of three early and important expressions of Judaic Christianity. The contributors are convinced that the Judaic origins of the Christian movement have not been sufficiently understood in both ecclesiastical and academic circles. Comparison with contemporary Judaism is foundational and leads to the question that guides discussion: How did James relate to such prominent figures as Peter and Paul? Given James' own eminence, those relationships must have been hallmarks of his own stance and status, and they open the prospect that we might delineate James' theological perspective more precisely than otherwise possible by means of this contrast with Peter and Paul.

The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul is presented in two parts: James and Peter, and James and Paul. Several studies investigate the literary and archaeological evidence that clarifies the world in which James, Peter, and Paul lived, while other studies probe exegetical and theological aspects of the discussion.

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